



FROM
ROMAN CIVITAS
TO
ANGLO-SAXON SHIRE

TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDIES ON THE
FORMATION OF WESSEX

BRUCE EAGLES

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To Diane

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TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDIES ON THE FORMATION OF WESSEX

BRUCE EAGLES

With contributions by

Barry Ager, Michael Allen and Rosamond Faith

Published in the United Kingdom in 2018 by
OXBOW BOOKS
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JE

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

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Paperback Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-984-5
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-985-2 (epub)

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018943145

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Front cover: Prospect of the Roman road and East Wansdyke just above Calston, May 20, 1724. [W. Stukeley, London, 1743, *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids, with Some Others, Described*, TAB. X, facing p. 18]



MARC FITCH FUND



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Acknowledgements

The studies presented here have been made possible only through the stimulating advice and encouragement of very many friends and colleagues over a large number of years. My understanding of the historic landscape has been developed through a career in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. This began as a student in their York office, where I benefited greatly from the inspirational encouragement of the late Herman Ramm. My subsequent move to Salisbury, where I still live, more than 50 years later, has allowed me not only to gain familiarity with the Wessex countryside, but also to enjoy its great diversity and enviable beauty. I have learned greatly from all my colleagues here and in particular from the late Collin Bowen, whose analysis of the ancient landscape was without equal.

The paper on the bridle-fitting from Breamore (Paper 4) is jointly authored with Barry Ager and that on Wansdyke (Paper 5) with Dr Michael Allen. The one on the 'small shires' (Paper 12) would not have been possible without the significant input of Dr Rosamond Faith. To all of them I extend my thanks for their agreement to include these papers in this volume. The help and advice that I have so readily been given by others for specific Studies are acknowledged with each one of them. I have benefited greatly over many years from the inspirational encouragement of the late Professor James Campbell, who also read several of the papers in draft. The late Dr Paul Robinson gave generously of his time to keep me abreast of new finds in Wiltshire; and I am grateful, too, for the help I have also received from David Dawson, Lisa Brown and Bill Perry and their colleagues at the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes. Barry Ager and Susan Youngs, both formerly at the British Museum, have willingly shared their formidable knowledge of, respectively, early Anglo-Saxon and Celtic artefacts and have also read and commented upon a number of the papers. My debt to Rosamond Faith for sharing her extensive knowledge of Anglo-Saxon farming practices and their impact upon the countryside is evident in many places in this book. Professors Barbara Yorke and Andrew Reynolds, whose comprehension of the history and archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Wessex is so far-reaching, have been a constant

source of stimulation and advice, and Barbara Yorke has also provided valuable comment on a number of the individual studies. Dr Charlotte Behr kindly commented upon Paper 8 in draft, as did Dr Paul Barnwell and Dr Sam Moorhead upon Paper 2. David Algar and Peter Saunders are my co-authors of several articles cited in the bibliography, and of others published elsewhere, and it has been a great pleasure to work closely with them over many years and to benefit from their wide knowledge of the archaeology of Wiltshire.

I should like to record my grateful thanks, too, to Professor Richard Coates, who has so kindly responded to my questions about language and the Britons; Dr Jörn Schuster, Bob Clarke, and Jolyon and Susan Crane, whose photographs of, respectively, the site of the Romano-British temple complex at Teffont; Oldbury hill-fort; and the hill-forts of Badbury Rings, Hod Hill, Maiden Castle, Poundbury and Spetisbury, and also of Bokerley Dyke, appear in this volume; Mark Corney for his plan of the environs of Hod Hill hill-fort, and Nick Griffiths for his drawing of the bridle-fitting from Breamore, the two latter reproduced here, by their kind permission, from earlier publications.

I have also benefited greatly from the patient response to my enquiries of Bob Croft and Chris Webster and in Somerset; Daniel Smith and Cat Lodge, Heritage Officers for North Somerset Council; colleagues at Wessex Archaeology in Salisbury, in particular Phil Andrews, Dr Matt Leivers, Jacqueline McKinley, Andrew Powell and Lynn Wootten. The help that I have received from Susan Willetts, Christopher Ashill and their colleagues in the Hellenic and Roman Library in London; from Kate Wilcox and Mette Lund in that of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London; and from the staff, including former staff, of the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, in particular Bernard Nurse, Adrian James and Ortrun Peyn, all of whom have responded to what must have seemed like my endless enquiries with a friendly patience that I have so admired, it is a pleasure to warmly acknowledge.

I must record my gratitude to my friends and colleagues of 20 years at Bournemouth University who have made my time there so stimulating and enjoyable. First and foremost,

to Harry Manley, who has produced all of the maps, which form such a significant part of this volume, and who has willingly and patiently discussed seemingly never-ending amendments in their preparation. My warm thanks, too, to Professors Tim Darvill, in particular, and Mark Brisbane, for their encouragement and advice, from which I have benefited greatly; and Professor Holger Schutkowski, for his very helpful comment on the section in the Introduction on oxygen and strontium analyses. I should also like to acknowledge the support that I have received from members of the Sachsensymposium over many years and their helpful and friendly advice on a number of challenging topics. Many other friends and colleagues, and especially Roger Goodburn and Nick Griffiths, have advised me in the preparation of this book and I am greatly indebted to them all. Very many thanks are due too to Dr Julie Gardiner and her colleagues at Oxbow Books for all their patience and

kind support. Finally, and most importantly, very many thanks to my family for their support and forbearance, and also for much practical and technological help, during the preparation of this book.

Papers 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 are reproduced here, in whole or in part, from previously published papers, by kind permission of their publishers: respectively, Marc Lodewijckx, the University of Leuven Press, British Archaeological Reports; the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society; Wessex Archaeology and Historic England; the Society for Medieval Archaeology; the University of Indiana Press; and the School of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

The preparation of the maps has been made possible by a grant from the Marc Fitch Fund and the inclusion of the colour plates by one from the Robert Kiln Trust. I am most grateful to their Trustees for their support.

Bruce Eagles

Introduction

A definition of Wessex

For the purposes of the studies included in this book, Wessex is defined (Figs 1 and 2) as Somerset east of the River Parrett (for a discussion of the significance of this river as a major boundary, see Paper 1), Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and those parts of northern Berkshire which, since local government reorganisation in 1974, have been included within Oxfordshire, although in order to emphasise the notable contrast between western and eastern Wessex in the fifth century, sites in Devon of that date are also included in the Gazetteer appended to Paper 2. Much of Berkshire, from the fifth century onwards, was closely associated with the pattern of settlement in the upper Thames valley, an area only touched upon here but important in its own right and one which has benefited from two important overall surveys (Dickinson 1976; Hawkes 1986).

Themes discussed in the book

A major theme is the identification of early land units, notably the possible extents of the Roman *civitates* in central southern Britain (Paper 1) and the limits of early Anglo-Saxon¹ ‘small shires’ in Hampshire (Paper 12). These provide a territorial framework for focused discussion of their significance for both early Anglo-Saxon patterns of settlement and the exercise of power, royal or otherwise. The Jutes in Hampshire may be taken as a specific example (Paper 8).

Other studies include a detailed examination of Wessex in the fifth century (Paper 2), an archaeological overview of the region in the sixth and the seventh centuries (Paper 3), an appraisal of the route into southern Wessex in the fifth and sixth centuries afforded by the Salisbury Avon (Paper 4), a reconsideration of the chronology of East Wansdyke (Paper 5), a detailed examination of the Avebury area (Paper 7), a discussion of Wiltshire from the fifth to the seventh century (Paper 6), the location on the Wiltshire/Gloucestershire border of the meeting-place between

Augustine and the British bishops in 602/603 (Paper 10), the piecemeal Anglo-Saxon settlement and takeover of Dorset in the sixth and seventh centuries and their conquest of Somerset in the seventh (Paper 9) and an assessment of the 100-acre (40.5 ha) royal estate of Great Bedwyn (Paper 11). Finally, in the ‘small shires’ in Hampshire paper referred to above it is argued that ‘*Ham-tunscīr*’ in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 757, refers not to the shire of Hampshire as a whole but to a coastal ‘small shire’ centred upon *Hamwic*, and that the shire itself, along with Berkshire and Wiltshire, were created later, during the time of the Viking wars in the ninth century.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and its influence upon modern reconstructions of the early history of Wessex

Entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* purport to provide an historical framework for the Saxon conquest of Wessex, from 495 and from south to north, by the Woden-born Cerdicings – though claimed descent from Woden may have been introduced only by Ine (688–726) (Kleinschmidt 1998, 94–8). The *Chronicle* therefore offers an origin myth for the foundation of the West Saxon kingdom. The value and accuracy of its annals before the introduction of an Anglo-Saxon written record in the seventh century have been much debated (Yorke 1993). It is also evident that the early material in the *Chronicle* was manipulated during the compilation of the present version, apparently in c. 890, to suit the propaganda needs of Alfred himself, to honour his West Saxon dynasty. Some entries may well have been influenced by the particular interests of some religious houses (Dumville 1985; Nelson 1991; Yorke 1993; 1995, 53; 2010a). Discussion has centred upon a variety of issues, which include observable differences between the royal genealogies in the *Chronicle* and the *West Saxon Regnal Table*, also of the ninth century, both in lengths of reign and the succession itself (Dumville (1985, 51)

thereby suggested that the so-called founder of the West Saxon house, Cerdic, reigned no earlier than 538–554); the duplication of some annals (Harrison 1971); and the earliest date that the information passed from an oral tradition to a written form. The *Chronicle*, therefore, sheds no further light on fifth-century Wessex; its entries which relate to that century derive, for the most part, from Bede. There are only limited means of checking the early entries in its annals from independent sources; in this connection Bede provides important information, such as that for Cædwalla (*Historia Ecclesiastica* (HE: Colgrave and Mynors 1969) iv. 15–16; v. 7). Nevertheless, it is the case that the text of the *Chronicle* does appear to preserve a few nuggets of information which seem to relate to the sixth century. For instance, the names Coinmail and Farinmail – the kings apparently, but not certainly (Sims-Williams 1983, 33) of, respectively, Gloucester and Bath – in the A manuscript (Plummer and Earle 1892) for the annal *s. a. 577*, may preserve their near contemporary spelling.² The name Condidan, in the same annal, a king apparently of Cirencester, may be a rather particular development from the Latin Constantinus (Jackson 1953, 677; Woolf 2003, 369). Other fifth- and sixth-century entries in the *Chronicle* demonstrably derive from oral, poetic, sources (Sweet 1878; Stenton 1971, 21–2; and the three named towns may be related in some way to an Old Welsh or Welsh-Latin triad (Sims-Williams 1983, 34), though Sims-Williams (1983, 3–4) is very sceptical that anything of factual value can be gleaned from such material; but cf. Campbell (1986, 115, n. 20):

The origin of such early annals is an unsolved problem. That they so often refer to warfare between Britons and Saxons and almost never to warfare between Saxons (which must have been common) suggests an ultimate British and so Latin origin as a possibility.)

The names of Cerdic, Cynric and Ceawlin, sixth-century kings of Wessex, all, as Coinmail and Farinmail, apparently of British-Celtic origin, appear to have been modified in oral transmission (Coates 1989–90; Parsons 1997; Woolf 2003, 369). Cenwalh's name incorporates the suffix *-walh*, which refers to a Briton (Hawkes 1986, 76–7; Yorke 1990, 138–9). These names may reflect intermarriage between Saxons and Britons.³ Personal names, however, it may be noted, are normally borrowed *from* the ascendant group; thus Christians, even bishops, early adopted Arabic names in Islamic North Africa (Christys 2003, 325). Cerdic, it has been suggested, may have been a returning émigré from the Continent (Campbell 1982, 37).

Early Anglo-Saxon kings were not always sole rulers and they might share power, even if one of them were pre-eminent (HE iv. 12, for the division of the kingdom after Cenwahl, when there appears to have been no overall ruler: Kirby 1991, 48–51). Examples of 'pairs' of kings are Cerdic and his son, or grandson according to one version of the genealogy, Cynric. In some cases there appears to have been a territorial division of authority. Although some scholars have argued that the territorial aspect of royal power was a late development, Murray (2002, 59, n. 70) has noted that

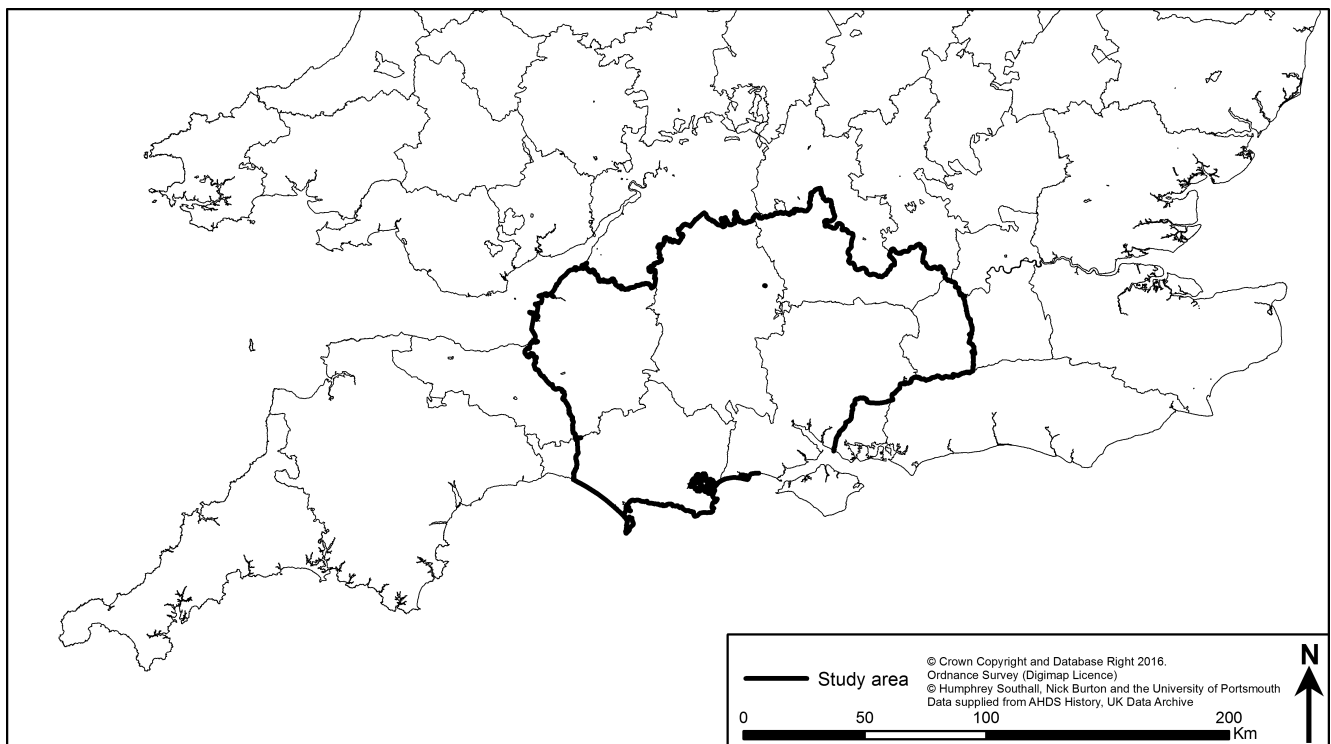


Figure 1 The Wessex region (Harry Manley)

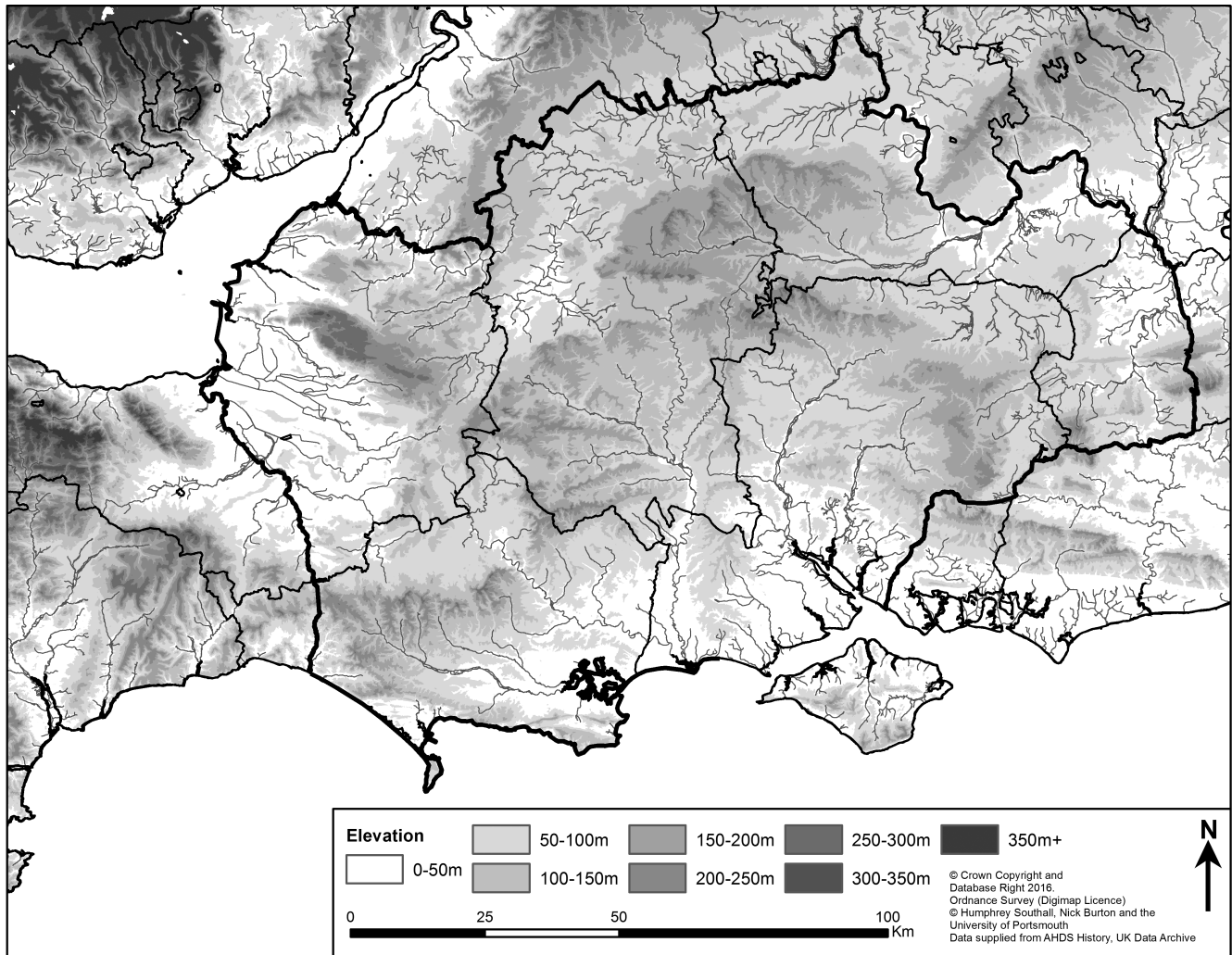


Figure 2 A relief map of Wessex (Harry Manley)

‘the tendency to insist on the personal character of early states is a little surprising in view of the assertion by the philologically inclined that **theotho* ... could mean land as well as people’. *Francia* is recorded in AD 310 (Nixon and Rogers 1994: *Pan Lat* VI. 10).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to events in various parts of Wessex where they impinge upon the careers and reigns of successful leaders and kings. An inevitable consequence of this historical selection is that large parts of the region receive no mention at all. There is no record, for instance, of the Anglo-Saxon takeover of Dorset – perhaps because it was a largely peaceful one (Paper 9).

Although its shortcomings have long been known, it was not until the 1970s, as noticed above, that the early entries in the *Chronicle*, along with many of the other primary written sources, began to receive fundamental re-evaluation as to their purpose and context. Inevitably, this has required revision of some earlier, influential, views of the nature of early Anglo-Saxon settlement in Wessex (eg. Myres 1937;

Leeds 1954). There is further discussion of the Wessex annals of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in particular those which purport to relate to the sixth century, in the present work, particularly in Papers 6 and 8.

The significance of Wansdyke in interpretations of the early history of Wessex

The Wansdyke falls into two parts, the West Wansdyke, in north Somerset, and the East Wansdyke, in north Wiltshire, both of which face north (Clark 1958; Fox and Fox 1958). West Wansdyke now begins at the hill-fort of Maes Knoll – but may once have continued westwards to the Bristol Channel – and extends, though apparently not continuously, above the Wiltshire Avon, eastwards to Bath; its course also incorporates a second hill-fort, that of Stantonbury. The earthwork is in places some 26 m across overall (Erskine 2007).

West Wansdyke is separated from the eastern dyke by a 22 km stretch of the Roman road across lower ground between Bath and Mildenhall. The East Wansdyke begins on Morgan's Hill, about 10 km west of the Ridgeway, and thence eastwards to New Buildings, less than 1.5 km west of the present edge of Savernake Forest. Pitt Rivers, following up his excavations at Bokerley Dyke, showed that at Brown's Barn, Bishop's Cannings, the East Wansdyke was there built in the Roman period or later. Aileen and Sir Cyril Fox demonstrated that at Morgan's Hill it blocked the Roman road from Mildenhall to Bath, and Green (1971) considered its construction at New Buildings to be post-Roman. Both dykes are recorded in various charters from the ninth century onwards. In chalk country the dyke is a massive barrier (up to about 45 m across, with the inclusion of the counterscarp bank) to incursions from the north-east, but on the mixed soils east of Shaw House, which is less than 1.5 km east of the Ridgeway, the East Wansdyke is of much smaller dimensions. The probable prehistoric origin, at least in some stretches, of both West and East Wansdyke is discussed in Paper 5. In Paper 1 it is argued that both West and East Wansdyke marked parts of the boundary between the *civitas Belgarum* and the *civitas Dobunnorum*.

Suggestions have been made as to an historical context for the construction of the Wansdykes. Fox and Fox (1958, 42–5) argue, heavily reliant upon the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that '[I]f it is accepted that a Pagan Saxon origin is likely' East Wansdyke could date to the reign of Ceawlin and West Wansdyke to 628–635, as a frontier agreed with Mercia (for Ceawlin and Wansdyke see Paper 6). Myres (1964), in response, notes that a 'sub-Roman origin and fifth-century date, for, at any rate, East Wansdyke' should not be ruled out. Reynolds and Langlands (2006) and Reynolds (2006) propose a later date altogether, at the time of the wars between Wessex and Mercia, and the inclusion in its course of the artificially straight alignment of the county boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire (Paper 12).

Germanic immigrants in Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries

The first immigrants

If we think that Germanus might have had a hand in the treaty which brought the first Saxons to Britain (Paper 2), we would date their arrival to c. 430. *Stützarmfibeln* first appear in Britain at around this date, but the earliest cruciform brooches could begin a few years earlier, and the first appearance of the Quoit Brooch Style (Paper 2) could be around 425. In Wessex these artefacts are often found on or close to Roman sites or, as around Winchester, by the Roman roads leading in and out of that city. In many cases they are unassociated finds and without excavation it is impossible to know whether they are casual losses

or derive from disturbed burials. If these may be taken as indicative, at least in some cases, of newly arrived Germanic immigrants, it might be reasonable to consider the possibility that groups, perhaps often small, of Germanic people were already widespread in south-east Britain by the time of the Saxon revolt of c. 441, having arrived, perhaps, at particular destinations at the direction of, and for the needs (?military, with families) of, the Britons. If so, such groups may have played a significant part in the apparently rapid success of the revolt, an outcome which it seems otherwise difficult to explain (Paper 2).⁴

Subsequent immigration into Britain

It is clear that the barbarian leaders and folk coming into Britain in the fifth century were of very diverse origin. Bede (*HE* i. 15 and v. 9) says that there were Jutes, Saxons and Angles, the two latter tracing their ancestry amongst the Continental Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns and Bructeri, peoples who lived in Germany and were therefore known collectively to the Britons as 'Garmani'. Bede's lists are discussed by Wallace-Hadrill (1988, 22, 181) and Wood (1997, 41) and the Jutes are the subject of Paper 8. Gregory of Tours (c. 538–94), writes (*Histoires* (Krusch and Levison 1951), II, 12) of the opportunities for adventurers in the 'parts beyond the sea' – in all probability Britain – in the last quarter of the fifth century (Campbell 1982, 37; for Gregory's potential value as a source for the fifth century, MacGeorge 2002, 79). Archaeology shows that others, not necessarily Germans at all, arrived from the frontier region of northern Gaul (Evison 1965; Böhme 1986).⁵ Incoming groups are likely to have become mixed both during the crossings and after reaching Britain. A disproportionate number of young males would be expected among the new arrivals. Emphasis should also be placed upon the significance of the first comers and their potential subsequent impact in the new communities (Anthony 1990; Scull 1995).

It seems clear, as Gildas and Gregory of Tours tell us, that Saxons and others soon recognised the many advantages, economically, through the availability of farmland and other resources, and socially, through advancement vis-a-vis the Britons, that might be gained in Britain. Their 'migration' should be set in the context of a much changing northern world, a process which had been exacerbated by the collapse of the western Roman Empire. For centuries Roman imports and subsidies of gold had transformed northern German and Scandinavian society and the bases of power of its elite. The Roman imports, whether luxury items or not, appear to have been highly valued for their own sake, as affording prestigious links with the Roman world. 'They were the visible symbolic expressions of certain political/social relationships and alliances' and 'active as creators of rank, and in legitimizing the construction of a new elite in which they represented aspirations to a Roman lifestyle' (Hedeager 1992, 156, 174). Some of these items had arrived

as diplomatic gifts from the Romans. Furthermore, there had long been recruitment of their young men into the Roman army, and returning veterans too will have had a marked influence upon their societies. In the fifth century, with the end of Roman imports, there was a marked change in the deposition of items of prestige, including bracteates of recycled Roman gold, from graves to their ritual consignment to sacred bogs (Paper 8), a change which appears to reflect the needs of the elite to be now seen to derive their power from the divine. Kruse (2007, 329) has suggested that '[I]n the case of Jutland, one "push" factor may have been the reorganisation of land visible in the layout of buildings and settlements such as Vorbasse and Hodde from the third and fourth centuries AD onwards', with the apparent amalgamation of farms and a surplus of labour. Such a scenario, if repeated elsewhere, and alongside the lack of need of young warriors for the Roman army, could have brought such men to Britain.⁶

The continuing arrival of immigrants from overseas in the sixth century is difficult to demonstrate, for a wide range of artefacts now show strong insular development (Hawkes 1986, 81). One example is the prolonged contact between Issendorf in Lower Saxony and Spong Hill in Norfolk (Hills 1998, 148). Such continuing links with the homelands are the norm in migrations at any period. British immigration into Armorica continued into the sixth century (Paper 2).

The scale of this Germanic immigration into Britain has long been, and still is, the subject of considerable scholastic debate. Higham (1992, 165) argues for a minimal, elite immigration. Issues relevant to this question are considered in this Introduction below.

Marine transgression along the eastern littoral of the North Sea as a factor in the movement of people to England

In the past post-Roman marine transgression has been considered, and is still so argued by Professor K.-E. Behre (eg. 2007; 2011; 2012; 2013), to have been a major cause of flooding in the coastal regions of the Netherlands and Germany, and an important factor in the subsequent movement of peoples from those areas to England in the fifth century. Recent re-assessments (Bungenstock and Weerts 2010; 2011; Baeteman *et al.* 2011), however, have rejected this interpretation, and emphasis is now given to the role of human intervention as the cause of localised flooding of these delicate low-lying landscapes. From the Late Iron Age onwards, the drainage, reclamation and cultivation of the seaward margins of the coastal peat bogs brought about the exposure and subsequent drying-out, shrinkage and subsidence of the peat, resulting in the increased risk of flooding in those areas at times of high storm surges. When coastal areas were embanked during the historical period, the situation for the lower lying peat lands became

more dramatic. When the sea dikes breached, the peat land was flooded, leading to casualties, huge material damage and loss of land (Vos and Knol 2015).⁷

Identity and ethnicity in the early post-Roman West: the written sources

'... in the Roman mind the designation Germani pointed less to a shared cultural heritage than to alienation from the civilising hand of the empire, in contrast with the domesticated Gauls' (Wright 2008, 226).

'...one of the fundamental changes within the Roman world at the end of antiquity was that, contrary to the Roman model, ethnicity began to become a basis for power' (Pohl 1997, 10).

'The Germanic world was perhaps the greatest and most enduring creation of Roman political and military genius' (Geary 1988, vii).⁸

The northern barbarian successor states

Ethnic origins

The barbarian leaders looked to ways to create distinctive new identities for their peoples.⁹ One of the means by which they sought to establish, and then consolidate, their authority was by reference to, even the creation of, Germanic origin myths, which might be intertwined with others from classical sources; the latter marked their integration into the western Roman world.¹⁰ Their claimed descent from mythical figures of the distant past could only be maintained through military success, as showing divine approval (Wolfram 1994, 21; Curta 2007, 160). The Franks even incorporated the names of prominent Romans of the very recent past (eg. Aetius) into their genealogies (MacGeorge 2002, 80).

Ethnicity¹¹

It can no longer be maintained that the groups of (free) people (*gentes*) who went by, for example, the names of Goths, Franks or Burgundians were genetically related (*contra* Heather 1996, 299). The group names reflected the reality of new power and represent, essentially, political ethnicities, manipulated by the elite, and were to that extent artificial, though built upon some pre-existing cultural identity (Yorke 2000; Curta 2007; and cf. Jones 1997, 84: 'ethnic groups are now usually defined as culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed culture and common descent'; and see further below). Indeed, it seems clear that these groups could include Roman citizens, and in large numbers.

In Gothic Italy the terminology appears to have been applied to the army of Theoderic, but his army was very mixed and included Romans; on the other hand, non-combatants, of whatever origin or social group were termed

‘Romans/*wealas*’ (Amory 1997). The Burgundians seem to have been similarly distinguished (Amory 1993; 1994), as do the Franks (Halsall 1995b, 28).¹² In the light of Continental usage, it may be significant that in Ine’s laws a *wilisc* – a former *civis* who had not achieved a free barbarian identity – was a ‘tribute payer’ but that a ceorl of comparable status owed military service to the king (Barnwell 2003, i.e. a *wilisc* was also ethnically a Briton; cf. Grimmer 2007, 104, n. 11). Many Roman men appear to have acquired such enhanced status by joining the barbarian armies.¹³

In the context of this militarisation, loyalty to a personal lord, and his ability to reciprocate through the giving of gifts, became key factors in the maintenance of social cohesion in this new barbarian world. This was particularly true of the personal following (*comitatus*) of a warlord or king, which cut across the demands of kin (Abels 1988, 16).

In Gaul, the distinction was made between a free barbarian, Frank or otherwise, who chose to live by the Law of the Salian Franks (see below), and a free Gallo-Roman (*wala*), whose wergild (*uualaleodi*) was set at half the rate of the others, indicating his inferior status.¹⁴ Thus both the Frank *antrustiones* and the Roman *convivae regis* might sit at the king’s table, but they remained socially differentiated by their wergilds. There are hints of a comparable differentiation in England. A number of clauses in the Laws of Ine of Wessex (Wormald 1995, 977), which date to c. 688–694, make reference to the Britons, that is those descended from citizens, *cives*, of the former Roman Empire, whether Latin-speaking or not, as *wealas* (Faull 1975; Charles-Edwards 2013, 230–1, 428–9 – also for the significance of the Malberg glosses (Rivers 1986, 6) in the *Lex Ribuarica*). These Laws deal with individuals according to their status; Britons could be of some means, though they were always of inferior rank to their English counterparts and were required to pay a double wergild or blood price. In spite of the importance of an individual’s status and ethnicity in the Laws of the barbarians, it should be noted that they were applicable to both barbarians and Romans throughout the kingdom, and their purpose, in particular, was to serve relations between the two. The Laws were therefore territorial, not personal, though Roman law continued to be applied in cases which involved only Romans (Barnwell 2000).

Charles-Edwards (1995, 730–3) has also suggested that Britons could have lost their native inferiority by adopting English speech within a couple or so generations and, in regard to Continental Romans, Wormald (2003, 32) has noted that ‘less socially self-confident “Romans” might well choose to assimilate to a ruling-class defined in this way’ (cf. Paper 2, n. 5). With reference to Britain it has been pointed out that in the long term, this system would have resulted in the economic impoverishment of those still classed as Britons (Woolf 2007, 127–9). Former *cives* so defined would appear to have been restricted to those who, for one reason or another, had failed to adopt, or had not been allowed to

adopt, the new, free, barbarian status. The latter may have been identifiable by their right to bear arms, in England a right arguably reflected in the burial rite by the deposition of weapons in the grave, a custom which is evident from the fifth century (see below).

The question of intermarriage between barbarian incomers and the native population in Britain has been an important element in discussions about both the lack of Brittonic in Old English and the question of the extent that Britons were buried in the new-look ‘Anglo-Saxon’ furnished cemeteries, which become so widespread in south-eastern Britain from the last quarter of the fifth century (for both of which see further below in this Introduction). There is almost no explicit information in the barbarian Laws about marriage between a ‘barbarian’ and a ‘Roman’, and this silence might reasonably be considered to reflect a situation where it was not a significant issue. Marriage between a Roman and a barbarian was theoretically prohibited under Roman law (*Codex Theodosianus* (Mommsen and Meyer 1905), 3, 14, 1). The ban was issued by Valentinian I in 373. That law, however, was not concerned with such marriages in general, but was intended specifically to protect citizens in times of unrest. In the Visigothic law-codes *provinciales* and *gentiles* in the original Roman text were replaced by *Romani* and *barbari*, the latter being not the *Gothi* but enemies of the State (Sivan 1998). Even in the time of Leovigild (sole ruler of the Visigoths, 572–586) separate Roman and Gothic legal regimes continued (King 1972, 6–7, 13).¹⁵ In the *Pactus Legis Salicae* and the *Lex Ribuarica*¹⁶ the only clause which appears to provide direct comment on marriage between a barbarian Frank and a Roman is to be found in the *Lex Ribuarica*, 61.11:¹⁷

Concerning church freedmen: If a churchman, a Roman or a king’s man takes a Ripuarian freewoman in matrimony, or if a Roman woman or a king’s or a church freedwoman takes a Ripuarian freeman, let their descendants always descend to the lower status. (Rivers 1986, 197)

The Lombard *Leges Liutprandi*¹⁸ (Bluhme 1869), 127, state:

‘If a Roman man marries a Lombard woman and acquires her *mundium* [protection/guardianship], and if after his death the widow marries another man without the consent of the heirs of the first husband, feud and the penalty for illegal intercourse shall not be required; for after she married a Roman man and he acquired her *mundium*, she became a Roman and the children born of such a marriage shall be Roman and shall live according to the law of their Roman father’. (Drew 1973, 199–200)

Although these laws are widely separated in terms of their date, they do indicate the longevity and widespread maintenance of Roman legal knowledge, an influence that arguably was ultimately due in considerable measure to the significance of Roman provincial law in the codification of barbarian law (Barnwell 2000).¹⁹

Language and identity

The well-known paucity of Brittonic words which were borrowed into the Old English lexicon demonstrates that the Britons consciously learned the language of the dominant Anglo-Saxons, who for their part made no attempt to adopt the native tongue (Jackson 1953, 241–5). This lack of lexical transfer from the Brittonic language into Old English was clearly deliberate on the part of the Saxons, and the reason appears to have been a social one, traditionally accounted for by the operation of a system of subjugated social apartheid for the Britons (Jackson 1953, 242; Coates 2007).²⁰ Brittonic was regarded as the inferior language, as compared to Latin, where such borrowing did occur,²¹ and its use socially unacceptable (Charles-Edwards 2004a, 19). Furthermore, the comparable rural nature of the post-Roman society of the Britons and that of the immigrants did not necessitate the transfer of any unique vocabulary from the Britons, though place-names might remain in use for some time on account of their very uniqueness.²² The thoroughness of the change in language is mirrored by the fundamental material cultural transformation which occurred from the later fifth century.

Woolf (2003, 370–3), however, with reference to post-Roman epigraphy and to Gildas's deliberate use of 'Agitius' rather than 'Aetius', has argued that 'We are not to imagine that Latin usage was an affectation of a tiny number of kings and clerics but that Insular Romance was the normal language of intercourse for a significant proportion of the population'. More recently, Schrijver (2014) has placed emphasis on the phonetic influence on English through its adoption by large numbers of native speakers of Late British Latin²³ – which had for long been spoken with a strong and distinctive provincial ('British Celtic') accent (Charles-Edwards 2013, 88) – and of British Celtic with whom the immigrants first came into contact in the Lowland Zone.²⁴ Under Roman rule Latin had spread through the Roman army, the administration and the Church. The widespread occurrence of Latin graffiti indicates the penetration of the language downwards through Roman society, and a large number of Latin words also entered the Brittonic languages (Jackson 1953, 76–121). Scholars have, however, long taken the view that in the Roman Empire only a thin, but influential, crust used Latin, spoken or written (eg. Jones 1964, 991–7).²⁵ The ending of Roman government in Britain in the earlier part of the fifth century and with it, at least in the more easterly parts of the Lowland Zone, the schools of the grammarians which had supplied its entrants and thus now rapidly lost their *raison d'être*, however, is likely to have had a marked effect on the survival of Latin as a living language in the areas of first contact with the immigrants (Kaster 1998). In due course large numbers of both Latin and Brittonic speaking lowland Britons²⁶ were to become bilingual in English but they would then have abandoned both their Latin and Brittonic as these languages became increasingly irrelevant. These Britons' thorough adoption, over a generation or two, of English, enabled them to

become an accepted part of Anglo-Saxon society (Charles-Edwards 1995, 730–3; Hines 1998, 286).

Where the Britons remained independent, Latin continued to be both spoken and written.²⁷ The writings and audience of Gildas bear ready witness to the Latin learning and the sophistication of the written Latin that was maintained by the independent British elite, probably through church and, possibly, monastic schools, into the sixth century, for both laymen and churchmen (Lapidge 1984; Charles-Edwards 2013, 213–5).²⁸ The maintenance of Latin in the west of Britain may well have been facilitated by the arrival of educated immigrants from the lowlands, just as Gildas (*De Excidio*, c. 25.1) tells us (and see fn. 23). Woolf (2003, 375–6, but cf. Charles-Edwards 1995, 734) has noted the possibility that verse in praise of Maelgwn, the tyrant addressed by Gildas, was in Latin, not British, and that Brittonic as the language of the elite only spread southwards from northern Britain from c. 550, becoming established in Wales only by c. 650.

The retention of Latin emphasised cultural continuity and, along with Christianity, served readily to distinguish the leaders of British society from the Saxons. In, probably, the second half of the fifth century, the western Britons still regarded themselves as 'Romans', as Patrick, in his letter to the soldiers of Coroticus, makes clear (Charles-Edwards 2013, 227–8).²⁹ By the mid-sixth century, however, Gildas was able to distinguish the Romans as a different *gens* from the Britons (*De Excidio*, c. 25), although the Britons still regarded themselves as *cives*.

Isidore (Lindsay 1911), IX.1 (*de linguis gentium*) and Bede, *HE* i. 1 (discussed by Charles-Edwards 2004a) considered that difference in language distinguished peoples one from another. In addition to the late seventh-century Laws of Ine, evidence for the continuing presence of an identifiable British population in Wessex after the Roman departure is to be found in the notable, though in many ways limited, contribution of Brittonic and Latin words to the corpus of place-names in the region; some Old English names also refer to the Britons (Fig. 3: sources, Coates 1989; Coates and Breeze 2000; Ekwall 1960; Gelling 1973b; 1976; 1997; Gover *et al.* 1934; 1939; Mills 1980; 1989; 1998; 2001; 2010: fn. 21). The loss of British place-names, however, appears to have been a long drawn-out process. Cox (1976) has observed that the corpus of names recorded before 731, the date of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, contains a higher proportion of Brittonic names than is the case overall. Name-changing certainly occurred.³⁰ Many British names will have died out and a general perusal of the English Place-Name Society county volumes and *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Coates and Breeze 2000) shows all too clearly how only very much later do local place-names first appear in a written form for us to study. Gelling (1992, 70) has noted that '[I]n most of the West Midlands Welsh speech must have disappeared by the end of the ninth century'.³¹

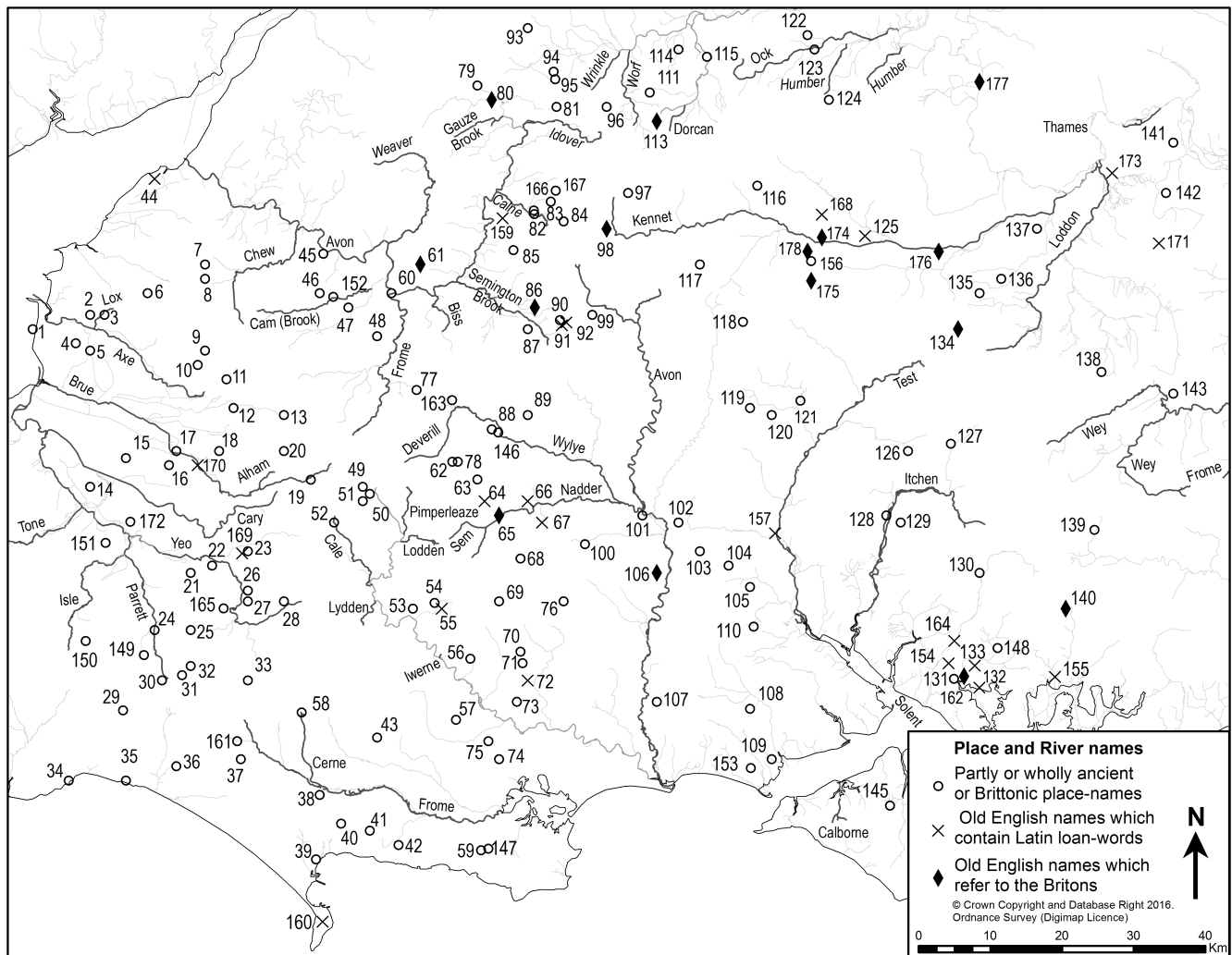


Figure 3 Ancient, Brittonic and Old English and other place-names which relate to the presence of the Britons in Wessex (Harry Manley)

Key to Fig. 3

1. *by ID number*

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Brean	1	Doult(ing)	13
Chris(ton)	2	(Middle)zoy (Weston)zoy(land), from a river name	14
<i>Cedern</i>	3	Pol(den Hills)	15
Eding (worth), from a river name	4	<i>Lantokai</i>	16
Tarnock	5	Glaston(bury)	17
Church(ill)	6	Pennard (West and East)	18
Win(ford), from a stream name	7	Cole, from a river name	19
Regil (Ridgehill)	8	Evercreech	20
Mend(ip Hills)	9	Sock (Dennis)	21
Priddy	10	Liming(ton), a river name in origin	22
Pen (Hill)	11	(Queen) Camel	23
Dinder	12	Chinnock (East, Middle and West)	24

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Coker (West, East), from a river name	25	Tollard (Royal)	69
Hummer, from a river name	26	(Long) Crich(el)	70
Trent, from a river name	27	Chetterwood	71
<i>Lanprobi</i>	28	Witc(hampton)	72
(Pilsdon) Pen	29	<i>Vindocladia</i> (Badbury Rings)	73
(South) Perrott, from a river name	30	Lytchett (Matravers)	74
Crook (Hill)	31	Char(borough), from a river name	75
Pen(domer)	32	Pentridge	76
Heni(ford), from a river name	33	Cors(ley)	77
Lyme (Regis), from a river name	34	Pert(wood)	78
Chideock	35	<i>Kairdur(berg)</i>	79
Loders	36	Wale(cote)	80
Wynford (Eagle)	37	Pen(n's Lodge)	81
Dor(chester)	38	Quemer(ford)	82
Lod(moor)	39	Calne	83
(Broad)mayne	40	Cherhill	84
Ower(moigne)	41	Chittoe	85
Winfrith (Newburgh)	42	Wall(en Lane)	86
Dewlish, from a river name	43	Cheverell	87
Port(ishead)	44	Knook	88
Cors(ton), from a river name	45	Chitterne	89
Pris(ton)	46	Crook(wood)	90
Wellow, in origin a river name	47	(Urch)font	91
Peart	48	Wick(ham Green)	92
Pen(ridge)	49	Kemble	93
Pen (Pits)	50	Minety	94
Pen(selwood)	51	Braydon (Forest)	95
Wincan(ton)	52	Lydiard	96
Orchard (East and West)	53	(Hack)pen (Hill)	97
(Seax)penn/Pen Hill	54	Wale(dich)	98
Fontmell (Magna), ?from a river name	55	Conock	99
Pimperne	56	Crouches(ton)	100
Comb(s Ditch)	57	(Old) Sarum	101
Cerne (Abbas), from a river name	58	<i>Penchet</i>	102
Creech	59	Brick(worth)	103
Conkwell	60	Melchet (Forest)	104
Cumberwell	61	Wellow, in origin a river name	105
Pen (Hill)	62	Wal(ton)	106
Chicklade	63	Crow	107
Font(hill), ?from a river name	64	Allum (Green), from river name	108
Wall(mead)	65	Lyming(ton), from a river name	109
(Tef)font	66	Cadnam	110
(Fo)vant	67	Pen(hill)	111
Crook (Hill)	68	Wal(cot)	113

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Crouch (Hill)	114	Cor(ton)	146
Cole(shill), with reference to a river	115	(East) Creech	147
Mem(bury)	116	Creech (Farm)	148
Savernake (Forest) – ?from a river name	117	Crewkerne	149
Chute (Forest)	118	Crick(et Malherbie)	150
Amport	119	Curry (Rivel etc), from a river name	151
(Abbot(t)s and Little) Ann	120	Dunker(ton)	152
Andover	121	Ever(ton), from a river name	153
Cher(bury)	122	Funt(ley)	154
Charn(ey Basset)	123	(Ha)vant	155
Cane (Lane), with reference to a river	124	(Ink)pen	156
Speen	125	(Mottis)font	157
Micheldever	126	Pewsham	159
(Brown, Chilton, Preston) Candover	127	Port(land)	160
Win(chester)	128	Toller (Fratrum)	161
(Chil)comb	129	Wall(ington)	162
Preshaw	130	War(minster), from a river name	163
Cams (Hall)	131	Wick(ham)	164
Port(chester)	132	Yeovil, from a river name	165
(Boar)hunt	133	Penn	166
Woodgarston	134	Penn	167
Pamber	135	Wick(ham)	168
Sil(chester)	136	Wick(ham)	169
Pinge(wood)	137	Wick(ham)	170
Itchell	138	Wick(ham Bushes)	171
Liss	139	Wearne, from the river name	172
Wells(worth)	140	Ruscombe, formerly (<i>Rotes</i>)camp	173
Alt(wood)	141	Waw(cott)	174
Cruch(field House)	142	?Wal(bury)	175
Crook(sbury Hill)	143	<i>Welshman's (Bridge)</i>	176
Creek (Copse)	144	Wall(ingford)	177
Cari(sbrooke), from a river name	145	Wall(ingtons)	178

2. Alphabetical

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
(Abbot(t)s and Little) Ann	120	Brick(worth)	103
Allum (Green), from river name	108	(Broad)mayne	40
Alt(wood)	141	(Brown, Chilton, Preston) Candover	127
Amport	119	Cadnam	110
Andover	121	Calne	83
(Boar)hunt	133	Cams (Hall)	131
Braydon (Forest)	95	Cane (Lane), with reference to a river	124
Brean	1	Cari(sbrooke), from a river name	145

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
<i>Cedern</i>	3	Doult(ing)	13
Cerne (Abbas), from a river name	58	Dunker(ton)	152
Char(borough), from a river name	75	(East) Creech	147
Charn(ey Basset)	123	Eding (worth), from a river name	4
Cher(bury)	122	Ever(ton), from a river name	153
Cherhill	84	Evercreech	20
Chetterwood	71	Font(hill), ?from a river name	64
Cheverell	87	Fontmell (Magna), ?from a river name	55
Chicklade	63	(Fo)vant	67
Chideock	35	Funt(ley)	154
(Chil)comb	129	Glaston(bury)	17
Chinnock (East, Middle and West)	24	(Hack)pen (Hill)	97
Chitterne	89	(Ha)vant	155
Chittoe	85	Heni(ford), from a river name	33
Chris(ton)	2	Hummer, from a river name	26
Church(ill)	6	(Ink)pen	156
Chute (Forest)	118	Itchell	138
Coker (West, East), from river name	25	<i>Kairdur(berg)</i>	79
Cole(shill), with reference to a river	115	Kemble	93
Cole, from a river name	19	Knook	88
Comb(s Ditch)	57	<i>Lanprobi</i>	28
Conkwell	60	<i>Lantokai</i>	16
Conock	99	Liming(ton), a river name in origin	22
Cors(ley)	77	Liss	139
Cors(ton), from a river name	45	Loders	36
Cor(ton)	146	Lod(moor)	39
Creech	59	(Long) Crich(el)	70
Creech (Farm)	148	Lydiard	96
Creek (Copse)	144	Lyme (Regis), from a river name	34
Crewkerne	149	Lyming(ton), from a river name	109
Crick(et Malherbie)	150	Lytchett (Matravers)	74
Crook (Hill)	68	Melchet (Forest)	104
Crook (Hill)	31	Mem(bury)	116
Crook(sbury Hill)	143	Mend(ip Hills)	9
Crook(wood)	90	Micheldever	126
Crouch (Hill)	114	(Middle)zoy (Weston)zoy(land), from a river name	14
Crouches(ton)	100	Minety	94
Crow	107	(Mottis)font	157
Cruch(field House)	142	(Old) Sarum	101
Cumberwell	61	Orchard (East and West)	53
Curry (Rivel etc), from a river name	151	Ower(moigne)	41
Dewlish, from a river name	43	Pamber	135
Dinder	12	Peart	48
Dor(chester)	38	Pen (Hill)	62

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Pen (Hill)	11	Tollard (Royal)	69
Pen (Pits)	50	Toller (Fratrum)	161
Pen(domer)	32	Trent, from a river name	27
Pen(selwood)	51	(Urch)font	91
<i>Penchet</i>	102	<i>Vindocladia</i> (Badbury Rings)	73
Pen(hill)	111	?Wal(bury)	175
Penn	166	Wal(cot)	113
Penn	167	Wale(cote)	80
Pen(n's Lodge)	81	Wale(dich)	98
Pennard (West and East)	18	Wall(en Lane)	86
Pen(ridge)	49	Wall(ingford)	177
Pentridge	76	Wall(ington)	162
Pert(wood)	78	Wall(ingtons)	178
Pewsham	159	Wall(mead)	65
(Pilsdon) Pen	29	Wal(ton)	106
Pimperne	56	War(minster), from a river name	163
Pinge(wood)	137	Waw(cott)	174
Pol(den Hills)	15	Wearne, from the river name	172
Port(chester)	132	Wellow, in origin a river name	105
Port(ishead)	44	Wellow, in origin a river name	47
Port(land)	160	Wells(worth)	140
Preshaw	130	<i>Welshman's (Bridge)</i>	176
Priddy	10	Wick(ham)	170
Pris(ton)	46	Wick(ham)	164
Quemer(ford)	82	Wick(ham)	168
(Queen) Camel	23	Wick(ham)	169
Regil (Ridgehill)	8	Wick(ham Bushes)	171
Ruscombe, formerly (<i>Rotes</i>)camp	173	Wick(ham Green)	92
Savernake (Forest) – ?from a river name	117	Wincan(ton)	52
(Seax)penn/Pen Hill	54	Win(chester)	128
Sil(chester)	136	Win(ford), from a stream name	7
Sock (Dennis)	21	Winfrith (Newburgh)	42
(South) Perrott, from a river name	30	Witc(hampton)	72
Speen	125	Woodgarston	134
Tarnock	5	Wynford (Eagle)	37
(Tef)font	66	Yeovil, from a river name	165

In addition to the mapped names above, note Wal(ton) in the parish of Old Windsor; Berkshire, to the east of the right hand margin of Fig. 3

British speech certainly continued in southern England for some considerable time after the newcomers' arrival. For instance, Professor Coates (2000b; 2002) considers that Brittonic might have remained a living language in north-west Wiltshire into the seventh century. The present writer has argued that this was a frontier area between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons until *c.* 675 (Eagles

2001).³² Any initial differences in dialect between Germanic immigrants from different areas on the Continent appear to have disappeared as the English became established in Britain (though Bede was still well aware of them: Brooks 1999, 9). The resulting Old English may also have been consciously adopted to distinguish the language spoken by the Germanic inhabitants of lowland Britain, and its

speakers, from their Continental neighbours (Hines 1994; 1996c, 266; Charles-Edwards 2004, 21; Sarris 2011, 198–9). The Church may have played an important part in spreading the use of Old English from the seventh century, given that Augustine’s mission and subsequent ones like Wilfrid’s were clearly aimed at the ‘English’ monarchs (R. Coates, pers. comm.; Bazelmans 1999, 72). Charles-Edwards (2004a, 23) has noted that the success of English suggests that it ‘became the overriding criterion’ in the formation of a new identity,³³ but also (2004a, 20) that ‘[I]t is difficult to escape the conclusion that the English attitude to language was a prime cause of the deep division between themselves and the Britons’.³⁴

It seems that it is the role played by different languages, in an essentially oral world in which bilingualism was commonplace, especially amongst the elite, which should be the emphasis of further research (Geary 1983, 20; Schrijver 2014, 14).

Material culture, ethnicity and identity in Britain

Now everybody agrees with the concept of ‘active’ material culture but, at the same time, almost everybody is fashionably uneasy with the idea that it might actively signal ethnic identity. (Härke 2004, 454)

Following, belatedly, the example of scholarship in prehistoric archaeology, attention is being focused upon the cultural context and meaning of artefacts in both the Roman world – partly as a reaction to the previously rather suffocating concept (not an ancient one) of ‘Romanisation’ – and in the immediately succeeding period, when objects of Germanic ancestry in Britain have been too readily seen as affording a direct link to immigrants. There is, certainly, no direct connection between material culture and ethnic or tribal groups (Shennan 1994; Jones 1997; Lucy 2005, 92, 93; Curta 2007, 162, 164, with reference to the work of Brather). Any links may be subtle and complex – for instance the ways in which objects may be used may be as significant as differences in the objects themselves (Lucy 2005, 102; Curta 2007, 177; Eckardt 2014, 28–9). For a material culture to be distinguishable and remain so it must relate to an acceptable social and cultural identity, which might, but need not, incorporate some element of ethnicity (Lucy 2005, 86, 101; Curta 2007, 165, 167). The manipulation of the identity of a group by its elite (see above) may have been evident through changes in styles of dress or other aspects of its material culture, though how far this penetrated down the social scale is an open question. On the Continent aping of dress styles that originated in the Elbe-Weser region in lower Saxony spread far to the south in the fifth century, arguably in the context of a wish to be seen to be associated with the fearsome and successful Saxons (for a copy of an

equal-arm brooch of the first half of the fifth century from Aalden, Netherlands, Eagles and Mortimer 1993; see also Böhme 1999, 67; Halsall 2007, 62). It is widely held that new forms of cultural identity are particularly likely to emerge, at times rapidly, in periods of social change and stress (eg. Curta 2007, 183).

Identity within a group

In recent studies of material culture, emphasis has been given to the status, gender (‘the cultural construction of biological sex’) and age of the users of artefacts. Furnished cemeteries provide potential information for analyses to these ends. Gowland (2001), with reference to the cemetery at Lankhills, where there was a relatively high number of both children and those with grave goods, showed that there were significant age thresholds at 4–7 and 8–12 years, each marked by a rise in the number of grave goods. Eckardt (2014, 27) has suggested that unusual objects in the graves of pre-marriage females in Roman Britain may relate more to their status than to marking new arrivals. Through their important studies of grave goods in the early Anglo-Saxon period, Professor Heinrich Härke (see further below) and Dr Nick Stoodley have demonstrated the relationship in that period too of material culture to an individual’s age and gender and so to his or her changing identity. In a detailed examination of the burial rites at the late fifth- to mid-sixth-century cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, Wiltshire, for instance, Dr Stoodley has identified age thresholds and gender differences for the provision of grave goods, within and beyond families. While some infants had no grave goods, others had a few beads, and yet others, exceptionally, an iron neck-ring, an artefact which here appears only with this age-group. From the age of 3 years brooches and weapons and some other items might be included in the grave, but at that stage in the life-cycle the former might be singletons and relate to a particular type of dress. Adult female dress appears from the age of 12 years,³⁵ and finger-rings and keys from the age of 20 years. Spears, which may be small, appear in graves of children from the age of 3 years, but weapons more frequently with male burials from 15 years and routinely from 18 years. Above average numbers of artefacts in graves have been taken to betoken the graves of the leading members of a group, and weapon-burials displayed more artefacts than other male burials. With reference to a national sample of 702 weapon burials, Härke (1990, 36) has noted that 8% of the weapon burials were of those aged 14 and under, some of whom may have been ‘boy soldiers’ (Crawford 1999, 159). He has also drawn attention to significant differences in the range of weapons included in the graves, between socially elite men buried with a sword or axe, or later with a *seax* – such burials may also contain objects which incorporate precious materials or vessels associated

with feasting – and others with a shield or spear. In female graves, the equivalent is the inclusion of gilded brooches and amber beads (Stoodley 2010; see also Stoodley 1999a). There are also regional and local differences in gender and other display (see also Lucy 1998). All of these writers are aware, however, that the data from burials has to be used with caution, in that the burial was prepared by the mourners, who might, but might not, be relatives, and who may have influenced, for instance, the selection of what they considered to be appropriate grave goods and that those depositions might not, therefore, mirror the individual's life.

Group and regional identities

Large zoomorphic penannular brooches, worn by the British male elite, mark a new development of the form in the fifth century and are one of the very few artefacts which penetrate the darkness, from the viewpoint of material culture, of British 'invisibility' in this period. Examples are known from eastern and central Wessex, where a widespread Anglo-Saxon material culture is evident from varying dates in the fifth century (Paper 2). We may note, too, that one of these brooches is paired with another penannular brooch, but of a different type, in Grave 102 in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Blacknall Field, Pewsey*, Wiltshire. Here the use of the originally British brooch has been later adapted to suit a Germanic female dress style. This brooch form has not, however, yet been found in the territories of the Durotriges in Dorset and Somerset, which may indicate that it was adopted only by certain groups of Britons. Somerset, formerly the territory of the northern Durotriges, is in the sixth century the focus of the Type G penannular brooch, and this may have served as a badge of identity for the elite (one brooch is of silver) there at that time (Dickinson 1982). Just as the large penannular brooch at Pewsey, so a very worn Type G1.6 brooch was matched with an Anglo-Saxon brooch in Grave 53 in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Harnham Hill* in south Wiltshire.

A wide range of Germanic artefacts, in particular brooches, appear in southern Britain from the second quarter of the fifth century. The degree to which these items are directly related to immigration from the Continent (Böhme 1986) and how far they mark the rapid adoption and development of a Germanic culture by the Britons (Dickinson 1982, 52; Scull 1992a, 14) is, however, the subject of much debate (Scull 1993, 70; and see also below for the view of Halsall). It is certainly the case that many of these Continental items were copied in Britain, but whether this was done by the immigrants themselves as those that they had brought with them became unusable or scarce or was the work of Britons aping the new dress styles is unknown (Paper 2). Also, as noticed above, incoming groups will have become mixed both during their journey to Britain and after their arrival, and we may consider the possibility

that this mingling may have impacted upon the significance of, for example, a saucer brooch with a human mask design for its female wearer newly come to Britain, as compared with its original meaning in Old Saxony.

From the last quarter of the fifth century many of the native inhabitants in southern England, outside Kent, it is reasonably argued by archaeologists, were absorbed into a new, promoted, 'Saxon' identity (Dickinson 1991; 1993), while those in the midlands and the north adopted an 'Anglian' one (Hines 1994, 52–4; Hamerow 1997; and Wood 1997, 50–1, for the literary influence in developing these regional identities, *q.v.* see also above). This 'Anglian' identity, typified particularly by developed forms of the cruciform brooch, annular brooches and the wearing of sleeve-clasps and girdle-hangers (Hines 1984; Martin 2015), is likely to have been developed the earlier of the two, for, as noticed in Paper 2, it is evident that there was large-scale immigration from the Continent into East Anglia in the fifth century, beginning in its first half, and seen most clearly in the numerous cremation cemeteries, some of them of great size, in that region. The 'Saxon' identity is most readily seen through round button brooches (which originated in Kent) and cast and applied saucer brooches, all of whose gilding marks them out as possessions of an emerging elite, and disc brooches. These brooches were worn in pairs, on either shoulder, to fasten a 'peplos' style dress, a fashion unknown in Roman Britain. Saucer brooches with five spirals, which are widespread, first occur in lower Saxony (Dickinson 1993). The overall distribution of the 'Anglian' and 'Saxon' brooch types overlaps in the midlands (Lucy 2000, figs 5.5 and 5.6). Other cultural elements in Wessex are 'Frankish/Kentish' brooches and other artefacts, which are particularly evident in southern Hampshire, and on the Isle of Wight and in south-east Wiltshire. The connections between Kent, the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire recall Bede's comments about the Jutes (see Paper 8 for further discussion). The archaeological identification of 'Anglian', 'Saxon' and 'Jutish' identities particularly through the dress accessories of the elite may well reflect the ancient reality, in that it was the elite who defined society; the *rustici* were, for the most part, of little account.

For the appearance of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture in areas under British control in western Wessex, see Paper 9.

Burial rites, religion and identity

Late Roman Wessex

Cremation

Cremation burials were very unusual by the fourth century. Only nine such burials – six of them post-dating 350 – are recorded from among hundreds at *Winchester*, the capital of the *civitas Belgarum* (Clarke 1979). There are others at nearby *Owslebury*. In Wiltshire cremation burials are

known at *Heywood*, north of Westbury, and at *Winterslow*, north-east of Salisbury (Philpott 1991, 51). In the *civitas Atrebatum* they are associated with coins up to 388 at the settlement, possibly a ‘small town’, at *East Anton*, Andover (Jennings 2000, 129) and there is a fourth-century child cremation at the settlement at *Smannell*. There is also a cremation urn, with an infant, from *Wallingford*, with the cal AD date of 426–540 (noted in Booth *et al.* 2007, 96).

Inhumation

The change from cremation to inhumation appears to have been essentially a change in custom. By the later fourth century in southern Britain unaccompanied, supine, inhumation was the norm (crouched burial had very largely disappeared in the third century: Philpott 1991, 55). From the early to mid-fourth century a new type of urban cemetery, of extended rows of unaccompanied west–east inhumations, makes its first appearance (Philpott 1991, 239). The burial grounds of the urban dead were kept apart from the living, being laid out alongside the roads leading from the town, in accordance with Roman law. The burials were often managed by burial clubs. The *Lankhills* cemetery at Winchester is exceptional in the number of its fourth-century burials furnished with grave goods (see above).

Burial practice, however, continued to differ between the major towns and the ‘small towns’ and in the countryside. In the ‘small towns’ burials were dug within the area of the settlement as also, generally, they were in the countryside. Radiocarbon dating has shown that in the small town of *Shepton Mallet*, on the Fosse Way in Somerset, burials, including one, orientated north-east (head) to south-west, of a male with hobnails, a rite particularly prevalent in rural late Roman Wessex (Philpott 1991, 167), continued long after the Roman period. It is quite possible that a larger dating programme would reveal that such local customs continued and were widespread even in areas which had been brought under Anglo-Saxon control.

At villas and rural settlements unaccompanied inhumations with varying orientation were often in small groups or were singletons and located nearby in the associated closes and fields. Burial within an enclosure was exceptional; examples close to villas appear to be those of the landowners or proprietors. In the *civitas Atrebatum* a small group of inhumations is known at *Andover*, but about 2 km south-west of the ‘small town’. All were orientated a little east of north–south. One grave had been recut, but all of them were probably quite similar in date. In one there was a composite ring-and-dot decorated bone comb with ‘zoomorphic’ terminals (bone combs in graves date to 350+, Philpott 1991, 180–1); coins of 364–78 in another; and a coin of 388–92 in a third (Jennings 2000). Other burials accompanied only by knives date to the later Roman period in Wessex (males at *Lankhills* and Winterbourne Down (north-east of Salisbury), but both sexes and a child

elsewhere), the knives being often worn at the belt (Philpott 1991, 176–9). Late Roman burials are also known at the farmstead at *Bradley Hill*, Somerton, Somerset. The burials of Christians were generally not distinctive, whether in terms of the orientation of the grave, the provision of grave goods or even the rite of cremation, though the latter was strongly condemned by Church authorities by this time (Philpott 1991, 51, 240: see also Boddington 1990, 187–90, and J. Hines in Bayliss *et al.* 2013, 548–54). The choice of burial rite may, at least at times, have been that of an individual family rather than the community as a whole. In regard to objects placed in the grave, Ucko (1969) showed that these may merely be reflective of an individual’s life and have no link with after-life beliefs, though Philpott (1991, 235–9) notes that a religious element may also be significant.

Post-Roman Wessex

Inhumation cemeteries with very few or no accompanied burials

In fifth-to seventh-century Wessex this type of burial ground is found almost exclusively in the territories of the Durotriges, that is, in Dorset and Somerset (Paper 9; for the exceptional site at Tubney, Oxfordshire, see Paper 2). In the extreme west, the cemetery at *Cannington* lies on higher ground 2 km west of the River Parrett, the probable border between the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium* and the *civitas Dumnoniorum* (Paper 1). Excavations there have located 542 burials, overwhelmingly west to east, but a few south-west to north-east or north-west to south-east (1000–2000 others may have been lost during quarrying), some of them slab-lined, of men, women and children. A late Roman shrine or mausoleum on the highest part of the hill is thought to be represented by a circular rock-cut trench with traces of a red sandstone revetment. Knives were found in seventeen graves; other items include a penannular GI.1 brooch (see Paper 9) from Grave 7 (artefact CA 34; there is also another, unstratified, example, CA 35), Roman coins, beads, a bone comb and an iron awl. Child burial 407 was accompanied by a tubular bracelet of ‘Corinthian bronze’, of unusual construction, and possibly of western British post-Roman manufacture, an amber bead and copper-alloy repair clips from a wooden vessel. Grave 351 produced a copper-alloy Anglo-Saxon Style II mount of the second half of the seventh century (CA 104). There is a sherd of a Bii amphora from the Mediterranean (for its dating, Paper 2, Site Gazetteer) in Grave 289. A very small amount of pottery was imported from Cornwall. These finds and radiocarbon dates together suggest usage of the cemetery from perhaps the fourth to the early eighth centuries (Rahtz *et al.* 2000). There are possible north–south rows of burials, particularly in the western part of the cemetery. *Cannington* is one of only two examples of this type of cemetery in Wessex which can be suggested to have begun in the late Roman period.

The other is at *Tolpuddle*, north-east of Dorchester, where the burial ground is also considered to have remained in continuous use from late Roman times until the late seventh century (Paper 9).

A significant number of the post-Roman burial grounds in Dorset and Somerset were laid out *de novo*; very few of the west–east inhumations were accompanied by grave goods. There has been considerable debate as to how far or otherwise these cemeteries may be those of the Christian dead. Rahtz (1977, 54) writes ‘[I]t seems probable that an increasing tendency to west–east orientation in an indigenous pagan context was accelerated and regularized by its adoption by Christians’ (see also Rahtz 1978). Petts (2009) has emphasized the variations in British burial practices. He has drawn attention, for instance, to the distinctiveness of cemeteries with ‘focal’ graves, a widespread phenomenon, with one occurrence, of the mid-seventh century, in Wessex at *Stoneage Barton, Bishop’s Lydeard*, Somerset (Webster and Brunning 2004). In terms of the provision of grave goods, he points out that there is perhaps not a fundamental difference between the burial grounds noticed immediately above and the so-called ‘Final phase’ ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cemeteries, with their marked tailing off of grave goods after c. 570 (Paper 3).

Post-Roman cemeteries with many furnished burials

Cemeteries (‘Anglo-Saxon’, as they have been traditionally known), where the majority of burials are furnished, become increasingly numerous in southern and eastern England as the fifth century progresses. The unfurnished graves (caution should be exercised in respect of some of these, in so far as artefacts of organic origin may have decayed without trace) in these burial grounds, and some others, for example those where the body is accompanied solely by a knife, however, cannot of themselves be differentiated from Romano-British burials (see above), even to the extent that the knives often continue to be worn at the belt (Philpott 1991, 176–9).

In Wessex, these burial grounds mostly contain inhumations, but a few also have a relatively small number of cremation burials. The 82 cremation burials – there were also 119 inhumations – at *Abingdon* are altogether exceptional (Leeds and Harden 1936). It seems likely that even immigrants from a cremating tradition in their Continental homelands were greatly influenced by and adopted the local late Roman rite of supine inhumation, especially if they had moved from, say, East Anglia, where the newcomers’ cremation rite is dominant in the fifth century (Paper 2). For immigrants from northern Gaul inhumation was already the norm. It is also evident from the position of belts, jewellery and other items, that many men, women and children in that area were interred clothed. The north Gallic and the English cemeteries share further characteristics: the presence of both accompanied and

unaccompanied burials, grave orientations, body posture and position (Crawford 1997).

The weapon burial rite

In the ancestral homelands of the Angles and Saxons in northern Germany, cremation was in most places the norm until inhumation appeared in the early fifth century, arguably introduced by soldiers returning home after service with Rome (Böhme 2000, 82). Weapons might be placed on the pyre (Böhme 1974, 98). They appear in male graves in north Gaul from the fourth century. There, many of the military at this date may well have been of Germanic origin, who now adopted the local rite of inhumation. The subsequent spread of this type of burial reflects the widespread militarisation of north Gallic society in a period of greatly increased social stress and competition amongst the local militarised elite, who now wished to be portrayed in death, as in life, with their weaponry (Halsall 1992; 1995a, 43; 2007, 153–9, 350–1; Hedeager 1993, 128. See also Paper 2).

Härke (1990) considers that in Britain the weapon-burial rite is an indication of Germanic ethnicity, an ethnicity which, he would argue, excluded the Britons, who were buried without weapons (*contra* Halsall, who argues strongly that no ethnicity is implied). In the fifth- to sixth-century cemeteries, but not in the seventh, he has observed (from his national sample of 702 burials, see above) a recurring pattern of a height differential of 2–5 cm in favour of males buried with weapons in comparison with those without (1992, 195–200), and also notes that the height of the latter approximates to that of the Romano-British population. He would argue that these differences cannot be attributed to a superior diet, as this is not supported by the skeletal data. In the fifth and sixth centuries, he suggests, there were roughly equal numbers of Britons and Saxons in the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ settlements, a figure based upon 47% of male adults with weapons and 53% without.³⁶ He sees ‘the early Anglo-Saxon weapon-burial rite as a symbolic and social marker of families of immigrant descent’ (Härke 2011, 6, and n. 32), but argues that its ‘symbolism changed over time, from a predominantly ethnic to a predominantly social meaning’ by the seventh century (1997, 145). At *Berinsfield*, where ‘[T]here was no difference in average stature between those males with and those without weapons’, one ‘household’ of ten to fifteen individuals could be subdivided into two or three sub-groups, in which the association of some epigenetic traits, passed on through several generations, with weapon-burials and of others without weapons appears to indicate that the sub-groups did not intermarry (Härke 1995, 69–70).

In the seventh century the height differential disappears. Härke argues that this marks the time when there was widespread integration between natives and immigrants. Although the Laws of Ine indicate that ethnic distinctions still applied, some would argue that those laws related in particular to the territories in the south-west, newly conquered

only at the time when the weapon-burial rite itself was increasingly obsolescent. The rite certainly hardly makes an appearance in those areas. Faull's comment (see above) that those laws refer to a redefined *wealh* as a slave could relate to an increasingly stratified and rigidly enforced social structure, in which hierarchical differences between social classes were becoming more visible and entrenched, rather than to any continuing emphasis upon ethnicity (Papers 3 and 9).

Härke's differentiation of immigrants and Britons by their stature has been widely challenged, not least on the grounds that his working sample is not sufficiently large to afford adequate statistical support to his argument (Hamerow 1994; cf. Brugmann 1995). In this study, the view is taken, with particular reference to the discussion of ethnicity above, that the weapon-burial rite in Britain may well have related to a 'Germanic' ethnicity, but not one of genetic descent, but one that from the fifth century onwards was newly defined and incorporated increasing numbers of Britons.

Settlements AD 400–700

Building materials

As the fourth century progressed there was a noticeable decline in the use of building stone. Its employment had become more general for the more important domestic buildings, such as villas, only from the second century. Even in the *civitas* capitals, as is clear from the excavations in *Insula IX* in Silchester (Paper 2), late Roman buildings were often of wood, as most always had been in the countryside. The collapse of the Roman quarrying industry, with its reliance on expensive transport, often at a distance, by river, road and sea, appears to have been rapid. The same phenomenon – the change to buildings constructed of wood, not stone – is seen across Europe, not just north of the Alps, but even reaching rural Italy (van Ossel 2006; Cheyette 2008, 141, 143).³⁷

The morphology and nature of rural settlements

Many of the rural settlements in fourth-century Wessex, as earlier in the Roman period, are distinctive in plan, laid out in a structured pattern along defined, unpaved streets. Some, as on Salisbury Plain, exhibit small triangular 'greens', where tracks bifurcate in the middle of the settlement. Houses, built of wood, are nearly always rectangular, though there are possible late Roman circular examples, a form pre-Roman in origin, at *Ashton Keynes* in Wiltshire (17029³⁸; Hamerow 2012, 53, notes their very exceptional occurrence, well into the Anglo-Saxon period, at Quarrington, Lincolnshire). In many places, each house has its own, rear close. This pattern disappears in the fifth century, to be replaced by wholly new, unplanned and unfocused settlements, with a small number of similarly sized 'farmhouses', which are associated with numerous sunken-featured buildings. Most of these settlements were occupied by about thirty to fifty people,

though a few could be larger (Hamerow 2012, 70–1).³⁹ Planned layouts and defined plots, usually fenced, do not reappear until the late sixth and seventh centuries (Paper 3). Such settlements were also obsolescent on the Continent, especially in Germany and the Netherlands, by the fifth century (Hamerow 2002, 88–9, 94). It has been suggested that in England the incoming Saxons reorganised land-holding in their favour, into hides, units sometimes of 120 acres, which would support a nuclear immigrant family.⁴⁰

House types: continuity or novelty?

To date there has not been an overall study of late Roman wooden dwellings in Britain. Certainly, few of low-status have yet been recognised. Some post-Roman wooden buildings are known, as at Frocester Roman villa (Price 2000, 112–8) and within the hill-fort at Crickley Hill in Gloucestershire (Dixon 1988). There is some limited evidence from western Wessex, too, for fifth-century buildings in areas which were at that time beyond Anglo-Saxon control. Post-hole patterns at, for instance, *Poundbury*, Dorset (Spary-Green 1996) and at *Cadbury-Congresbury* hill-fort, Somerset (Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 193), point to sizeable, but apparently rather irregular, timber buildings. Furthermore, some small structures at *Poundbury* described as sunken-featured are in fact terraced into the slope and do not seem directly comparable to those in 'Anglo-Saxon' areas, although, it may be noted, a partially excavated building at *Coombe Down*, Wiltshire seems similar (Paper 6).

A survey of late Romano-British house types and plans would allow us better to place the 'Anglo-Saxon' farmhouse, whose ground-plan has now been recognised through excavation at numerous settlements across Britain, in its insular context, novel or otherwise. Constructional links between Romano-British and 'Anglo-Saxon' buildings have so far proved elusive (discussed by Hamerow 2012, 18–21). By the mid-fifth century on the Continent 'farmhouses' (though little enough is known of their function), which share many similarities with buildings found, from the fifth century onwards, in 'Anglo-Saxon' areas in England, were becoming increasingly common alongside the traditional north-west European aisled longhouse (Hamerow 2002, 12–26; 2012, 19). It has been suggested that the longhouse may have been unsuited to the more restricted kin groups which the new settlements in England appear to represent.⁴¹ These smaller dwellings may also have come into favour through their adoption by acculturated Britons (Hamerow 2012, 21). *Grubenhäuser*, small sunken-featured buildings (3 × 4 m; larger examples date from the seventh century), with a long history on the Continent, became widespread within many parts of the former western Empire, including rural Italy, by the fifth century (Cheyette 2008, 143). In the first half of the fifth century they appear, alongside the farmhouses, widely throughout southern and eastern England. Some of these small buildings were workshops for weaving, while others

may have been used for grain and other storage (Hamerow 1997; 1999; 2012, 53–66; Tipper 2004). It may be noted that the term ‘sunken-floored’ is often applied to these buildings and the bases of some of them do exhibit clear signs of wear. Excavation followed by careful reconstruction at West Stow in Suffolk has shown that some others had raised, boarded floors (West 1985, 113–21; cf. Welch 1992, 21–5). The rubbish which excavators often find in the pit itself appears to relate to subsequent filling during levelling of the site after the final demolition of the building. Hearths have been recognised on the floor of the pit in some places but many of these may relate only to a subsequent re-use of the hollow.⁴²

Climate, the environment and farming practice

The climate

A period of lower temperatures and a wetter climate between the fifth and seventh centuries has now been widely recognised in many areas in western Europe. In the Rhône valley, the late fourth to seventh centuries was a period of torrential rains, erosion, and a rise in the water table, with waterlogged fields. There is similar evidence from Italy, the northern Appenines, Denmark and Germany. Wetter winters and colder summers are also evident from the examination of glacial cores (Burroughs 2007, 252–6; Cheyette 2008, 157–65). The Justinianic plagues and the volcanic dust of 536, with famines perhaps to 541, will have made a big impact but recovery in the eastern Empire suggests their effects were not long-lasting (Cheyette 2008, 155–6).

Continuity or otherwise of farming practice from the Roman period

The nature of the landscape (in particular, the balance between woodland and farmland) and land-use in the Roman, Saxon and early medieval periods have been less explored by palaeo-environmental archaeologists than for prehistory, not least on account of the impact of the almost wholesale depletion of woodland by the Roman period (but see papers in Bell and Limbrey 1982). A particular challenge for these periods is the application of data from land snail evidence to distinguish open grassland, pasture and arable, especially on the chalklands.

Bar-shares from the villa at *Box*, Wiltshire, and a large iron coulter from the one at Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire Cotswolds, both places on the limestone, point to the use of the heavy plough, possibly with a mouldboard, on those late Roman estates (Fowler 2002, 184), though we cannot be certain that the grandiose late Roman buildings themselves (Paper 2) can be taken as a direct reflection of increased local agricultural output resulting from such investment, though it seems quite probable. The recovery by Dr Gabor Thomas of an unworn heavy coulter from a sealed, arguably ‘special’, seventh-century deposit at Lyminge, Kent (a royal

estate), appears to suggest that in some places, at least, such Roman introductions may have persisted after the Roman period – though in this case one should, perhaps, allow for the possibility of a reintroduction from Merovingian Gaul (Banham and Faith 2014, 46–9). Another important Roman improvement was the long-handled scythe, essential for hay production; a fourth-century example has been found at the rural settlement at *Farmoor*, by the Thames in Oxfordshire (Fowler 2002, 171). No early Anglo-Saxon examples of the type have yet been identified. A free-threshing bread wheat (*Triticum aestivo-compactum*) has been recorded in a number of late Roman contexts in Wessex. This form certainly involved less intensive processing, thereby releasing labour for other tasks. Its use continued into the post-Roman period (Spary-Green 1987, 135 Hamerow 2012, 150–1).

Significant, widespread, population decline and a noticeable shift from arable to open/wood-pasture (Old English *feld*)⁴³ from the fifth to seventh centuries, however, appears to be indicated by the substantial reduction in the number of sites identified in extensive archaeological surveys as far apart as South Etruria, Tuscany, the Rhône valley, north-eastern Gaul, the Eifel west of the Rhine and the Paris basin (Cheyette 2008, 131–9).⁴⁴ It is suggested that these and the climatic changes were connected (Cheyette 2008). Intensive arable was also unnecessary: there was now no imperial market for surpluses.⁴⁵

In these circumstances post-Roman farmers in Britain too placed an increasing emphasis on pastoralism.⁴⁶ In the later Roman period animal-bone assemblages already show, nationally, an overall decrease in the dominance of sheep – the selective breeding of sheep for wool is possible – and an increase in cattle and pig, pointing to the exploitation of woodland for grazing and pannage – and for the hunting of deer too (King 1978). The significance of grazing animals, both wild and domesticated, to control tree growth should not be underestimated. In pasture no longer regularly hayed but invaded by woody plants, the lower metabolic needs of smaller animals (as compared with today) would have given them a competitive advantage; woodpasture afforded a ready and important source of animal food (Banham and Faith 2014, 142–4). Bourdillon (1994) has reported that the large sizes of cattle – needed for both traction and meat – and sheep at *Hamwic* indicate the continued maintenance and care of the improved Roman breeds. Post-Roman sheep and cattle were also comparable to their Roman predecessors in the upper and middle Thames valley (Booth *et al.* 2007, 320).⁴⁷

Farming practice in post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon Wessex

The Thames valley

In late Roman times the gravels of the upper valley were liable to seasonal flooding, leading to the abandonment of some arable in favour of pasture. The large scythe from

Farmoor (above), and another that was recovered from a fourth-century well at *Caversham*, near Reading, point to the importance of this environment for hay production. From the fifth century, arable continued on the valley sides, but on a reduced scale, as is clear from the slowed rate of alluviation on the valley floor, the result of a substantial decline of plough-induced erosion of the slopes. Pasturage too, it seems, diminished. There is, however, no indication of any substantial abandonment of land.

Excavations at the Roman villa at *Barton Court Farm, Abingdon*, on the well-drained higher gravel terrace, provided significant information about the latest Roman occupation there, into the fifth century, Germanic influence from the mid-fifth century and the farming regimes. The ‘Anglo-Saxon’ sunken-featured and earth-fast buildings, however, are unlikely to have been built by the original inhabitants, as they ignore the ditched alignments of the Roman enclosures. Furnished ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burials of the mid- to late sixth century cut into the Roman buildings mark the end of the site’s occupation. Flax-growing appears to have continued from the Roman into the Saxon period. A meat diet dominated by beef predominated there in the Roman period, but in early Saxon times the emphasis shifted to mutton, pork, poultry and fish (Miles (ed.), 1986; Hamerow 2012, 12). A notable general change in the Upper Thames Valley was the widespread post-Roman adoption of free-threshing wheat rather than the cultivation of Roman spelt, though it is less clear how quickly the change occurred in the middle of the valley. Pigs and sheep broadly appear to have been more important than in Roman times, and there were more poultry (Booth *et al.* 2007, *passim*, for both this and the last paragraph).

The chalklands

A core taken through the peat fen at *Winnall Moors*, near Winchester in the Itchen valley, showed that between 1000 BC and AD 1000 cereal pollen remains significant at 1–4%, herbs increase and arboreal and shrub pollen are constant at 20–30%. *Cannabis* type (hemp and hops) and *Secale* type (rye)⁴⁸ pollen are also present in the second half of the period. It is likely that more than 50% of the pollen derives from chalkland plants. The overall picture is one of permanently open conditions, with considerable evidence for arable cultivation, together with pasture and areas of woodland – whether scrub or managed copses or even continuous dense woodland at a distance is unknown (Waton 1982; 1986).

The attraction, however, of the higher chalk downland for arable cultivation may have been considerably less in the early Saxon period than in former times. The work of Dr Martin Bell (among others) has drawn attention to the decreasing fertility of downland soils which had been exploited for agriculture over very long periods (discussed in Welch 1985, 21–2). The extent of pasture, here or elsewhere, in the post-Roman period would have been the greater if the

ancient system of farming known as *foggage* had been in operation. Under this regime, which is particularly suited to an economy where manpower is scarce, extra grassland is made available for winter feed. The hay crop on the additional areas is not taken off until the ‘early winter when it received a useful nitrogen boost’ (Banham and Faith 2014, 226).

From and before the Roman period the Chalk will have supported mixed farming on an extensive scale, the dung of the sheep providing the nutrition for the arable (Banham and Faith 2014, 226).⁴⁹ A lack of suitable sites with preserved ancient pollen, however, has always limited our ability to interpret its ancient landscape. Also the nature of the evidence from the study of plant remains varies, inevitably, both in quantity and quality, from site to site and it is difficult to make inter-site comparison which would allow a broad picture to emerge. Even at places where we do have specific information, interpretation may still be difficult. Mineralised preservation at *Shavards Farm, Meonstoke*, has allowed identification of a wide range of plants, including pea. The presence there of significant quantities of barley (information from Frank Green) and in analysed samples at *Chalton* (Green 1991) does not, however, allow the conclusion that that crop was necessarily a major component of the overall economy of those settlements.

Within the hill-fort of *Poundbury*, near Dorchester, Dorset, the numbers of corn-driers indicate the large scale of cereal production in the early post-Roman settlement. Wheat, barley and cultivated oats are represented in the record, with a particular and new emphasis here on *Triticum aestivo-compactum*. The free-threshing form certainly involved less intensive processing, thereby releasing labour for other tasks. The kilns were probably used for drying the grain rather than malting, although it was noted that parallels elsewhere suggest they are likely to have served several functions during their useful life (Monk 1987). Important evidence has also been gained from a ?sixth-century sunken-featured building and ditches at *King’s Somborne* in the Test Valley in Hampshire (Scott 1991). Wheat, barley and oats were important in that order; rye was absent from the samples (Green 1994). At *Cowdery’s Down, near Basingstoke*, the evidence is altogether slight as only the foundation trenches of the buildings were sampled (Green 1983). The evaluation of the plant remains from a valley-bottom site at *Abbots Worthy*, in the Itchen valley north of Winchester, where some deposits may have been at least periodically waterlogged, has indicated a wide range of species, although in many cases it is not possible to say whether they were cultivated or not. The list there includes *Triticum aestivo-compactum*, elderberry, sloe, apple, blackberry/raspberry, pea, hazelnuts, horse bean (possibly for animal fodder), carrot, celery and cabbage/turnip/mustard (Carruthers 1991; see also Paper 6).

In regard to livestock a comparison with the late Roman period at *Poundbury* showed that there was a significant post-Roman increase in the numbers of sheep and their

contribution to the meat diet, although cattle remained dominant and continued to provide meat at the same level as before. There was also a fall in the numbers of fully-grown cattle and sheep, but it was noted that the fragmentary state of the bones limited the data available on the size of the animals. No young horses were identified and it has been suggested (Harcourt 1979) that horses were not bred but that animals were selected and trained following a round-up, which would imply land available for wild horses to run free, although not necessarily in the immediate area. An extension of woodland in late Roman times is suggested both by increases in red and roe deer and in the continued importance of fully matured pig in the economy (Buckland-Wright 1987, 129–32).

The upper Kennet valley

In the Roman period, in the uppermost reaches of the Kennet valley, 300 m north-east of Silbury Hill, a dry, open floodplain by the Winterbourne was possibly pasture, and there was an emphasis on spelt wheat in the local arable (Powell *et al.* 1996, 48–55, 83–4; for the attraction and importance of river valleys for good pasture, Banham and Faith 2014, 143).

The extent of woodland

The extent of woodland in the Roman period and later has not been well researched by palaeo-environmental archaeologists (see also above). On the chalklands, in particular, woodland is probably often under-represented, as environmental evidence (provided by snails and soils) relates to highly localised environs. Elsewhere, where pollen spectra survive, the presence of woodland in the area is often acknowledged, but its extent and management not fully explored (but see Rackham 1994).

Place-names too provide important evidence of early woodland, which played a crucial role in animal husbandry. Berkshire owes its name to that of the wood of *Barroc*. Its exact location is uncertain but it has been suggested that it stretched from Enborne to Hungerford, its heart on the clays in the region of Kintbury (Hooke 1988, 150, following Peake 1937). Romano-British pottery kilns at Kintbury and Hamstead Marshall, as those at Savernake and in the New Forest, point to woodland at that time (Swan 1984, 6–8). It seems likely, therefore, that Savernake (Forest) and that of *Barroc* were almost continuous. Extensive woodland cover in south-west Berkshire in the early Anglo-Saxon period would probably have discouraged newcomers to the area, and indeed few sites of the pagan period are known there. Furthermore, study of the place-names has pointed to a marked survival of Brittonic names, which include that of *Barroc* itself, in that part of the county (Gelling 1976, 801–5). It may be noted that Savernake too is a pre-English name (Gover *et al.* 1939, 15; Jackson 1953, 294). In regard to forest names, it is also pertinent

to draw attention to Chute and Melchet, also of Brittonic derivation, which occur on the border between Hampshire and Wiltshire (Gelling 1984, 190; Coates 1989, 115). The retention of these British names gives some indication of the great extent of the woodland; the names of these major features of the landscape were known to communities over a wide area, just as those of rivers, and they were for this reason less subject to change. Selwood, an English name, along the Wiltshire and Somerset border, was so extensive that it was named and recognised as the eastern boundary of the new diocese of Sherborne at the beginning of the eighth century (Paper 1).

Ancient DNA (aDNA) and modern DNA

The genetic study of ancient populations is the subject of major, ongoing, research programmes, which have not, so far, produced a consensus as to the scale of Anglo-Saxon immigration into England in the fifth and sixth centuries. These programmes operate on two fronts: the (often difficult) extraction of DNA from ancient human skeletons (Hedges 2011, 84–5), and backward projection from the genetic make-up of modern populations, through study of both their mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), inherited by the child from the mother, and their Y-chromosomes, passed from father to son (Hills 2003, 57–71; Hedges 2011, 85–8). Hedges (*ibid.*, 80) notes that these methods, and also oxygen and strontium analyses of human bone (see below), ‘owe their current interest to their potential rather than their achievements so far’. One study of aDNA, by Töpf *et al.* (2006), found no statistical difference between the mtDNA in individuals from a fourth-century Romano-British cemetery and others from early Anglo-Saxon burial sites.

Studies by Weale *et al.* (2002) and Capelli *et al.* (2003) based on modern Y-chromosome variation, posit a fifth/sixth-century north-west European Continental immigrant contribution to the modern English gene pool of 50–100%. Modern males in the English Midlands are genetically indistinguishable from those in the northern Netherlands.

Sykes (2006, 286–7), however, considers that only 10% of males in southern England and 20% in East Anglia have Saxon or Danish ancestry: ‘The roughly twofold excess of Saxon/Danish Y-chromosomes compared to their maternal counterparts hint at a partially male-driven settlement with some elimination or displacement of the indigenous males’ and that ‘[O]verall, the genetic structure of the Isles is stubbornly Celtic’.

The model of an apartheid-like society, which limited intermarriage between indigenous Britons and an initially small Anglo-Saxon immigrant population, is used by Thomas *et al.* (2006) to explain the figures reached by Weale and Capelli. Even small numbers of dominant male incomers could have ‘outbred’ the native Britons by intermarriage – females remained predominantly British – and could, over

five generations, have increased their share of the overall gene pool from less than 10% to more than 50% (cf. Pattison (2008), who questions the need to argue for any prolonged separation of the populations, and see Thomas *et al.* 2008 in reply).⁵⁰

The suggestion of such a long divided society is one which requires some modifications. Although, as they state, it is true that the Laws of Ine of Wessex indicate a division between Saxons and legally, and thereby economically, disadvantaged Britons, it is argued here (see above) that large numbers of Britons became culturally, and many males militarily, and more importantly, all of these linguistically, assimilated with the dominant Saxons after two or so generations. Those who did not so assimilate remained second-class ‘Britons’, but we have no idea as to their numbers or their proportion of the population. Assimilation on a large scale also appears to be implied by the furnished ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cemeteries which become so widespread from the last quarter of the fifth century. An important implication of these burial grounds is surely the local presence of a sufficient number of immigrant, but dominant, Germanic people who could bring about such changes so quickly over such large areas. That is not to say that considerable numbers of Brittonic-speaking people and communities also continued in some places, as Coates has suggested may have been the case in north-west Wiltshire.

A further study (Leslie *et al.* 2015; see also Stuckert 2017, 259–60) suggests that the genetic contribution of Anglo-Saxon migrants into central and southern England was most likely around 10%. It is pointed out that it is not possible to ‘distinguish between movements of reasonable numbers of people over a short time or on-going movements of smaller numbers over longer periods’.

Hills (2009), noting the wide range of results from these studies, and the possible impact of other historically recorded population movements on the Continent, writes that it is ‘difficult to know how far we can or should go in connecting ancient and modern named peoples.’⁵¹

Oxygen and strontium analyses of human tooth enamel⁵²

Analysis of oxygen and strontium isotopic ratios in tooth enamel, reflective of a child’s intake of food and drink (diet), can distinguish between local and non-local signatures. Origin or provenance can only be assumed by larger-scale comparisons with published strontium and oxygen data that may bear resemblance to the values recorded for the individuals under study (the same techniques can also be applied to animals). The oxygen isotope is indicative of meteoric water and climate, and is particularly helpful in the identification of long-distance migrants. The strontium isotope relates to geology but any assessment is dependent upon currently available geological data. Likewise, the

interpretation of oxygen values relies upon the availability of mapped distributions of oxygen (the British Geological Survey has a useful map for Britain and continental Europe). Individuals can be suggested to have come from abroad – and many localities abroad may share the same geological signature – only if there is no ‘best match’ somewhere in Britain. Where applied to skeletons of late Roman, post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon date in Britain, this technique has provided data about the make-up and origins of local populations.

The high oxygen and strontium levels of four mid-fourth-century individuals at the Andover Road (Eagle Hotel) site at Winchester (Booth *et al.* 2012, 350–1) suggest a childhood spent in western Mediterranean or in North African coastal areas (Budd *et al.* 2004, 134). In a seminal study of late Roman burials at the *Lankhills* cemetery at Winchester, Dr Giles Clarke (1979) identified a group of 16 graves with exotic funerary rites which, he argued, found their closest parallels in Pannonia. Subsequent strontium and oxygen isotope assessment has underlined the complexities which lie behind the relationship between the burial rites and the places where the individuals in those graves, and in others excavated later (Booth *et al.* 2012), spent their childhood. Thus one adult male with a local rite may have hailed from central Europe; six locals had previously been considered ‘Pannonians’; and of the ten with origins in the warmer or more coastal climates of southern Europe or North Africa, five had been classified as from the Winchester area (though some registered signatures which are close to the upper limit for Britain), a sixth as from Pannonia, and two of the three with very warm signatures as local and the third as possibly from Pannonia (though note that the very warm signatures are considered less reliable because of little-understood breast-feeding effects). The tests from 34% of the 58 individuals indicated possible and probable long-distance immigrants. Some others had come from other parts of Britain. Some of the individuals, including women and children, were of high status. The results support fluid, constructed identities, especially in an urban context. ‘It appears that in many cases burial practice was dictated by factors other than ‘ethnicity’ or place of origin; rather, it reveals the presence of second-generation immigrants [all six non-adults appear to have been born locally] and perhaps the impact of kinship groups, intermarriage, assimilation or cultural and political preferences’ (Eckardt *et al.* 2010, 120).

Thirteen males were accompanied by crossbow brooches and all but one of them also with fittings from the *cingulum*, both signs of a role in the military or the civil service, and the former of authority too. A further eight were associated with just the belt-fittings. More than 40% of these crossbow brooches may have been made in Britain. Four of the five individuals in this group examined by isotopic analysis were from southern or central Europe; two of them had international crossbows and two hybrids, which may have

been made in Britain. Another male with a British Type IB buckle (Grave 1175: skeleton no. 1119: for the buckle see also Paper 2) was most probably from central Europe (Evans *et al.* 2006; Eckardt *et al.* 2009: see also Booth *et al.* 2010, 421–8; Eckardt *et al.* 2010). It has also been noted that crossbow brooches could have had a long life and that some were damaged when placed in the graves (Cool 2010a, 40–1).

Fourteen accompanied and five unaccompanied individuals from graves datable between *c.* 450 and *c.* 550 at Wally Corner, Berinsfield, Oxfordshire, were tested in this way (Boyle *et al.* 1995; Hughes *et al.* 2014). The 114 inhumations recovered there are estimated to represent one-half to two-thirds of the cemetery, which was in use from the early to mid-fifth until the early seventh century, and which would, traditionally, be regarded as Anglo-Saxon. The analyses showed that one male (Grave 6, dated to the last quarter of the fifth century), aged 25–34 and buried north–south, with a shield and knife, may have been a Continental immigrant; an adult female (Grave 42, of the same date), oriented north-east to south-west, with saucer brooches and a knife, was from the chalklands or from limestone country; and a young adult (Grave 81), north–south, with no grave goods, arguably from the north-east of England. All of the others analysed were local, 12 of the 15 being accompanied by weapons or brooches, perhaps suggestive of acculturated Britons.

In Yorkshire, similar analyses at the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery at West Heslerton on the southern edge of the Vale of Pickering showed that a significant proportion of the population was of ‘non-local’ origin, though it was not possible to distinguish an origin west of the Pennines – which at this date would imply that they were Britons – from one in Scandinavia. Many of these incomers were buried with ‘Anglo-Saxon’ grave goods (Budd *et al.* 2004; Montgomery *et al.* 2005).

Clearly, if this method is to reveal an immigrant, whether from the Continent or from another part of Britain, it must be applied to a first generation arrival. The great majority of individuals of the fifth and sixth centuries tested in this way indicate a childhood in Britain. This need occasion no surprise, given the overall paucity of graves datable to the fifth century in many areas and the wide diversity of origins of females within the furnished, ‘Anglo-Saxon’, cemeteries, as apparently indicated by the range of brooch types in their graves, seemingly pointing to considerable population movement within lowland England in this period. Indeed, even some of those buried with Anglo-Saxon brooches can now be shown, through such analyses, to have been immigrants from western areas, indubitably under the control of the independent Britons. Larger quantities of data, particularly with reference to comparisons between individuals buried in Romano-British and those in early post-Roman cemeteries, will further advance our understanding of these important issues.

The population of Winchester and the area around

A detailed study of a very large body of skeletal evidence has provided a unique insight into the population of Winchester for the period between *c.* 250 and *c.* 1540 – although there is a lacuna in the burial sequence there from *c.* 450 to *c.* 670 – and of early Anglo-Saxon communities in the area around (Stuckert 2017). The data, however, was for the most part gathered in the 1970s and therefore excludes genetic and isotopic analyses (though see above). In spite of these recognised shortcomings it has been possible to show a notable degree of population continuity between the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods. Dental pathology indicates that ‘[I]n the Early Anglo-Saxon period the dispersed, farm-based populations essentially returned to an Iron Age dietary pattern’. There is, however, also evidence which suggests a ‘limited, primarily male, immigration’, as seen through differences in stature and in the cranial index, in the mid-fifth and sixth centuries, with a further, more marked difference from the later seventh century. Stuckert notes that ‘the suggestion that ... immigrant Germanic groups ... may have represented 10 to 20% of the native population [Härke 2011, 19] is not unreasonable’, though less in the fifth and sixth centuries. The seventh-century and later figure could be accounted for by continuing reproductive advantages of the dominant incomers (see above and Härke 2011, 15–16).

The early Anglo-Saxons and their inherited landscape

Another, significant, aspect of these ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cemeteries, which are, as has been noted, with very few exceptions in new locations, is their frequent focus upon prehistoric barrows and other prominent ancient sites. The same phenomenon is widely known on the Continent, including northern Germany (Thäte 1996; Semple 2013, 14). Furthermore, Anglo-Saxon style accompanied inhumations are often found inserted into the barrows themselves. Although intrusive interments are also known in the Romano-British period, they are exceptional and may have been associated with cults of the dead (Williams 1998a, 76). It has been argued that the incoming Saxons deliberately chose to bury their deceased in this way as one of the means by which they could emphasise their newly acquired authority and claims to land through links with a mythical past. The practice, arguably, would then have been adopted by those of the native population who had become identified with the new culture (Bradley 1987; Lucy 1992; Williams 1997; 1998b). ‘[T]he recycling of prehistoric and Roman monuments for burial ... can [also] be interpreted as expressions of emergent and competing, regional and local community identities’ (Semple 2013, 58–9). At *Barrow Hills, Radley*, however, the fifth- to seventh-century occupants of the settlement showed ‘not

so much monument reuse as monument abuse', suggesting 'no very great reverence for the ancient dead' (Chambers and McAdam 2007, 303: see also Paper 2).⁵³ Barrows might also be reused for high status burials in the seventh century, but others were newly constructed at that time and might be beside Roman roads, a location and association which were clearly of significance to those of the elite who were so interred (Papers 3 and 6).

Notes

- 1 The term 'Anglo-Saxons' appears in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (788–796) and in *Asser's Life of King Alfred* of c. 893 (Pohl 1997, 22–3).
- 2 In mss B and C the names are given as Conmægl and Farinmægl, 'mægl' being probably an anglicised form. The form Cunmail rather than Coinmail (mss A and E) might also be expected if the Chronicle's source was in Primitive Welsh (Sims-Williams 1990b, 245 with n. 104; for this entry see also Sims-Williams 1983, 33–4; Charles-Edwards 2013, 381, n. 2).
- 3 Perhaps Ambrosius Aurelianus really was almost the last of the post-Roman British leaders to bear a Roman name.
- 4 The success of the revolt may also have been made possible, as Charles-Edwards (2013, 55) notes, because the Saxons quickly gained control of the *civitas* of the Iceni, where there is the densest occurrence of fifth-century Germanic cremation cemeteries. That *civitas* might even have been officially ceded to them by the Britons (Gildas (Winterbottom 1978), c. 25.2: 'recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones'); cf. Aetius's cessions on the Continent (Paper 2). Scull (1995) has suggested that the immigrants may have benefited from their better organization for violence at kin level.
- 5 It may be noted that even 'Franks' and others from Romanised northern Gaul failed to assist the Britons in the maintenance of a Roman way of life – though this had been severely disrupted in the Lowland Zone by the Saxon revolt of the early 440s. It is possible, however, that they may, arguably, have influenced the development of the furnished inhumation burial rite in Britain (for which, see below). For the wide Continental backgrounds of the immigrants, see Paper 2.
- 6 There is no evidence for any 'Jutish' migration directly to Britain (Paper 8), but warriors could have reached here from along the whole eastern littoral of the North Sea.
- 7 I am grateful to Dr Egge Knol for discussion about flooding in the North Sea coastlands and for supplying me with copies of the cited papers.
- 8 Eg. the Romans appear to have used the term 'Saxons' to describe any and all barbarian raiders from round the North Sea.
- 9 Barbarian ethnogenesis has been the subject of intense scrutiny since the publication of *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* by Reinhard Wenskus (Cologne, 1961). Goetz (2003) notes, however, that 'contemporary authors ... did not [his italics] perceive such a process'.
- 10 The Merovingian dynasty claimed descent from both the Trojans and a mythical sea creature (Wood 1994, 37). The extent to which ancient traditions of the barbarian peoples and their tribal names might be preserved by their leaders (the theory of Traditionskern) is a contested issue, not least on account of the demonstrable forming and reforming of these groups (but see eg. Pohl 2002: Pohl is a leading member of the 'Vienna school' of thinking about ethnogenesis and ethnicity). It is also necessary to keep in mind that such information as we have is seen through Roman, not barbarian, eyes. Lucy (2005, 99) on the significance of written myths.
- 11 Pohl (1998) addresses the distinctions between gentes uniquely described by Isidore (Lindsay 1911) in the seventh century: 'Language' (for this see further below), 'Arms and ways of fighting', 'Costume' and 'Hairstyles and body signs' in turn, demonstrating that 'it does not seem advisable to take [any of these] for granted as objective signs of stable ethnic identities in the early Middle Ages', though any of them might be emphasised by a particular group at a particular time if it suited their purposes. For an example of the long persistence of identity in a greatly changed world, Procopius, *Wars*, Dewing and Downey 1914–40) vol. V, xii, 18–19: 'even at the present day (AD 539) soldiers in Roman uniform, of recognisably Roman legions and with Roman battle standards, were protecting Gaul (arguably once the army of Syagrius, which had become the core of that of Clovis, and to which that king owed much of his success: Halsall 2001, 129–30). On the other hand, the distinctiveness of the Avar envoys at Byzantium in 558 by their long, braided hair, which then came to be used in a derogatory way of the Avar people as a whole, and at that time was apparently of little significance to the Avars themselves, from the early seventh century – a time of crisis for the Avars – was 're-invented' and 'used as badge of honour', as is evident from the elaborate hair-clips found in the graves of their warrior elite (Curta 2007, 181–2). Esmonde Cleary (2013a, 378) notes that Isidore appears to be very unsure as to which type of axe the *francisca* really was, although he links it to the Franks.
- 12 Even in the late third or early fourth century one Roman soldier wished to retain his Frankish identity (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), III, 3576, an inscription from Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior: FRANCVS EGO CIVES ROMANUS MILES IN ARMIS EGREGIA VIRTUTE TVLI BELLO MEA DEXTERA SEM[P]ER). Individuals, as throughout history, could hold more than one ethnicity at any one time and use it to their own advantage (Halsall 1999, 140).
- 13 It has been suggested that the development and wide spread of intricate and symbolically esoteric Germanic animal art forms from c. 475 (Style I) came about as a means of shared self-expression and communication among the mobile warrior elites of northern Europe (eg. Hedeager 1993, 123).
- 14 *Pactus Legis Salicae* (Eckhardt 1962), 41, 9–10, at p. 157) and Rivers 1986, 87; Charles-Edwards 2004a, 13–14; 2013, 230.
- 15 Susan Youngs drew my attention to these provisions in *The Code of Euric* and the *Laws of the Lombards*.
- 16 The *Pactus Legis Salicae* is 'most unlikely to be later than the reign of Clovis, who died in 511' (Charles-Edwards 2013, 230). The *Lex Ribuaria* probably originated in the reign of Dagobert I (629–639) and was specific to the increasingly significant Franks on the right bank of the Rhine, who at that time were subject to the Salian Franks (Rivers 1986, 8; Wood 1994, 115–7).

- 17 Beyerle and Buchner 1954, 112, *De tabulariis: Si ecclesiasticus, Romanus vel regius homo ingenuum Ribuariam acciperit, aut si Romana vel regia seu tabularia ingenuum Ribuarium in matrimonium acciperit, generatio eorum semper ad inferior declinentur*.
- 18 Liutprand reigned from 712 to 744.
- 19 Barnwell (2000) makes the interesting suggestion that even the *wergild*, that apparently most Germanic of customs, might owe its origin to a system of tariffs in provincial ('vulgarised', or customary), largely unwritten, Roman law.
- 20 Old English place-names such as Walton may refer to separate British settlements.
- 21 Jackson (1953, 249) and Wollmann (1993) argued that there is doubt about the extent to which, if at all, Latin borrowings into 'Old English' occurred after the Anglo-Saxons had arrived in Britain. This may have been underestimated. The Late Latin word **funta*, 'a spring marked by Roman constructions', peculiar to Britain, was, however, adopted into Old English; *ceaster* is another probable example (Jackson 1953, 255; but see also Paper 1). See also Woolf 2003, 377, and Schrijver 2014, 204, n, 17.
- 22 Charles-Edwards (1972; 2009, 116–8; 2013, 55) has argued that the Saxon settlement may have involved the widespread redistribution of land to meet the expectations of immigrants. Such a re-ordering of the landscape could help to explain the rarity of continuity of settlement sites from the Roman period – and also the flight of Romano-British landowners (fn. 23).
- 23 Schrijver 2002. Schrijver argues that this is evident from the subsequent substantial Latinisation of the phonetics and syntax, but not the lexicon, of Western (or Highland) Brittonic (ie. the language ancestral to Welsh, Cornish and Breton), which can most easily be accounted for by the flight of large numbers – including priests (and many other Christians?) – of impoverished lowland 'city folk and landed gentry' Latin speakers to the west of Britain (though see also Laker and Russell 2011 for the possibility that this Latin influence extended over a longer period). Speaking Brittonic with a Latin accent now became socially desirable in the west. The British rural poor who stayed behind were 'enslaved' (Gildas, *De Excidio*, 25.1), but continued to work the land (but see below for the possibility, for some Britons at least, of their relatively rapid adoption into Anglo-Saxon society; Faull (1975) notes that the term *wealh* was used for a British slave in the Laws of Ine, but may not have had that pejorative sense much earlier). 'Old English is the product of contact between the Germanic dialects of Anglo-Saxon immigrants and a British Celtic sound system, which means that without British Celtic Old English would not have existed' (Schrijver 2014, 200). See also Russell 2011 for the influence of Latin on Brittonic in late Roman Britain and Charles-Edwards 2013, 76–89, for the development of the British language, and the influence of Latin upon it, after 400. Parsons (2011, 131), however, also points out that 'it remains hard to point to any instances where transmission [of place-names] through Latin *must* be assumed'. Gelling (1993, 51) argued that the scale of the adoption of the English language could have come about only as a result of the local presence of significant numbers of immigrant peasant farmers, a view with which Richard Coates (pers. comm.) would concur.
- 24 Coates (2007, 189–91), however, is not as persuaded as Schrijver of the phonetic influence of Brittonic on Old English.
- 25 Cf. Schrijver 2014, 33: 'At the very least, Latin-Celtic bilingualism must have been widespread in the Lowland Zone': see also the comments by Laker and Russell 2011. For reading and writing: Harris 1989, reluctance to accept less than 80% total illiteracy at any time in the ancient world; Eckardt 2014, 204: '[In Britain] reading and writing Latin were perhaps never very widespread skills'. Tomlin 2011, 144, for the significance of the Roman road network for the spread of literacy in Roman Britain and, p. 149, for the numbers of *styli* which reached villas and other rural sites; Petts (2011, 52) for *styli* from elite secular post-Roman contexts at Dinas Powys and Cadbury-Congresbury.
- 26 It is arguable how many of them would have been equally fluent in both languages (cf. Jones 1964, 993–5).
- 27 eg. Charles-Edwards 1995, 704, 717; Woolf 2003, 370–1 and Schrijver 2014, 34–48 on the evidence from inscriptions.
- 28 News of Martin's monasticism may have been brought to Britain from Gaul by Victricius of Rouen, a keen supporter of Martin, on a visit before 396 (Wood 2004b, 432). Gildas's *De Excidio* seems to indicate that monasticism was only in its early stages, but it is more evident in his later writings (Lambert 2010, 81; but Sharpe 2002, 98–102, emphasises the ongoing importance of monasticism in Britain from the fifth century). Gildas traditionally trained at the renowned monastic school of St Illtud at Llantwit Major in Irish *Demetia* (Winterbottom 1978, note to *De Excidio*, 36.1, p.153; Wood 2000, 511, with reference to *Vita Sancti Samsonis* (Flobert 1997, VII.20).
- 29 The main source for Patrick's life is his own *Confessio* (Hood 1978). At the age of 16 Patrick had been taken to Ireland by slavers from his parents' home at *Bannavem Taberniae* (its location is unknown) and had subsequently played a key role in the island's conversion. Charles-Edwards 2009, 107: 'it seems very probable that Patrick's life lay entirely within the fifth century, and that his activity in Ireland lay in the middle or second half of that century'. Wood 1984, 6, n. 40: 'it is difficult to place the reference to the Franks in the *Epistola [ad Coroticum]* (Hood 1978), 14, before Childeric's campaigns in the 460s'. There is a hint that the Romans may not finally have recognised that Britain lay outside their influence until the mid-sixth century. Procopius (Dewing and Downey 1914–40, *Wars*, 2, 6. 27–9) describes a meeting with the Gothic king Vitigis in 537 in which Belisarius offers Britain in exchange for Sicily (discussed by Birley, 2005, 464).
- 30 See several papers in Jones and Semple 2012.
- 31 For the apparent survival of British speech in the marshlands around Crowland in south Lincolnshire in the early eighth century, Felix, *The Life of Saint Guthlac* (revised, ed. and trans. M. Swanton in *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, London, 1979), 6.
- 32 See also Parsons 2011 for the significant survival of Brittonic in southern England: on p. 129 he draws attention to the unique clause in the charter Sawyer 1968, no. 237, of 682, *Britannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh* (Creechbarrow Hill, near Taunton). The only area in England where there is widespread survival of Brittonic place-names is Cornwall, explained, reasonably, by Padel (2007) by its late and exceptional takeover by an Anglo-Saxon elite.

- 33 Bede *HE* i. 1 and iii. 6, for some of the clearest evidence linking language and national identity.
- 34 Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* itself also played a significant role in the creation of an English identity – as opposed to the Continental 'Saxons' (Wormald 1983; Brooks 1999; though note also Charles-Edwards 1995, 733: 'the surprising fact that [the Laws of Ine] use Englisc not Seaxe whenever the context involves a contrast with the Britons.' The ongoing antagonism, however, between the Britons and the Saxons, already expressed by Gildas, was emphasised further by Bede, who condemned the Britons' failure to convert the Saxons to Christianity – he had to explain why God had allowed his pagan ancestors to defeat the Christian Britons.
- 35 The age of 10 years marked the age of inheritance and criminal responsibility, but 7/8 years was the threshold for the sons of the nobility to begin their training with weapons and 14/15 for their entry to adulthood (Härke 1997, 126, with reference to the later seventh-century Laws of Hlothere and Eadric of Kent and Ine of Wessex for the first threshold).
- 36 These figures are only averages across his whole sample, with variations between 11% and 90% (Härke 1989, 49). It should also be noted that an unknown proportion of the great majority of these burial sites has been excavated. At Blacknall Field, Wiltshire, argued to have been in a frontier location between the Saxons and the Britons, and a place where it is considered that most of the graves were recovered, the proportion is 65% to 35% (Annable and Eagles 2010).
- 37 Cf. Ward-Perkins (2005, 123–37), who argues, at p. 128, 'that there must have been a close connection between the unravelling of the Roman empire and the disintegration of the ancient economy' and that 'The evidence available very strongly suggests that political and military difficulties destroyed regional economies, irrespective of whether they were flourishing or already in decline'.
- 38 The site number in the 'The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource' database (M. Allen, N. Blick, T. Brindle, T. Evans, M. Fulford, N. Holbrook, Julian D. Richards, A. Smith, 2015: <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/query.cfm>
- 39 The very extensive settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire, appears to be an exception in its early planned layout, but little of it has yet been published (discussed by Hamerow, 2012, 15–16, 69 and 123). Wickham (2005, 545) has related the general lack of differentiation in housing in the fifth and sixth centuries to the relative weakness of the elite; even in the furnished cemeteries (such as Blacknall Field, Pewsey, Wiltshire), the status of the kin appears to be largely evident only through the occasional possession of swords and gilded jewellery. The ownership of cattle could also have been an important indicator of wealth (Banham and Faith 2014, 86–7).
- 40 The original meaning of 'hide' may have been the nuclear family itself. Charles-Edwards (1972; 2009, 116–8; 2013, 55) has argued that the Saxon settlement may have involved the widespread redistribution of land to meet the expectations of immigrants. Such a re-ordering of the landscape could help to explain the rarity of continuity of settlement sites from the Roman period. Barnwell (1996) has suggested that the hide may have a Roman origin. The 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries too – in Wessex they generally appear to have catered for only a few households – were almost without exception in new locations. It looks as if these were new communities under new leadership.
- 41 One example, at Eye in Suffolk, has now been discovered in England (Hamerow 2012, 19, n.5). The 'farmhouses' should be distinguished from the much larger and grander 'halls', which first appear around the end of the sixth century.
- 42 Hamerow 2012, 62, n. 58, that some artefacts found in these buildings may have been placed there ritually, as an act of 'closure' on the building's disuse. Leeds, when he pioneered the study of this type of building, first recognised from his excavations at Sutton Courtenay, considered them to be dwellings, and perhaps this interpretation should not be *wholly* dismissed, in that perhaps some of them might have been occupied by the lowest rungs of society. Social developments from the late sixth century necessitated large buildings – previously, social differentiation had been *within* households.
- 43 The significance of *feld* is considered further in Paper 12.
- 44 Cheyette (2008, 149) notes that even the apparent continuity of centuriation in the plain of Orange in southern Gaul actually masks periods of pastoralism.
- 45 'One important aspect of the post-Roman period could well have been that once the pressure to produce grain for the army [the towns] and for export (see p. 38) was gone there was a period of 'abatement' in much of the countryside. 'Abatement' describes a situation in which, when a demand to produce a surplus, or a particular type of food, has stopped, people invest less energy than formerly in producing food' (Banham and Faith 2014, 141).
- 46 Cheyette 2008, 144: '[from the fifth century there was] a decrease in arable, a reversion of ploughed lands to pasture for cows, sheep and goats, or, often enough, to forest for pigs, as mixed agriculture turned increasingly to stock-raising. Here again, the evidence points to fewer mouths to be fed, fewer stomachs to be filled, and both as cause and as consequence, fewer hands working the soil'.
- 47 With reference to the 46 animal bone assemblages from settlement sites of the fifth to seventh centuries in a transect which stretched from East Anglia to Cornwall, but excluded Berkshire, Surrey, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, 48% were of cattle, sheep/goat 36% and pig 16% (Rippon et al. 2014, fig. 2, p. 208, and p. 218, n. 78).
- 48 One widespread result of the climate change was the increase in use of rye, more adaptable to the new conditions (Cheyette 2008, 158–65; Hamerow 2012, 149, for its lesser cultivation in Britain).
- 49 British woollen cloaks and rugs were famous throughout the Roman Empire (Frere 1987, 272).
- 50 The authors are aware that Continental arrivals at that time cannot be differentiated genetically from the Danish Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries. Hedges 2011, 87: 'At present ... the available evidence can be used to support a hypothesis of substantial Anglo-Saxon immigration, or to support numerous alternative and rather less well formulated immigrations, from prehistoric to post-Conquest times'. The data point to 'large-scale movement from the Continent' overall.

- 51 Hedges (2011, 84) notes: 'Even for modern populations with full availability of genetic information, genetic distinctions between different populations are patchy at best.' And see also Hedges 2011, 86.
- 52 I am grateful to Professor Holger Schutkowski, my colleague at Bournemouth University, for his very helpful comments on this section.
- 53 Might this have been due to land pressure in this area?

The boundaries of the Roman *civitates* of central southern Britain: some possibilities¹

Introduction

This paper seeks to address the difficult issue of the definition of the limits of the Roman *civitates* south and south-west of the River Thames (Fig. 4). It is argued that Brittonic and Old English place-names and the boundaries of early Anglo-Saxon ‘small shires’ in Hampshire, together with archaeological evidence from the Roman period, do, however, allow us to gain some more precise indication, if still only partial, of the extents of these administrative units (Figure 4, cf. Rivet 1964, fig. 9; for a suggested allocation of individual Romano-British sites to *civitates*, Union Académique Internationale 1983). In some places in Gaul the *civitas* boundaries are marked by surviving boundary stones, and knowledge of their definition may also benefit from the known limits of the post-Roman dioceses, which often had direct links to their Roman predecessors (see below). In Britain, by contrast, boundary markers have not survived and the dioceses only came into being in the seventh century and later. There is, however, a general resemblance in the extents of a number of the Roman *civitates* here and the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Only passing reference is made to the patterns of distribution of the latest Iron Age coinage in Britain. Although these coins have traditionally been used in support of arguments for the bounds of the Roman *civitates*, a recent re-evaluation emphasises the complexities of their production and circulation, best considered in relation to the ebb-and-flow of the power and influence of individual rulers, with implications for the acceptability of their coinage (and therefore its loss or hoarding) outside their own territories. For the present, at least, it appears to be impossible to relate them to the ‘tribal’ names assigned to the *civitates* by Ptolemy in the second century AD. We may also note that Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*, 5.20, 5.21), in the mid-first century BC, provides the names of six tribes in the south-east. Of these the Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi and the Segontiaci (for the latter name, Rivet and Smith

1981, 453–4) are not subsequently recorded. Only the Trinobantes and perhaps the Iceni – if they were Caesar’s Cenimagni – reappear under the Romans. Such mismatches, together with the evidence from the coinage itself, appear to emphasise the great fluidity in the political and military situation at the time of the Roman conquest in AD 43, an instability which the Romans doubtless used to their own advantage (Leins 2012, whose analysis includes the large numbers of Iron Age coin finds in the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database: see also Rivet 1977, 161–7). We should note, for example, that the later Iron Age ‘South-Western’ coinage – to which the name of the ‘Durotriges’ has also been applied (Leins 2012, 147–53, figs 4.66 and 4.67) – spreads eastwards as far as the Salisbury Avon and the southern parts of Salisbury Plain for some time prior to the Roman conquest, a pattern complemented by settlements associated with multiple ditch systems and by pottery styles. These distinctive settlement forms, mostly concentrated on Grovely Ridge west of Salisbury, appear to be a very late Iron Age Durotrigan expansion into the Salisbury area (Corney 1989). Other evidence, however, discussed below, suggests that their Roman boundary was well to the west, partly coincident with the Dorset county limit. The fact that these coins continued to be used after the Roman conquest adds to the difficulties in interpreting their distribution (the late Dr Paul Robinson, pers. comm.).

For the purposes of civil administration, the western Roman provinces were subdivided into self-governing *civitates*,² run by an *ordo*, or council, whose members (*curiales/decuriones*), hereditary from the third century, belonged to the wealthier elite of their particular canton. The main, crucial, function of the council was that of tax collection on behalf of the imperial government. In the later empire the *curiales*, especially those of more modest means, were finding their obligations increasingly irksome and there was constant imperial legislation to keep them in post (Jones 1964, 724–5, 737–63; for the

significance of local affairs, Brown 2012, 20, 64, 358, 378, 490). For Britain we know little of these men. We can, in most cases, identify the capitals of the *civitates*.³ The Dumnonii occupied the western part of Somerset and Devon and the Cornovii were in Cornwall (Rivet and Smith 1979, 325, the latter probably being a sub-group within the *civitas Dumnoniorum*). This *civitas* was centred upon Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*. Eastern Somerset and Dorset belonged to the Durotriges. In the later Roman period their *civitas* appears to have been subdivided. Its southern part continued to be focused upon Dorchester, Dorset, *Durnovaria* (although this name never appears with the suffix *Durotrigum*, its large size, comparable to that of other *civitas* capitals, and its walled defences indicate that this was almost certainly its role: Frere 1987, 194). In the north, *Lindinis*, probably Ilchester, Somerset, appears to have served as the capital, for inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall refer to the *Durotriges Lendinienses* (Stevens 1952; Hassall 2010; see also Fulford 2006: other *civitates* are also thought to have been subdivided, Rivet 1964, *passim*; Frere 1987, 194; but cf. Bogaers 1967, 233 and Leach 1994, 5). To the Durotriges' north-east lay the *civitas Dobunnorum*, based upon Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*) in Gloucestershire. The *civitas Belgarum* was administered from Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) in Hampshire, with the *civitas Regnorum*,⁴ its capital at Chichester (*Noviomagus* – 'the new market' – *Regnorum*), Sussex, to the south-east. Finally, the *civitas Atrebatum* was centred upon Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), now on the county boundary separating Hampshire from Berkshire, and bordered on the east by the *civitas Cantiacorum*, with its capital at Canterbury (*Durovernum Cantiacorum*), Kent.

The *civitates* were themselves divided into *pagi*, about which little is known. *Durocornovium*, the Roman name of a settlement on Ermine Street and beside the Dorcan stream (a Brittonic name, that appears in charters as Dorcyn, Dorcan, or Dorteinebrok (*VCH, Wiltshire*, I, ii (1973), 482), a minor tributary of the Cole, which rises at Chiseldon, near Wanborough in north-east Wiltshire, however, appears to mean the 'fort of the Cornovii', who perhaps occupied one of these lesser territories, within, as argued below, the *civitas Dobunnorum* (Rivet and Smith 1979, 350; Gelling 1997, 48; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 160–4). The early Anglo-Saxon *regio* of the 'Andovers' (*Andeferas*) may also be of some relevance in a discussion of the *pagi*. The antiquity of this land unit is hinted at by the British place- and river names, and the means of their transfer to the English, at its core. Professor Richard Coates has noted that the Brittonic name 'Andover' 'appears to be a plural form in OE, representing a form like Brit[ish (pre-Roman or Roman-period Celtic)] **Onnodubrī* or Pr[imitive] W[elsh (c. 400–800)] **Ondiβr* 'ash streams', with reference to the River Anton and an un-named tributary, but perhaps to the area itself too. 'Translation

at the grammatical level is implied, suggesting bilingual contact.' 'Anna' (?PrW **onn*, 'ash-trees') in Domesday Book subsequently encompassed the nearby Abbot's Ann, Amport and Little Ann along the Pilhill Brook and may also have originally been applied to a district, not the stream (Coates 1989, 19, 23; for 'Andover', cf. Jackson 1953, 285). Attention may also be drawn to the significant Roman settlement (*Leucomagus*?), just to the east of Andover, at the crossing of the roads from Winchester to Mildenhall (*Cunetio*) and from Old Sarum (*Sorviodunum*) to Silchester; it was quite probably the centre of a *pagus*. The settlement was also at the centre of a notable concentration of villas.⁵ A *Stützarmfibel* (supporting-arm brooch), which could have been worn by a Germanic woman of the middle third of the fifth century, was recovered, along with hand-made potsherds, some in a sandy fabric, others in a smooth paste, from one of the latest occupation layers at one of them, at Fullerton.⁶ In north-west Wiltshire, the first element in the name *Pewsham (Forest)*, immediately south of Chippenham and east of the Wiltshire Avon – it recurs in *Pew Hill* in Langley Burrell on its west bank and in *Pew's Hill* in Slaughterford (Gover *et al.* 1939, 14), 14 km to the west – derives, it may be noted, from Latin *pagus* (Breeze 2015). No Roman settlement of consequence, which could have served as its administrative centre (*vicus*), however, is known within this area.

Direct evidence for the survival of the *civitates* beyond the Roman period in Britain is limited (Dark 1994a, chap. 4 and *passim*).⁷ It may be noted that Patrick, in his *Confessio*, identifies himself in the traditional Roman manner, that is by reference to his curial status, to his father as *decurio* and grandfather – his descent (*origo*) – in a particular *civitas* (Charles-Edwards 2009, 107).⁸ The first *Vita Sancti Samsonis* refers to the continuing contiguity of Dyfed (formerly the *civitas* of the Demetae; cf. Brown 2012, 503, for the sixth-century Paulinus and his love of his *patria*, his native Dyfed) and Gwent, the successor of the *civitas Silurum*, which had been centred upon Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), into the seventh century, a boundary later interrupted by the creation of Glywysing (Flobert 1997, I.1 (at 146); Charles-Edwards 2013, 18–19).⁹ The other Roman *civitates* in Wales can be shown to have been broken up in a variety of ways and at a variety of dates after the Roman period (Charles-Edwards 2013, 19–21). In England, the reference, in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris of c. 471, to a Briton, who was '*ortu Britannum, habitaculo Regiensem*', surely points to the continuing relevance of the *civitas Regnorum* (Paper 2, n. 53, and see below). Some of the warlords addressed by Gildas in the first half of the sixth century may have ruled territories which were based on the *civitates*, for Gildas himself wrote (c. 28) of Constantine of Dumnonia, whose kingdom may have approximated to the *civitas Dumnoniorum*, and of Vortipor of the Demetae (c. 31).

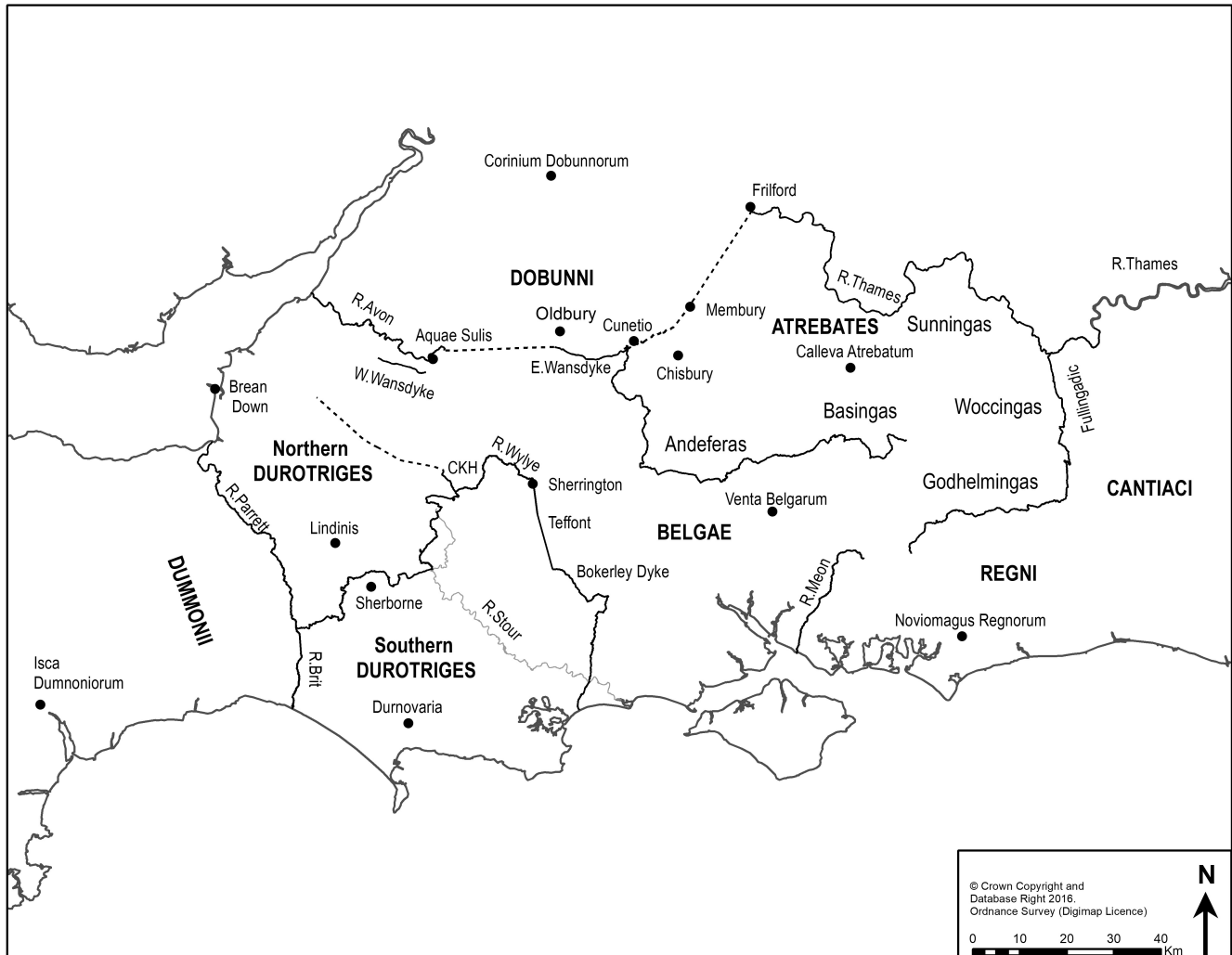


Figure 4 The boundaries of the Roman civitates (Harry Manley)

In France it has long been an academic commonplace that the medieval dioceses, and their constituent *pagi*, were the direct territorial successors of the Roman *civitates* (eg. Wightman 1985, 26). However, both the *civitates* themselves, and the *pagi*, were often subject to boundary changes over the centuries (eg. Lambert 2000, 159–60, with reference to medieval *pagi* in Brittany). Even in northern Gaul ‘the basic *civitas* organization endured into the Merovingian period in ecclesiastical and, to a lesser extent, secular organization’ (MacGeorge 2002, 71). In order to demonstrate continuity between the ancient and medieval limits of any one particular *civitas*, it is necessary to undertake a precise archaeological, historical, toponymical and topographical survey of its bounds. A study of this kind has been made by Professors Bernard and Roland Delmaire of the *civitas Atrebatum* in northern Gaul (Delmaire and Delmaire 1990). They have been able to show that its limits are almost identical with those of the bishopric of Arras, and this in an area very close to the *limes*, which,

one might have thought, would have been subject to severe disruption from the third century AD onwards (Paper 2; but see also Delmaire 1996, 73–4, who notes the paucity of late Roman evidence at present available to assess dislocation or otherwise in the region). In Gaul Frankish kings, as it appears from Gregory of Tours, were often closely associated with individual *civitates* (Charles-Edwards 2013, 315) and they, and other barbarian kings, inherited some aspects of Roman taxation (Wood 1994, 62; cf. Wood 2007, 227–9. Lewis (2000) for a very positive view of continuing role of Gallic *civitates*). In Britain, however, the tribal suffix survived only for the *civitas Cantiacorum* (Kent), which points strongly to the loss of the legal significance of the tribal territories (Millet 1990, 223). The similarity in the apparent extent of a number of *civitates* and that of the successor ‘small shires’ and counties suggests, though, that their recognition as geographical entities was not always altogether lost and that where substantial changes in their limits did occur, the process was piecemeal (Paper 12).

The *civitas Durotrigum* (the southern Durotriges)

A new analysis of the immediately pre-Roman archaeology of the Durotriges indicates that the River Brit, 13 km to the east of the present county boundary between Dorset and Devon, was arguably the western border of their ‘southern’ group, centred upon Dorchester, which they shared with the Dumnonii (Papworth 2008, 143). The dividing line between them and the ‘northern’ group based upon Ilchester is unknown, but it may be pertinent to note that this same study has shown strong influences from the former spreading northwards into Somerset in the years preceding the Roman conquest (Papworth 2008, 167, 170, 184–7). A large low-lying enclosure of this period at Ilchester, immediately to the south of the Roman town, exhibits such cultural characteristics and may mark the site of an *oppidum* and a new tribal centre (Leach 1994, 3). There are no recognisable British boundary names here but there are two Old English ones, Ryme (in Dorset, near Yeovil) and Rimpton (in Somerset), both containing the element *rima*, meaning edge or border (Mills 2010, 218–9), on the county boundary, which may be following an earlier line (Paper 9). The Old English name Mere, if referring to a boundary (*mære*, Gover *et al.* 1939, 178) rather than a pool – the parish has numerous springs (the Revd. W. H. V. Elliott, pers. comm.) – may also be relevant in this context, and it may be noted that Mere lies adjacent to the Deverills (Brixton, Hill, Kingston, Longbridge and Monkton), strung out along the River Deverill – the former, Brittonic, name (*dubro-*, ‘water’, with *ial*, ‘fertile or cultivated upland region’, Gover *et al.* 1939, 6–7) of the upper Wylye – at the centre of which is the major late Iron Age and Roman temple complex at Cold Kitchen Hill (Wiltshire and Swindon Historic Environment Record MW1492-ST83NW302; the success of the religious site in the Roman period (its coin series extends to Valens (364–378); Moorhead 2001, 88) will have been enhanced by its proximity to the road from Old Sarum (*Sorviodunum*) to the Mendips). This religious site also appears to have served the Belgae – see further below – and it is possible that it was located at the junction of the three *civitates*. Some temples are known to have been sited on pre-Roman bounds in Gaul, where they provided a variety of inter-tribal needs (Rivet 1964, 134). Indeed, the county boundaries of Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire come together today only 7 km to the south-west of the southern parish boundary of Kingston Deverill, at Penselwood (for woodland at tribal boundaries, Jullian 1920, II, 17, 33). The choice of Sherborne as the seat of the new bishopric founded in 705 or, less probably, 706 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 709: Brooks 2010, 1–2; Probert 2010, 112–3) for Wessex ‘west of the [Sel]wood’ may have been influenced by its location on this boundary (for the possible ancient significance of the county boundary line, cf. Leach 1994, 5).

On the east, at the south, the edge of this *civitas*, shared with that of the Belgae, may be suggested to have been the Domesday boundary between the counties of Dorset and

Hampshire (map in Munby 1982). It may also be noted that all known early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, of the sixth century, south of the River Stour, which flows from west to east across its line, to reach the sea at Hengistbury Head, lie to its east, as if the course of the county boundary already served as a significant limit at that time (Eagles 2004, fig. 6).

The east-facing Bokerley Dyke (Pl. 1), further to the north on the present shire boundary between Dorset and Hampshire (Dorset and Wiltshire until 1895: Martin, on its east side, and in Hampshire since 1895, probably means ‘the boundary settlement’: Cole 1991–92), also arguably marked another stretch of the Roman boundary course. Archaeological investigation undertaken by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments showed that a territorial limit of some significance, more or less on the Bokerley line, had existed since, perhaps, the middle Bronze Age (Bowen 1990, which cites earlier work). The construction of a discrete and massive ditch, the Rear Dyke, on the Bokerley alignment at Woodyates, severed Ackling Dyke, the Roman road from *Sorviodunum*, below Old Sarum, to Badbury Rings (probably *Vindocladia*). The road was soon re-opened (the ditch of the Rear Dyke has a homogeneous clean back-filling) and the Rear Dyke slighted. The Fore Dyke was then built and the road was permanently blocked. Bokerley Dyke was also raised to massive proportions well to the south of the Roman road, most notably at Blagdon Top, and as far as the Epaulement, whence it was only subsequently united with the sector at Ackling Dyke. There were, therefore, several significant phases in the final development of the Dyke and these are likely to reflect the major role which it may be presumed to have served – although, it may be noted, in a number of places, the earthworks were left unfinished. The Roman material recovered from the earthworks (in the main where the Dyke crosses the late Roman roadside settlement at Bokerley Junction) only dates their construction to the Roman period or later, as was clear to Pitt Rivers himself when he excavated the site in the late nineteenth century.

Recent excavations at Shapwick, 1.5 km to the west of Badbury, appear to be relevant to the chronology. There it was found that the ditches of a later fourth-century fortification of *burgus* type were set askew and cut through the Roman road from Badbury Rings to Dorchester and that the north-east entrance to this new enclosure was deliberately made to the side of the road, in order to impede and check traffic along it. The Roman road was subsequently restored (Papworth 2004). This sequence parallels the construction and removal of the Rear Dyke and the ensuing restoration of the Roman road at Bokerley Dyke, events which may therefore also be of late Roman date and approximately contemporary with those at Shapwick. On this argument the Fore Dyke can be argued to be post-Roman. To the south of Ackling Dyke, Bokerley Dyke continues for more than 4 km. It may also be noted that some, at least, of the inhumations found scattered

in and by the Dyke in this area are execution burials, which are known to occur where gibbets were set up on hundred boundaries, often at ancient sites. Some of these burials may be of Middle Saxon date (Reynolds 2009, 145–7).

The reasons behind such a significant effort by the late Roman authorities to control traffic along this route are unclear. One context might be protection of the *annona* collection in the aftermath of the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367, when Theodosius was called to deal with the barbarian threat and mop up disaffected soldiers and others in the south of Britain (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 44–6, for some discussion of both the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus and the nature of the archaeological evidence: see also Paper 2).

There are definite signs of a substantial Anglo-Saxon intrusion into east Dorset, within a definable area to the west and south-west of Bokerley Dyke and to the north of the River Stour, beginning in the first half of the sixth century. It would seem likely that this encroachment occurred after the construction of the Fore Dyke – although the latter blocked the Roman road, there may have been a route beside it to the south, which could have served any incoming Saxons (Bowen 1990, 27). The long term survival of the boundary, however, suggests that this Anglo-Saxon encroachment took place within the former *civitas* of the Durotriges and that the newly acquired territory was, therefore, still a part of it. High status Anglo-Saxon ‘signal’ burials of the seventh century within and close by the Bokerley line appear to mark a quite separate phase, the Anglo-Saxons’ final appropriation of the county area as a whole (Paper 9).

Further indications of the course of the eastern boundary of the *civitas Durotrigum* are evident to the north of Bokerley Dyke, in what is now Wiltshire. The name of Teffont, in the Nadder valley, is of particular interest in this connection. It embodies elements of both Old English (**tēo*, ‘boundary’: Gover *et al.* 1939, 193–4) and Latin (**funta*, ‘spring’, from Latin *fontāna*) origin and means ‘the spring on the boundary’. Dr Gelling has suggested that **funta*, which occurs in a number of place-names, may have been a direct Old English borrowing from Latin speakers (though mediation through British is not to be ruled out: Parsons 2011, 127), and that it may have referred specifically to a spring where Roman constructions were evident (Gelling 1997, 85–8). At Teffont there may well have been a connection between the **funta*, a natural perennial spring, and the site of a Roman temple (Pl. 2), 1150 m to the south on the summit of a knife-edge of Greensand, which towers above the valley at 152 m OD, where excavated finds from the later Iron Age onwards, including more than 200 coins, the latest of them of Honorius, indicate a probable Roman temple (records in Historic England archive, held at their office in Swindon; further excavations, still ongoing in 2017, by Dr David Roberts, both on and below the hill-top, are revealing the great extent of this temple complex and the sophistication

of the architecture of some of its constituent buildings). As already noticed, some temples are known to have been located on tribal boundaries. The site lies by the junction of the parishes of Teffont Magna, Teffont Evias and Chilmark. In terms of the longevity of this part of this boundary, it is notable that there is a marked contrast in the nature and date of Anglo-Saxon burials to the east and west of Teffont. To the east there are many sixth-century cemeteries, but to the west the graves all belong to the second quarter of the seventh century or later and are of distinctive character (Papers 6 and 9, and below). It is notable that there is another **funta* name close to Teffont, Fovant, immediately to its south (and see also Fonthill, to the west of Teffont; the names are mapped on Figs 3 and 18). The relative frequency of these names may suggest that British speech was in widespread use in the area until a late date (cf. the situation in the north-west of Wiltshire: Coates 2000b, 115. See also Hawkins 2015, *passim*, for further discussion of place-names which incorporate **funta* in Wessex and elsewhere).

These western burials include a notable group of primary Anglo-Saxon barrows, each over an inhumation accompanied by a sugar-loaf shield boss, a form which was in use from the second quarter of the seventh century (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 21 and fig. 16). They include male burials with sugar-loaf shield bosses under primary barrows and the very richly furnished grave of a woman at Swallowcliffe (Papers 6 and 9). It may also be significant that the seventh-century burial with a *seax*, a single-edged sword, in the long barrow at Sherrington, lay beside but to the south of the River Wylye, possibly indicating that the Roman limit beyond Teffont continued northwards as far as that river and thence westwards along it to its source – its uppermost stretches go by the name of Deverill – and the temple site at Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill (Eagles and Field 2004; coins extend to the Valentinianic period at Cold Kitchen Hill: Moorhead 2001, 101).

The suggestion is made here, therefore, that in the Roman period the south-west corner of Wiltshire (that is, in general, south of Cold Kitchen Hill, west of Teffont and north-west of Bokerley Dyke), lay within the *civitas Durotrigum*. Both the distinctive character of the early post-Roman archaeological evidence from that area, discussed below, and the exceptional number of possible Latin and British place-names which have been recognised there (in contrast to other parts of south Wiltshire, where they are few and scattered (Fig. 18)), provide evidence in support.

***The civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium* (the northern Durotriges)**

The distribution of ‘Durotrigan’ pottery suggests that the western boundary of the northern Durotriges may have been the River Parrett (Papworth 2008, 60, 168; cf. Dark

1994, 126. NB the name (East) Lambrook, on the west bank of the river, may mean ‘the boundary brook’; Ekwall 1960, 285). In regard to the significance of the Parrett we may note three references in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; for the year 658, that the Britons were then driven as far as the Parrett; for 845, when the Anglo-Saxons won a victory over the Vikings at the mouth of the Parrett; and for 893, when the *Chronicle* tells us that Alfred recruited his forces from east of the Parrett.¹⁰ The contrast between the absence of villas in the fertile Vale of Taunton Dene, west of the Parrett, and their ubiquity and strong development to the east of the river, may be due to the lack of a local urban focus in that area, across the border, in the under-developed *civitas Dumnoniorum* (Leech 1982a, 228; and Fyfe and Rippon (2004, 33) note the significance of the watersheds of the Quantocks and the Blackdown Hills in marking the western limit of a highly Romanised landscape). The present boundary with Devon lies, indeed, partly along the northern edge of the Blackdown Hills, but then across Exmoor.

Their northern boundary is unknown – possibly in part either the Roman road westwards from Cold Kitchen Hill to Charterhouse-on-Mendip, or the River Axe, to its south. There was a Romano-Celtic temple at Brean Down (see the entry in the Site gazetteer, Paper 2), where the Axe meets the Bristol Channel. The temple was in use from c. 340 to c. 390; a subsequent domestic building on the site was demolished in the fifth century (Apsimon 1965). Burials in a nearby cemetery have calibrated radiocarbon dates of cal AD 340–900¹¹ (Bell 1990). The Mendips would have formed an appropriate northern limit to the canton, for the name *Lendenienses* may mean the ‘people of the marsh (the Somerset Levels)’, but a local context with reference to their capital *Lindinis* is also possible (Rivet and Smith 1981, 392–3; see also further below with reference to the Belgae).

The *Civitas Atrebatum*

It is clear, from the location of Silchester, on the Hampshire boundary – a limit, it is suggested (Eagles 2015), which came about only in the ninth century – that the *civitas Atrebatum* has been split in two. The westernmost part of the *civitas* may have lain in the area of the Domesday hundred of Kinwardstone. At the core of that exceptionally large hundred is the hill-fort of Chisbury, ‘Cissa’s *burgh*’ (Gover *et al.* 1939, 334–5; or his own ‘fortified dwelling’: Haslam 1976, 23; 1980, 63; Paper 11). The *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, first compiled in the twelfth century but elaborated in the thirteenth, ascribes its earliest endowments to one Cissa, said to have been a *subregulus* (*rex* in Sawyer 1968, no. 241; Kelly 2000, no. 4) of the West Saxons and the predecessor of Cædwalla (685/686–688), who ruled Wiltshire and the greater part of Berkshire from his ‘metropolis’ at Bedwyn – a 100-hide royal estate (*VCH*,

Wiltshire, Vol. II (1955), 97; an early unit of assessment for the payment of the king’s *feorm*: Stenton 1971, 298–301; Dr J. Pitt informs me that the Domesday hundred was an amalgamation of royal estates, at least of Bedwyn and Pewsey). Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, hereafter *HE*) iv.12) says that there was no centralised power in Wessex between the death of Cenwealh in 672 and the accession of Cædwalla, but that during that time the kingdom was sub-divided among *subreguli*. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, however, records a continuous succession of Wessex kings, at least one of whom, Centwine (678–685), other sources confirm was an able and strong ruler (Stenton 1971, 68). Although Cissa himself is not recorded elsewhere, several strands of evidence within the *History* point to the incorporation within it, in however muddled a form, of a number of sources of seventh-century origin (Stenton 1913, 8–19; Kelly 2000, cxcvi–cc, 14–21; but see Dumville 1992, n. 253, for ‘the fantastic place that Bedwyn and Chisbury occupied in twelfth-century Abingdon legend’). As has been noted, the distributions of the pre-Roman coinages are of little assistance in determining the bounds of the Roman *civitates*, but attention may be drawn to the general coincidence of the western limit of a great many of the ‘Southern’ coinages and this general area (Leins 2012, chap. 4.4). There are also later hints of archaeological connections between this part of Wiltshire, Berkshire and north Hampshire, particularly in the appearance of cremation burials in the late fifth–early sixth-century cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, but also at Collingbourne Ducis and, possibly, Mildenhall (Annable and Eagles 2010, 105: early Anglo-Saxon cremation is otherwise so far unknown in Wiltshire), and others at Abingdon (now Oxfordshire: Leeds and Harden 1936) and Andover (Cook and Dacre 1985). Furthermore, the lack of Frankish material from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Collingbourne Ducis – though there is a silver-inlaid buckle, which may either have been made in, or imported from, northern Gaul (see Paper 8) and a *francisca* from Blacknall Field – is in marked contrast to its strong showing in cemeteries around Salisbury. However slight the overall evidence, these differences may, possibly, hint that Kinwardstone had once been within the *civitas Atrebatum*, while the Salisbury area, with its strong links with the south coast and the Isle of Wight, had belonged to the Belgae.

There are no surviving boundary names, Brittonic or Old English, which might throw light on the lost divide between the *civitas Atrebatum* and the *civitas Belgarum*. South of Kinwardstone, the western boundary of the Atrebates may, perhaps, have coincided with the western and southern limits of the Anglo-Saxon *regio* of the *Andeferas* (Andovers), and thereafter with the southern boundaries of the adjacent *regiones* of the Bourne Valley and the Upper Test and the ‘small shire’ of the *Basingas*. The three early Anglo-Saxon land units in question – those of ‘the Andovers’, the ‘small

shire' of the *Basingas* and the Bourne valley *regio* – are among seven, apparently complementary in their bounds, which have been identified and delimited in Hampshire. One of them, that of *Hamtuncsċir* (round Southampton) – argued to have been a 'small shire' before the name became that of the later county – can be shown to have been in existence by, and probably well before, AD 700 (Paper 12). In a detailed study of the pre-Flavian Roman pottery industry in Hampshire, Dr Richard Massey has shown that there were distinct patterns of distribution, which centred upon regions around Winchester, Andover and Basingstoke (Massey 2006, fig. 3.3.1). The boundary between the first of these and the other two is remarkably close to that between the *regio* of Micheldever and those of the *Andeferas* and the *Basingas*. This may, possibly, hint that the *civitas* boundary approximated to this line.

The northern limit of this *civitas* is also difficult to define. The hill-fort known as Membury, the 'Mem-' (*min*) element of whose name is arguably British and meaning 'boundary' (Gover *et al.* 1939, 289) may have lain on this boundary – the north-south county division between Berkshire and Wiltshire on which it stands is argued elsewhere to be of ninth-century date (the late Dr P. H. Robinson brought this name to the writer's notice; Paper 12). There is a saucer brooch with a star design, of the second half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century (Welch 1976), from near the hill-fort). Further to the north-east, the significant Roman and later temple complex at Frilford may also mark the border with the Dobunni (Stevens 1940a; Rivet 1964, 140; Hingley 1985, 209–10). From Abingdon, 7 km to the east of Frilford, the boundary of the *civitas Atrebatum* followed the Thames to Weybridge.

At the south-east John Blair has identified, across the boundary in Surrey and Berkshire, three contiguous, north-facing, *regiones* (apparently the Latin equivalent of 'small shire'), those of the *Godhelmingas* (Godalming), less certainly than the others, which borders upon Sussex, the *Woccingas* (Woking), known to have been in existence in the seventh century, and Sonning (Blair 1991, chap. 1). Godalming and Woking, to its north, looked northwards to the Thames and were in that respect comparable with Woking's north-western neighbour, the *regio* of the *Sunningas*, in Berkshire (Blair 1989, 100). Woking also shares, most probably, a folk name with Wokingham in Berkshire. Old English dialect links, as seen through place-names, provide further support for close ties between east Berkshire and this part of Surrey (Gelling 1976, 840, 925–39). A charter of Frithuwold, of 672 x 674, delineated an estate at Chertsey, within the territory of Woking, which reached from Frimley on the River Blackwater and the present Hampshire boundary at the west to the *Fullingadic*, referred to in the charter as *antiqua fossa*, at the east (Sawyer 1968, no. 1165). Blair has noted the quite different, regular north to south alignments of the parishes

east of this dyke, continuing the arrangements seen in Kent, and just as occurs to their south in Sussex. Surrey's lands east of the *Fullingadic* appear to have been an enlargement only under Frithuwold himself, who is referred to as a *subregulus* of Mercia *provinciae Surrianorum* ('of the province of the men of Surrey') in the Chertsey charter, the enlargement being at the expense of the kingdom of Kent. The territories of Godalming, Woking and Sonning may arguably have once been a part of the *civitas Atrebatum*. In other words, the north-eastern sector of the Hampshire boundary is a post-Roman, and perhaps seventh-century, arrangement, based upon the bounds of established *regiones*. The *Fullingadic* may, conceivably, have formerly marked thereabouts the boundary of the *civitas Atrebatum* with that of the *civitas Cantiacorum* in Kent. This possibility receives support from the convincingly argued cohesiveness of the Anglo-Saxon material culture of burial sites, a number of which began in the mid-fifth century, in north-east Surrey, east of the *Fullingadic*, and West Kent (Hines 2004; much of this area now lies within Greater London). Between the *regiones* of Godalming, Woking and Sonning and the 'small shire' of the *Basingas* there may have been a further 'small shire', which can only be indicated rather than defined, in the area between Yateley and Farnham (Paper 12). In the light of the uncertainty of its bounds the limit between the Belgae and the Atrebates cannot be suggested in this area.

The *civitas Belgarum*

The *civitas Belgarum* appears to have been a largely artificial creation of the Romans, seemingly amalgamating a number of small tribes, particularly in the west (Frere 1987, 39). Within this extensive territory, from Bath to Winchester, there is a marked overlap in the circulation patterns of all the major late Iron Age coinages of central southern England: the 'South-Western' (see above, but note that their coins also circulated in the Test valley in Hampshire), 'Western' ('Dobunnic'), 'Southern' ('Atrebatric') and even the 'Eastern' ('Catuvellaunan'/'Trinobantan'), complicated by the dominance of Cunobelin, c. AD 10–40. The 'Western' group extends over much of Wiltshire, and the 'Southern' from Sussex, later the *civitas Regnorum* (see below), across Hampshire to the Thames (Leins 2012, *passim*). These coinages, even those of named issuers, clearly provide no grounds for distinguishing two distinct pre-Roman territories which might have formed a geographical basis for the Roman *civitates* of the 'Atrebates' and the 'Belgae'. The limits of the *civitas Belgarum* at the west are best defined by reference to the eastern boundaries of the *civitates* of the Durotriges and at the north-east by the western and southern ones of the Atrebates, which have been discussed above.

At the north-west, Ptolemy attributed both *Aquae Sulis*, Bath, on the north bank of the Avon and *Iscalis* to the Belgae

(Rivet and Smith 1979, 255–6, 379). Ptolemy's longitude and latitude co-ordinates would place *Iscalis* near the coast of the Bristol Channel (Rivet and Smith 1979, fig. 1), but both Rivet and Smith and the latest (no date) edition of the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain* suggest it was the name of the Roman mining settlement at Charterhouse on Mendip.¹² Lead pigs from the mines themselves, however, are stamped 'VEB', which perhaps more probably refers to their Roman place-name/district.¹³ The Roman limit of the Belgic *civitas* at the north appears to have been the Wiltshire Avon, with the north-facing West Wansdyke above it, and thereafter in part the Roman road system round the north side of Bath itself, continuing eastwards along the road to Silchester (see further in Paper 2).¹⁴ Further east, East Wansdyke, again north-facing, of similar construction to West Wansdyke, and now also shown, as both West Wansdyke and Bokerley Dyke, to have origins, even if intermittent, in prehistory (Erskine 2007; Papers 5 and 12), may have formed the *civitas* limit with the Dobunni on the high Chalk (Eagles 1994, 24). East Wansdyke terminates at the east just within the bounds of the hundred of Kinwardstone. Professor Andrew Reynolds has noted the potential significance of the relationship of the hundred to East Wansdyke in the modern parish of North Savernake, a former extra-parochial area and detached portion of Savernake Forest (see above). The Dyke is designed to block access from the Ridgeway (see Paper 7) but it also cuts the Roman road from Silchester to Bath where the road meets the northern escarpment of the chalk downs at Morgan's Hill, Bishop's Cannings.

The boundary between the *civitas Belgarum* and the *civitas Regnorum*

The *civitas Regnorum*, centred upon Chichester (*Noviomagus Regnorum*: Rivet and Smith 1979, 427; and see also 445–6, for the form **Reg[n]enses*) in West Sussex, had emerged from the client kingdom of Cogidubnus (Frere 1987, 192). Its northern limit may have been marked by the Sussex county boundary, with which, as already noticed, the southern boundary of Godalming coincides. Westwards, the county boundary between Hampshire and Sussex is likely, for a short distance, to have delimited the *civitas Belgarum* and the *civitas Regnorum*. The late Iron Age archaeology of the area suggests, however, that the western limit of the *civitas Regnorum* was not the present county boundary with Hampshire, but the River Meon, some 23 km to its west (Massey 2006, 586; Cunliffe 1973, fig. 1; 1991, fig. 7.2: western edge of the 'socio-economic zone' associated with Selsey, 50 BC–AD 10). This suggests that the Sussex parish name of Mardens (*Meredone*, derived from Old English *Maere-dun*, 'boundary down': Livitt 1990), a place which is separated from the present Hampshire county boundary only by the later parish of Compton, refers to a post-Roman boundary. This, now county, alignment may relate to the time of Cædwalla, when the *Meonwara* were finally detached from the South Saxons.

The lands of the *Meonwara* possibly originated as a *pagus* of the Regni, a speculation which acquires added interest in the light of their earlier transfer from the *Gewisse* (the old name for the West Saxons according to Bede, *HE* iii. 7) to the South Saxons by Wulfhere of Mercia (Paper 8). If so, the Roman temple at Hayling Island may also have marked this *pagus* limit (Downey 1980). Attention may also be drawn to Liss, whose exceptional name is of Celtic origin (Brit. **lisso-* or Primitive Welsh **lis*; Welsh *llys*: 'court': Jackson 1953, 285). The early meaning of the word, however, was something like 'an enclosed space embracing domestic and agricultural buildings'. The term was also used of the royal centre of a commote (subordinate district) in Wales, where a judge *might* also preside, though its specific legal connotations were added only later (Charles-Edwards 2004b, 95–6). Liss is situated at the extreme north-east corner of the territory of the *Meonwara*, on this same boundary (Fig. 28), and is therefore well placed to have served a number of different communities – a location appropriate, perhaps, to both a post-Roman (royal?) centre and to any legal function on the bounds of *pagi*.

Isle of Wight

The administrative status of the Isle of Wight (*Vectis*) in the Roman period is unknown.

Conclusion

Various types of evidence have here been brought to bear upon the very difficult issue of the definition of the boundaries of the Roman *civitates* of southern Britain. The paper has attempted to show that archaeological evidence of both the Roman period and the sixth and seventh centuries, if combined with Brittonic and Old English boundary names and the definable limits of apparently integrated early Anglo-Saxon land-units in Hampshire, one of which is evidently of the seventh century, and may be even earlier, can throw some light on this problem. The study indicates, it is argued, that at least in some places in Wessex, the Roman boundaries survived until the seventh century and played a role in the establishment of the early Anglo-Saxon settlements.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the late Dr Paul Robinson for helpful and informative discussions regarding the interpretation of Iron Age coinage.

Notes

- 1 This paper incorporates and, in places, supersedes, Eagles 2004.
- 2 Some land remained in imperial hands, outside the *civitates*. A likely example in Wessex is the silver/lead mines on the Mendips, at least in the early Roman period (Rivet 1964, 141; and see further below).

- 3 Early post-Roman occupation in the *civitas* capitals in Wessex is discussed in Paper 2.
- 4 For the name, Rivet and Smith 1979, 445–6: see also below.
- 5 Ordnance Survey, *Map of Roman Britain*, 5th edn., no date.
- 6 Cunliffe and Poole 2008a, 72–3, 109–10, pottery; 111, 115–16, brooch (layer 486, Building 2: The Hall).
- 7 Cf. Rippon 2012, 185: ‘There is, however, no evidence for the survival of these *civitates* as administrative districts during the politically turbulent years of the fifth to the seventh centuries, and any similarity to later counties in their geographical extent probably reflects their use of a common set of dominant topographical features for both sets of boundaries’.
- 8 The date of the *Confessio* (Hood ed. and trans. 1978), as indeed the date of Patrick’s lifetime as a whole, is disputed. Howlett (1994, 116–19) argues for a date for the *Confessio* early in the fifth century, both on the grounds of his use of the plural *Galliae*, ‘the Gauls’, and *Britanniae*, ‘the Britains’, which is argued to reflect the Roman provincial situation before 410 (but see Wood 1987, 253) and that his father had been a *decurio* in a still operational *civitas* (but see immediately below that some *civitates* may have survived after the Roman period); Howlett also points out that in the *Epistola [to Coroticus]* (Hood 1978), Patrick (c. 14) refers to the Roman *solidus* and that Roman coinage ceased to circulate in Britain c. 430 (Paper 2).
- 9 The date of this *Vita* is discussed by Hughes 1981, 4 (later seventh century); Davies 1982, 215 (seventh century); and Sharpe 1999, 199, n. 25: its date would appear to be earlier than the ninth century ‘but by how much I do not know’.
- 10 658: this may have been the context for the death of a Geraint, king of Dumnonia, who, according to poem 21 in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, died at Llongborth (Langport) on the River Parrett (Woolf 2003, 376, n. 149). The identification of the Parrett as a significant boundary also gives added interest to the entry in the *Chronicle* for 851, where it is recorded that the English won a victory against the Danes at *Wicganbeorg*, for there is a Wigborough in the parish of South Petherton on the west bank of the Parrett at ST 448152 (Whitelock *et al.* 1961, 42, n. 14).
- 11 Unless stated otherwise, all quoted radiocarbon dates are at 95% confidence.
- 12 Pigs stamped ‘VEB’ are from Charterhouse itself (Frere *et al.* 1990, no. 2404.4; Bitterne (*Clausentum*, near Southampton), nos. 2404.5, 2404.6; and Wells, nos 2404.7–10, pp. 40–5).
- 13 For ‘VEB’ as the name of the mining district, Rivet and Smith 1979, 487; see also *Britannia* 22 (1991), 320 (G. C. Boon). The road from Charterhouse led eastwards to Winchester, the capital of the Belgic canton. It was certainly used for the transport of the lead pigs, for examples have been found near it at Bitterne (above) and Bossington, Hampshire (Frere *et al.* 1990, no. 2404.3, p. 40).
- 14 The late Iron Age archaeology of the area southwards from the Bristol Avon to the Mendips looks to the south-west, rather than to south Gloucestershire, even though there is no break in the distribution of ‘Dobunnic’ coins (Cunliffe 1991, 171–3). Even so, it is unclear how far Durotrigan culture ever spread in this area (Cunliffe 1991, 181, fig. 8.3, 189–90; Leach 1994, 5).

Wessex in the later fourth and fifth centuries, with an appended, numbered, gazetteer of sites datable to the fifth century¹

The fifth century AD marks one of the most momentous periods of change in the history of Britain.² When the century began Britain was a part of the Western Roman Empire, but around 441 a Gallic chronicler was able to write that it had passed into the power of the Saxons. This paper sets out and analyses what remained of the world of the Romans and what was new in Wessex – here essentially Berkshire, Hampshire, the westernmost part of Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset (as they were defined before 1974).

This paper is divided into separate sections as follows: a discussion of the evidence for southern Britain (and its Continental background) in the primary written texts; a chronological framework for the archaeological data; an account of the late and post-Roman archaeology in each of the Roman *civitates* that later comprised Wessex; and a comparison between them of any continuing Roman material culture and the impact of its ‘Germanic’ transformation. This paper may be read in conjunction with Paper 1, which discusses possible bounds of the Roman *civitates* and their relevance or otherwise to the earliest English settlements.

The end of Roman administration and military and political history in the fifth century³

Northern Gaul in the fifth century: the historical background

Roman power in decline

Some Franks – Franks had made disastrous incursions into Gaul in the 270s – were settled officially in northern Gaul in ‘the empty fields of the Arvii⁴ and the Treveri’ by 297.⁵ Julian confirmed the residence of Salian Franks near Tongres (*Atuatuca*) in 358.⁶

In 404 Honorius moved the imperial capital from Trier, which had afforded an effective centre of power in the north for more than 100 years, to Ravenna, and it may

have been at around this time that the Prefecture of the Gauls was relocated from Trier to Arles (Salway 1981, 429). On December 31, 405, large numbers of Alans, Sueves and Vandals broke into northern Gaul across the Rhine, probably near Mainz.⁷ The defence of this part of the Rhine frontier was now largely in the hands of loyal but outnumbered Franks on the right bank, the Roman forces having been withdrawn to north Italy to face the Goths under Radagaisus.⁸ The progress of these barbarians through northern Gaul is ill-recorded, but they reached the Pas de Calais (Kulikowski 2000; Goffart 2006, 73–118).

After c. 420 Roman control of the north became only intermittent (Wood 1987, 256–7) and had ceased altogether by the 460s, ‘if not considerably earlier’ (MacGeorge 2002, 71). From the early to the mid-fifth century, Roman defences, manned largely by Germanic troops – as it appears from archaeological evidence – were now restricted to the Bavaï and Tongres road and, to its south, the middle Meuse (Böhme 1985), though some installations along the lower Rhine also continued to be manned (Swift 2000, 202–3).

Some successes were achieved by Aetius (Martindale 1980, 21–9) as *comes et magister utriusque militiae per Gallias* between 425 and 429; he defeated the erstwhile supportive Franks in 432 and the Burgundians in 436, and there was relative stability in the Rhineland after his victory at *vicus Helenae*, generally thought to have been in the 440s.⁹ Aetius seems to have depended increasingly, and fairly successfully, on the use of federates – especially Visigoths, Alans and Burgundians – a situation doubtless forced upon the Roman government as a result of its rapidly diminishing tax-base, particularly after the fall of Carthage to the Vandals in 439. Roman territory was ceded to new barbarian kings in Gaul: the Visigoths in Aquitaine, *agri deserti* around Valence to the Alans and *Sapaudia* to the Burgundians (Wood 2004, 436). The murders of Aetius in 454 and Valentinian III in 455, and the rapid turn-over of emperors thereafter, had, however, strained these barbarian loyalties.

For some 25 years to 486 Aegidius and Syagrius held power on behalf of the Romans in parts of northern Gaul, while local barbarian leaders also competed for recognition. We may envisage a shifting patchwork of authorities.¹⁰ Until 476 and the deposition of the last Roman emperor in the West, these barbarian groups often, though by no means always, however, operated within an imperial framework. Thus the Burgundian king Gundioch had been appointed *magister militum per Gallias* in 463. It was the aggressive policies of the Visigothic king Euric, especially in the early 470s, which finally brought about the end of imperial power in Gaul (Wood 2000b, 518).

The barbarian kings had to take account of the large numbers of former Roman citizens who now fell under their rule, not least because they needed the diplomatic and administrative skills of men trained in Roman administration. Romans with such a background might obtain positions of great influence in the new kingdoms (Curta 2007).¹¹ The trial of Arvandus in 469, however, showed how difficult it could be to have one foot in the Roman and the other in the barbarian world. Arvandus, who had been praetorian prefect of Gaul, seems not to have regarded as treasonable his correspondence with Euric, urging him to attack the Britons north of the Loire (see also p. 16 for Riothamus) and divide Gaul with the Burgundians.¹² Many barbarian kings, including Euric, also promulgated written laws in emulation of Roman practice,¹³ though it may be noted that their law-codes were produced for their own 'barbarian' peoples – including their relationships and dealings with the Romans. The defeated Romans continued to be subject to their own Roman law where no barbarian was involved (see also the Introduction).¹⁴

The militarisation of northern Gallic society

As Roman power weakened in the frontier areas of the western empire, we can observe a marked militarisation of society, a process which had become increasingly evident in society generally from the late fourth century (Halsall 2007, 484, 494–5; Wood 2007, 233–4).¹⁵ This denotes real change, from a world where the governing elite placed emphasis on *otium*, the ancient, cultivated, leisured enjoyment of classical culture, to one where the exercise of military power now became paramount.¹⁶ As *otium* came to an end, so too did the need for its long established rural setting, the villa, which had been the focus not just of a great agricultural estate but also of the social intercourse which had cemented the bonds between the leading families. The villa itself, as an architectural form, with its mosaics, wall-paintings and furnishings reflective of classical history and culture, thereby also became increasingly irrelevant. New building was often in wood (Esmonde Cleary 2013a, 259–61). Power now became localised, and its cost no longer resided in the maintenance

of villas and town houses, but in the provision of armed retainers, though the lord remained master of the hunt (Van Dam 1985, 181; Brown 2012, 398–9). The Roman elite in such areas, however, still attempted to maintain their traditional long distance contacts and connections, in spite of the new regional political realities and narrowing horizons. In the 460s Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 4.18.2), bishop of Clermont in the Auvergne, for instance, wrote in support of his friend Volusianus when he left for his estate near Bayeux. The will of bishop Remigius of Rheims even affords evidence for the continuity of senatorial landholding in *Belgica Secunda* under Clovis (king of the Franks from c. 481 to 511; Wood 2000, 510–11). It is even possible that Childeric (reign, c. 456–481), the predecessor of Clovis, performed the dual role as both a Germanic king and governor of *Belgica Secunda*, if the insignia included in his funerary attire may be considered a guide.¹⁷ Many bishops – they were often drawn from aristocratic Gallo-Roman families – played key roles in relationships with the barbarians in this period.

Van Ossel (2006, 540) considers that 'Germanic social communities ... became more and more numerous in the countryside of northern Gaul from the 4th c. onwards'. Women's *Armbrustfibeln* and *Stützarmfibeln*, and their Gallic derivatives, first appear in graves as far south as the Seine from c. 330.¹⁸ Women's applied saucer brooches of types which originated in Lower Saxony belong to the middle third of the fifth century.¹⁹ These brooches were worn in pairs and fastened a tunic (peplos) at the neck, a costume widespread in the Germanic north.²⁰ Halsall (eg. 2007, 152–8), however, appears to argue for only a minimal Germanic cultural impact in northern Gaul at this time, with the development of the weapon-burial rite there as an essentially Roman phenomenon (see also the Introduction). In response, MacGeorge (2002, 141) has written:

[Halsall's views] would have involved not only a change in burial rite but a wholesale change in élite attire and status symbols (and hence ideology) dating back to the late AD 300s. While it is possible to see how changes in male dress and status symbols might have taken place via the medium of military attire, it is hard to see by what mechanism such a change could have taken place among women, especially as it would have involved the take-up of a less sophisticated dress style by a supposedly competitive élite.

The situation in Britain

When in 404 Honorius moved the imperial capital from Trier, Britons, who had doubtless for long benefited from the patronage available through the imperial presence in nearby Gaul,²¹ will have been acutely aware of the effects of its withdrawal. In alarmed response to the barbarian surge into northern Gaul at the end of 405, in 406 to 407 the army in

Britain raised no fewer than three claimants to the imperial purple.²² The last of these, Constantine, took troops, which would probably have included the *comitatenses*, the field army – if there still was one in Britain – into Gaul (Collins and Breeze 2014, 67). At first successful, even to the extent that in 409 he was recognised as Augustus by Honorius (393–423), Constantine III, as he may now be called, soon after faced rebellion from his general Gerontius. This is a likely context²³ for the dramatic events in Britain described by Zosimus.²⁴

The barbarians reduced the Britons and some of the Gallic peoples to such straits that they rejected the rule of the Romans and lived according to their own decisions, no longer submitting to [Roman] laws. The Britons, therefore, armed themselves²⁵ and ran many risks to ensure their own safety and free their cities from the attacking barbarians ... expelling the Roman magistrates and establishing the government they wanted.

It appears, therefore, that the Britons had removed the officials of Constantine (Frere 1987, 358–9).²⁶ The reference to ‘Gallic peoples’ indicates that the Channel was subjected to barbarian attack. It has been suggested that Constantine may have denuded the garrisons of the Saxon Shore defence system, thereby exposing the south (Collins and Breeze 2014, 70).²⁷ The *Chronicle of 452*, s. a. 410, states that ‘The Britains²⁸ were devastated by an incursion of the Saxons’.²⁹

Gildas, a Briton, wrote his *De Excidio Britonum* around, arguably, 540.³⁰ He refers to himself as a *clericus* (c. 65), a rank below that of a priest (Charles-Edwards 2013, 205). Gildas’s audience is clerical and it is the criticism of his fellow clergy that he most fears. It is possible that he one day hoped to become a monk (George 2009, 71, 106–9).³¹ His main purpose was to warn his fellow countrymen against sin and its fearful consequences if they did not repent. He also, however, regarded this work as a ‘*historia*’ (c. 37.1), though his rhetorical skills, which he employed with dramatic effect throughout his text, could, in places, lead to the distortion of historical events (examples are cited below). Bede described him as a *historicus*.³² He certainly made historical errors, notably the dating of Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall – though he may have been aware of the work of drafts from the *civitates* on Hadrian’s Wall.³³ Gildas ‘set down so much of the past as he thought fit for his purpose, and left out what he held to be irrelevant thereto’ (Morris 1973, 36; cf. Stevens 1941). He was writing in western Britain and without doubt from outside the territories of his five castigated kings of Dumnonia and Wales.³⁴ He (c. 10.2) complains of being cut off from the shrines of the Christian martyrs, but here he may refer to St Albans and, perhaps, Canterbury, rather than Caerleon.³⁵ He wrote a century after the Saxon revolt of c. 441 (see below) and he is the only written source to offer any sort of continuous narrative for developments in Britain after the Roman withdrawal. His

importance, therefore, to any assessment of this period, much of which was within his readers’ personal or handed down memory, is clear.

Woolf (2003, 354) has pointed out that Gildas (c. 13) places emphasis on the usurper Magnus Maximus (383–388) as the last Emperor to rule in Britain. Gildas then records two successful appeals, the first to ‘Rome’ (c. 15), the second to ‘the Romans’ (c. 17), the Britons arming themselves (cc. 17–18 [? AD 409]) and the Romans’ departure (c. 19). We know of only one intervention by Rome before 410, that of Stilicho against the Picts, Scots and Saxons in 396–8.³⁶ These enemies had been defeated by 399.³⁷ Stilicho then apparently withdrew a legion in c. 401/2 for the defence of Italy against Alaric.³⁸

In 410 Honorius wrote his well-known letter to the *civitates* of Roman Britain, there no longer being any imperial officials, telling them that Britain must henceforth look to its own defence.³⁹ These *civitates* were units of local self-government, responsible, crucially, for the collection of taxes on behalf of the emperor (Paper 1). This was the year that Alaric sacked Rome; Honorius was in no position to render help.⁴⁰ The letter was presumably in response to an appeal – an indication that the Britons were not seeking complete independence from Roman rule. The appeal itself, and the subsequent one to Aetius (below), show the continuing loyalty of Britain to the emperor and the imperial idea.⁴¹ As noticed above, there was a Saxon incursion in 410, and Gildas says (c. 19) that the Picts and Scots seized territory as far south as Hadrian’s Wall ‘as the Romans went back home’, but that after many years they were defeated (20.3). He places these attacks after earlier, successful, appeals to Rome, one of which, as noticed above, may, arguably, be related to the 390s. Archaeological evidence makes clear that significant and apparently competent local forces (*limitanei*) continued to man Hadrian’s Wall and its hinterland.⁴² In Chapter 21, 1–2, Gildas writes that since their defeat the Picts had been at peace – with the exception of raids for plunder – and that Britain then entered a period of abundance, such ‘that no previous age had known the like of it’.

In 429 – the date is provided by Prosper of Aquitaine (also known as Prosper Tiro) in his *Chronicle*⁴³ – Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre (Petts 2014, 75), together with Bishop Lupus of Troyes, came to Britain from Gaul in response to an appeal to the Gallic bishops to combat Pelagianism.⁴⁴ That doctrine claimed that salvation could be achieved independently of the Grace of God. According to Constantius, it ‘had taken hold of the people over a great part of the country’. Markus (1986), however, has pointed out that in reality the only distinction that may have been made in Britain was that between British ‘orthodoxy’ and the new ideas of Augustine, and that this could well account for Gildas’s silence on ‘Pelagianism’. These Augustinian views may have been introduced into Britain by clergy

newly ordained overseas (Gildas, c. 67.5–6), who considered the doctrinal teaching they now found in Britain to be ‘Pelagian’, and it may have been these clergy who had appealed to Gaul.⁴⁵ The episode demonstrates that after the end of Roman government Britain remained firmly in touch with the Church in northern Gaul.⁴⁶

The bishops were met by ‘great crowds from many regions’. The opportunity for the visit may have arisen after a victory of Aetius against the Franks in c. 428, an event also recorded by Prosper, in that that victory brought visible Roman power again close to Britain (Wood 1987, 252). Constantius’s account appears to record a still functioning Roman way of life, with splendidly dressed members of the British elite, with their throng of sycophants in attendance for the debate,⁴⁷ Germanus’s success in which was met, in the usual way, by popular acclamation. The bishop then visited Verulamium, where he met a ‘man of tribunician power’ (Salway 1981, 466–7), and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Alban, from which he obtained holy relics.⁴⁸ Germanus is also said to have won a bloodless, and miraculous, victory, by shouts of ‘Alleluia!’ over Picts and Saxons.⁴⁹

The arrival of the Saxons

Gildas (c. 23.1) tells us, but as usual without giving dates, that the *superbus tyrannus* called a council of the Britons, who then entered into a treaty (*foedus*) with the Saxons,⁵⁰ that they should be based in the eastern part of the island to deal with the Picts, who now aimed at settlement in Britain from end to end (c. 22.1). The mention of a council appears to indicate some continuing function for some sort of central government in Britain.⁵¹ The Britons at this time, Gildas (c. 22.2) says, had been weakened by plague.

Constantius (*Vita*, cc. 25–7) wrote of a second journey to Britain by Germanus, who was now accompanied by bishop Severus of Trier, to combat a resurgence of Pelagianism.⁵² It had followed his meeting with Auxiliarius, the Praetorian Prefect at Arles from 435–437⁵³ and, surely, from the wording of Constantius’s account, it must have preceded the Saxon revolt in Britain, of c. 441–442 (see below). Immediately on Germanus’s return from Britain (*Vita*, c. 28: ‘he had hardly got home from his overseas expedition’) he was met by a deputation from Armorica, with a request to protect them against the Alans under Goar, who, as also the *Chronicle of 452* (its text refers only to the ‘Alans’) tells us, had been given permission by Aetius (Martindale 1980, 26) to subdue Gallia Ulterior (Armorica) and settle there in 442.⁵⁴ Germanus’s appeal to the emperor (at Ravenna) failed, however, because of the perfidy of Tibbato (*Vita*, 40). In this part of his work, to chapter 46, Constantius records a rapid succession of undated events, and this may reflect the reality of their short overall timescale.⁵⁵ Between the 420s and the 440s Aetius, largely through barbarian federates, achieved some restoration of Roman power in nearer Gaul

(see above) and Germanus’s presence in Britain may have announced the similar intentions of the Roman government in respect of Britain too. The Britons’ employment of Saxon federates seems in no way exceptional in light of Aetius’s continuing, widespread and regular use of barbarian troops on the Continent.

The revolt of the Saxons

According to British tradition, as presented by Gildas, the Saxon mercenaries were successful and prospered. Seeing this and the military weakness of the Britons, others from their Continental homelands joined the original bands of mercenaries. After some considerable time (*‘multo tempore’*) the Saxons demanded more from the Britons. Here Gildas (23.5) uses the official late Roman vocabulary for billeting arrangements (*annonae* – supplies, and *epimenia* – monthly rations; by the late fourth century only a quarter of a soldier’s pay had been in cash: Collins and Breeze 2014, 62). His use of such terminology appears to point to some continuance of the payment of taxes in kind.⁵⁶ When refused, or perhaps if a decision was delayed, the Saxons rose in revolt, an event described by Gildas in the most vivid language; rebellion, he says, spread from sea to sea (c. 24; Gildas claims that its effects reached the western coast of Britain). Church leaders and clergy were put to the sword and towns abandoned. His account is flushed with rhetoric and his reference, for instance, to urban sieges, for which barbarians at this time had minimal capability, smacks of a literary trope.

The *Galleic Chronicle* of 452 records that Britain passed into the power of the Saxons (*in ditionem Saxonum*) in 441/442.⁵⁷ Clearly, the Saxons can have controlled only a small part of Britain at that time, but from a Continental point of view it looked as if there had been a significant shift in power. With the Saxon uprising, there ended Gildas’s period of abundance. That period appears to have lasted from the time of the Picts’ defeat (‘many years’ after 410, see above) to c. 440. Prosper of Aquitaine considered Britain still to be a ‘Roman island (*Romana(m) insula(m)*)’ in the 430s.⁵⁸

After the revolt

Gildas (c. 20.1) places an unsuccessful appeal by the Britons in the third consulship of Aetius (446 to his death in 454). It is one of the very few dates that Gildas supplies. Gildas, however, places the appeal immediately after he had described the attacks from the Picts and Scots as the Romans left, and this has skewed the date of the Saxon *adventus* ever since.⁵⁹ It seems much more probable, it has reasonably been argued, that it was, rather, the Saxon revolt that was the background to this request – *gemitus Britonum* (‘the groans of the Britons’: Brown 2012, 144) – and that the appeal was for protection not against the Picts, as claimed by Gildas, but the Saxons, and made at a time when the

revolt was already well underway.⁶⁰ As noticed above, by 446 Aetius had restored relative stability to northern Gaul, and this may provide the context for the Britons' (failed) appeal (Wood 1987, 256–7).

Gildas (25.1) says that some Britons, hungry, submitted to the Saxons and were enslaved [and some may well have collaborated with them], some were slaughtered, some went into exile (see below) and others fled to the mountains. After a time the 'cruel [Saxon] plunderers had gone back to their base'.⁶¹ This appears to mean that the Saxons had been plundering, and exacting tribute, far and wide beyond a definable territory which they regarded, or perhaps had been ceded to them (Dumville 1984, 75; see also the introduction to this volume), as their 'home'. Only now did the Britons rally under Ambrosius Aurelianus, who won an initial victory (25.3).⁶² Wars with the Saxons continued until the major British victory at the unidentified Mount Badon (26.1). Gildas then provides some information as to the date of this battle, but his phrasing has caused, and still causes, historians no shortage of problems of translation and interpretation. Winterbottom (1978, 28) translates Gildas's Latin *quique quadragesimus quartus (ut novi) orditur annus mense iam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est* thus: 'That was the year of my birth; as I know, one month of the forty-fourth year since then has already passed'. Bede, however, and surely with reference to Gildas – he had access to a manuscript of Gildas older than any of ours⁶³ – has 'about 44 years after the Saxons' arrival in Britain' (*HE* i.16: *quadregesimo circiter et quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam*; he dated the latter to 445–449: Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 49, n. 3).

Gildas provides some further information about the overall timescale. He tells us (c. 25.3) that the parents of Ambrosius Aurelianus, who, he perhaps assumed (*nimirum*: Thompson 1980b, 452), had worn the purple (that is, his father had been an imperial usurper), had been slain in the Saxon revolt [of 441], an event witnessed by their son,⁶⁴ and that their great-grandchildren, only a pale shadow of their forbears, were alive in his own day. In chapter 26.2–4, he says that the same generation had witnessed both the Saxon revolt and the victory at Mons Badonicus, but that very few remembered or took heed, though it is those few who now provide succour for Gildas himself.

Gildas says that Badon Hill had been almost the last, but certainly not the least, of the battles with the Saxons. Since that time, that is until c. 540, when Gildas was writing the *De Excidio*, there had been peace, but at the price that the country had been divided by an agreed frontier (*divortium*: c. 10.2) with the Britons (Paper 9). Civil war among the Britons themselves, however, continued (c. 26.2)⁶⁵ and this had been the major reason for their many failures against the Saxons. The large army of Riothamus fighting in Gaul rather than in Britain in the 460s (below) might be thought an example of such a lack of unity. Such divisions cannot

earlier have encouraged Aetius to send aid, even had he been in a position to do so.

Such is the main sequence of events, relevant to our theme, from the written sources that have come down to us. Their limitations are clear, not least those of the *De Excidio Britonum* of Gildas, who did not set out to write a history, but a moral tract for his time. We are left to glean such few historical grains we can from his text, the most substantial of them all that concerns fifth-century Britain. We may note that even in the second half of the fifth century, the independent Britons living within the former Roman provinces still regarded themselves as 'Romans', and Christian, as Patrick⁶⁶ in his *Epistola [ad Coroticum]* (Hood 1978, 2), makes clear (Charles-Edwards 2013, 227–8).

Peter Brown has written: 'in the end, [the Romans] will both abandon their Romanized colleagues in Britain, and will shroud this withdrawal from the northern world in a silence that becomes ever more shocking the more we learn of the high quality of the Late Roman life of that province'. The silence of the late Roman writers reflects the tension, never resolved, between their world of the Mediterranean and the northern provinces (Brown 1967, 335–6).

Summary

The outline of events set out above has indicated the increasingly deteriorating military situation in Britain from the early years of the fifth century. Initial attempts to remedy this position depended upon appeals to Rome. Although Rome could offer no direct military assistance, it is possible that on his first mission to Britain in 429 Germanus was involved in the arrangements to bring Saxon *foederati* to Britain for protection against increasing Pictish attacks. Such treaties were in line with established Roman policy. These *foederati* are said to have been successful and Britain prospered. A Roman way of life continued, coinage arguably remaining in use until the 430s (see below). The real break of Britain with Rome occurred c. 441/442 and it has been considered that the failed appeal to Aetius of 446–454 was in the context of the seriousness of the Saxon revolt. Thereafter the Britons were dependent upon their own resources to combat the ever increasing power of the Saxons. Confrontations, in which the Britons' success was hampered by their lack of unity, continued until the latter part of the fifth century when a division of the country was finally agreed.

Emigre Britons

As noticed above, Gildas (c. 22) writes of Britons who went overseas as a result of the savage Saxon uprising of c. 441. It is not, however, easy to assess the extent of such movement in the fifth century. There is likely to be some connection between some, probably many, of Gildas's fleeing Britons – most of them speaking Brittonic, but some Latin – and the

foundation of Brittany. Armorica and south-west Britain had long experienced close contact.⁶⁷

The development and transformation of Armorica to a new *Britannia*, still ongoing in the mid-sixth century,⁶⁸ are not processes easy of historical elucidation. Dated events are few. Mansuetus, a bishop of the Britons, whose diocese lay within the metropolitan see of Tours, attended a Church Council there in 461. According to Jordanes, whose *Getica* was written in 551, an army, supposedly of ‘twelve thousand’, under their British ‘king’ Riothamus,⁶⁹ in 469 was fighting on the Loire in response to Anthemius’s request for aid in his struggle with Euric, king of the Arian Visigoths.⁷⁰ Riothamus, he says, had landed ‘in the state of the Bituriges by way of Ocean’, presumably at the mouth of the Loire on the west coast.⁷¹ ‘The Britons were expelled from Bourges by the Goths and many were killed at Bourg-de-Déols’ (Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, II, 18).⁷² Riothamus ‘lost a greater part of his army and fled with all the men he could gather to the Burgundians, who were allied to the Romans’ (Jordanes, *Getica*, XLV, 238). Once in Burgundian territory they caused trouble by abducting slaves of established landowners (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.*, 3.9). The subsequent history of Riothamus is unknown, though he may have joined his compatriots in western Armorica. If so, it would immediately have greatly strengthened the British community already settled there.⁷³

Charles-Edwards has noted the different extent of British immigration in west and east Brittany. In the far north-west, in the territory of the Osismi, the number of Brittonic-speaking Britons was high, suggesting early and substantial settlement there. To their east, among the Veneti, as far as the border of the subsequent Brittany, British dominance was not achieved until the late sixth century and many ‘Roman’ Latin speakers remained.⁷⁴ Yet further east, British penetration was largely limited to the countryside.

The immigrants were never regarded by the Gallo-Romans as Romans, but as Britons – the great majority of them spoke Brittonic. The Gallo-Romans also came to an accommodation with the Franks, while the Britons did not (Charles-Edwards 1995, 731). To the Franks they would have been known as *Walas*, descended from citizens of the former Roman Empire.⁷⁵

The establishment of an archaeological chronology

Roman mosaicists of the fourth century

D. J. Smith (1969, 1983) pioneered the identification of ‘schools’ of mosaicists in fourth-century Britain. His fundamental studies have recently been further explored by Cosh and Neal in their magisterial survey of these mosaics. Three of their volumes (2005, 2009 and 2010) discuss the mosaics in Wessex. Developing the studies by Smith, the mosaics in this area are now attributed to Central Southern

(first identified by Johnston in 1977: probably early fourth century);⁷⁶ Saltire (mid-fourth century: with links to an Ilchester Group of the second half of the century⁷⁷ and the apparent inspiration of both two other groups operating around Bath, the Southern Dobunnian (mid-fourth century) and the South-western, active from the mid-fourth century); and Durnovarian (350s onwards: the most important Group, its products are also much in evidence around Ilchester) ‘Groups’ of mosaicists.⁷⁸ It is clear that there was a great demand by wealthy clients for high quality mosaics in this part of Britain, and in particular the more westerly parts of Wessex, in the middle of the fourth century and the decades following.⁷⁹ There was a similar flowering of villas in north and west Spain, Aquitaine and perhaps around Trier,⁸⁰ ‘hotspots’, it is suggested, where the elite vied for imperial honours, not least in the expanded civil service, in the wake of Constantinian reforms.⁸¹ This demand for high quality mosaics continued until c. 380, though one at Hucclecote, Gloucestershire, was laid after 395 (Cosh and Neal 2010, 26–7).

Roman coin usage after 400

In 400 Britain was a fully integrated part of the western Roman empire. Although Honorius’s officials were thrown out in 409, the British provinces remained firmly a part of the Roman world until 441/442. Bulk shipments of Roman coin had always been necessary to pay the army and the civil service and for its cyclical exchange into gold for the recovery of taxes. The last bulk shipments of Roman bronze coinage had come to Britain in 395 and of silver in 402; gold coins continued to arrive ‘in significant numbers’ until c. 408 (Moorhead and Walton 2014). There are also a few silver coins of Constantine III, up to of 411. Dr Sam Moorhead and Dr Philippa Walton have also pointed out that there are a small number of coins which indicate that some bronze coinage continued to arrive in Britain until c. 430, but whether with individuals or in some official context is unknown. The gold and bronze coins are concentrated at sites closely associated with the road network, while those of silver have a noticeably rural distribution. Roman coinage appears to have continued to circulate in Britain until about 430 – though by that time only in a very limited way – seen most notably, and uniquely in Britain, through clipped silver *siliquae*, the clipping done in such a way as to preserve the emperor’s portrait. This practice presumably came about owing to a general shortage of silver in Britain, but when it began is uncertain, arguably between c. 402 and c. 411 (Moorhead and Stuttard 2012, 242). Abdy (2006) has suggested that such clipping was carried out by officials of the *civitates*. It is suggested that the silver clippings were turned into copies of the coins and bullion, such as ingots, which were then in use alongside the standard coin issues (Moorhead and Walton 2014). Some form of taxation, as already noticed, may have lasted until the 440s – Gildas,

for whatever reason, was at least still aware of the pertinent fiscal terms in the sixth century. A small number of gold coins continued to reach Britain up to the time of Justinian (527–565: Bland and Lorient 2010, 84–94; Moorhead and Walton 2014, 101).

The hoarding of Roman coin and precious metals

Another exceptional – in comparison with Gaul, which faced similar military threats⁸² – aspect of the latest coinage in Britain is the number of hoards which have been dated to the period 395–410, not just of coins, but also of gold jewellery and silver table-ware of the highest quality.⁸³ Some of these hoards may have been hidden after 410 and it has been suggested that these were buried when the traditional cycle of monetary circulation no longer applied. To that extent they are a ‘post-Roman’ phenomenon, hidden at a time of great and prolonged social and economic stress, and it may be that in these hoards it was not now the monetary value but the other-worldly qualities, ever present, of the hidden gold and silver that were paramount (Guest 2014).⁸⁴ There could, of course, have also been practical reasons, such as an expectation of the return of Roman government, for the burgeoning of hoarding at this time.

The continuity of Roman material culture after 400

The difficulty in dating sites after the cessation of Roman coinage⁸⁵ has encouraged scholars to look again at the nature of the very latest Roman deposits, which traditionally have been considered to end around the date of the latest coins, and to question whether the associated pottery and other artefacts may not, in perhaps many places, have continued in use for a considerable time afterwards. Dr Hilary Cool has been at the forefront of these studies. She has noted that hand-made cooking wares (eg. Dorset black-burnished and grog-tempered wares in the south and Crambeck products in the north) were becoming increasingly popular at the end of the fourth century, while glass vessels, at least for those who could afford them, had replaced ceramic ones for drinking, a trend which continued in the fifth century.⁸⁶ In Wessex, the Dorset black-burnished ware pottery, which was hand-made but finished on a slow wheel, appears to have been the longest to remain in production and it is suggested that even some new forms may have been added to its repertoire after 400.⁸⁷ Grog-tempered pottery manufacture has been the subject of recent, detailed, study (Lyne 2015). Lyne has demonstrated the importance of this industry in southern Wessex and its probable survival there into the second quarter of the fifth century. One centre where production appears to have continued into the fifth century is the Isle of Wight, with exports, perhaps in association with salt, to the Hampshire Basin, West Sussex and even Berkshire.

With the rundown of pottery production, some Roman vessels may also have come to be treasured and may have remained in use for a long time in the fifth century.⁸⁸ This is suggested by, for instance, the stratified sequences at Cadbury-Congresbury, Somerset (*Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensem*, p. 37); at this site it is not possible to identify changes in the ceramic record prior to the appearance there of fine wares (deep plates or shallow dishes, bowls and amphorae) imported from the Mediterranean *c.* 475. Rahtz (1977, 55) notes ‘the finding at Cadbury-Congresbury in 1973 of a “freshly broken” Roman pot in association with a sherd of North African pot dated independently to *c.* 525’.

In the same vein, Bowles (2007, chap. 5) has discussed the longevity of types of bone and antler spindle-whorls, pendants, pins and combs in the fifth century. The reuse and reworking of Roman ceramic and glass sherds and copper-alloy objects into new forms is also notable, presumably with the implication that the raw materials themselves were becoming increasingly scarce (Swift 2012; 2014). Women’s fashions were changing too. For instance, bead necklaces became popular in the fourth century – an observation with implications for their regular appearance in the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ furnished burial rite (Cool 2014). In the second half of the century there was a marked decline in the use of hairpins and Dr Hilary Cool has suggested that this might be connected with Christian approval of covering the hair (Cool 1990; 2000a; 2000b). Head-veils were also widely in use in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Walton Rogers 2007, *passim*).

Copper-alloy penannular brooches were widespread in Roman Britain (Mackreth 2011). A notable development of the fifth century is a large form with zoomorphic terminals, in some examples enamelled, worn singly and apparently as a mark of rank, by the British male elite to fasten the cloak, in the Roman military tradition (Youngs 2010).

Organic-tempered pottery

Recent research has also emphasised the continuing use and significance of Roman material culture in many parts of Britain until well into the fifth century. At some Roman settlements hand-made organic-tempered pottery also hints at their prolonged occupation into the post-Roman period. Organic-tempered pottery has, however, also been recovered from settlements with no Roman associations, where only ‘Anglo-Saxon’ material culture is evident. Where such pottery is the only evidence for post-Roman occupation of Roman sites in regions which otherwise exhibit clear signs of ‘Anglo-Saxon’ culture, it presumably either pre-dates the beginning of Saxon influence or, for some reason, other ‘Anglo-Saxon’ products were not locally available (Eagles 1994, 18; Evans 1990).

In the upper Thames valley organic-tempered wares have been dated to the later fifth to the eighth centuries, with their increasing importance in the sixth and seventh, but

they continued in use until even the early eleventh century in the middle Thames valley (Booth *et al.* 2007, 104). Steve Ford (1994–97, 22) has remarked upon the difficulty of distinguishing hand-made Iron Age pottery from post-Roman organic- and sand-tempered wares (cf. Laidlaw in Crockett 1996, 150).

New types of artefact in the fifth century

The earliest post-Roman artefacts of Germanic origin appear in eastern Wessex between *c.* 425 and 440/450. They mark an abrupt intrusion into this late and post-Roman material culture. Probably the first of them to be in use are cruciform brooches of Åberg's Group I (Hills and Lucy 2013, 31). Martin (2015, 175) divides these into four sub-groups, 1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, and argues that only the first group is potentially evidence for immigrants or imports. The second class are copies, continuing to be made in Britain into the second half of the fifth century, while Group 1.2.1 probably began *c.* 450, followed by Group 1.2.2 (Martin 2015, 121). Cruciform brooches of Åberg's Group II are dated by Hills and Lucy (2013) to *c.* 440/450–480, though Martin (2015, 123) suggests a starting date for these of *c.* 475 or a little earlier – while also pointing out that there is almost no sign of any Style I decoration on the Group 2 brooches. Supporting-arm brooches (*Stützarmfibeln*) date to the middle third of the fifth century. Both these and the cruciform types were worn by women, though some of the cruciform brooches may have used singly by men.⁸⁹

The Quoit Brooch Style, datable between *c.* 425 and *c.* 475, is considered by many scholars to incorporate significant elements of design and motif from both insular and Germanic craftsmanship and therefore to be of a hybrid, that is, partly native British, origin. The view taken here, however, is that the non-Germanic aspects of its composition derive, not from Romano-British exemplars,⁹⁰ for which there is no unequivocal evidence in the Style, but from close Germanic exposure to late Roman forms of decoration as expressed on belt-fittings and other items widely available in the militarised northern frontier society of late Roman Gaul. Some of the Germanic troops – who were accompanied by their families – who had served there in the Roman army may well have then come to Britain to continue their service here under Vortigern. It may be noted that, although there are a smaller number of objects in the Quoit Brooch Style overall in Gaul than in England, the largest single concentration is from the cemetery at Saint-Marcel, Morbihan, where there is a weapon burial with Quoit Brooch Style buckles and other fittings and there are also types not yet replicated in England (Ager 2012). The Quoit Brooch Style was certainly greatly developed and elaborated in Britain, where it became firmly established in the south-east.⁹¹ Many of its distinctive products are richly decorated and clearly the possessions of the elite.⁹² Wessex lies towards the western limit of its distribution, but

it still makes a significant contribution to the fifth-century repertoire in the region. Applied saucer brooches with backward-facing animals or with a human mask motif date to the second half of the fifth century, while those with a floriate cross design to its final third. A *francisca* with a burial in the cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner, by Old Sarum, dates to around 470.

This mid-fifth-century phase comes to a definable end with the appearance, *c.* 475 or a little earlier, in England of Germanic Animal Art (Salin) Style I. Button brooches of Suzuki (2008) Type AI, which originated in East Kent, were in use from *c.* 480.⁹³ Other diagnostic artefacts belonging to this horizon are the five-spiral saucer brooches and ring-and-dot decorated disc and saucer brooches, which cannot be dated more closely than to *c.* 475–525. Where a number of these disc and saucer brooches are found at one site, especially if alongside examples of other late fifth-century artefacts, as at the Portway cemetery, Andover, and others at Alton and Droxford, all in Hampshire, it seems reasonable to consider that they were in use at these places before 500. Small-long brooches have been traditionally assigned to the sixth century, but some of them may date to later in the fifth and many are likely to have been in circulation in the first half of the sixth century.⁹⁴ (Böhme 1986, 557; Annable and Eagles 2010, 27). In western Wessex, in the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensem*, a notable feature is pottery imported from the Mediterranean which, as a 'package', is datable in Britain mainly to *c.* 450/475–550 (Campbell 2007; Bidwell *et al.* 2011).

The Roman *civitates* which preceded the formation of Wessex (Figs 5–8)

***Civitas Regnorum*⁹⁵**

Only the most westerly part of this *civitas* was in Hampshire and eventually became part of Wessex. The north, to the north of Horndean, lay on the Chalk, south of which Tertiary deposits of sands, gravels and clays, broken by the Chalk of Portsdown Ridge, extended to the coast. In the late Roman period the area was dominated by the late Roman Saxon Shore fort at *Portchester*, probably *Portus Adurni*. Cunliffe (1975a, 425–8) reported disordered occupation, with a probable military element, datable from *c.* 364 to after 400 (there are coins of the House of Theodosius and grog-tempered pottery, which included a convex-sided dish with applied solid hemispherical bosses and diagonal burnished line decoration, a distinctive form (Type 6A.25) which 'may be exclusively early 5th century in date' – also recorded from *Fareham*: Lyne 2015, 41, 97, 135). A fragmentary hand-made pot of north German type (Schalurne), of the first half of the fifth century, was recovered from a sunken-featured building.

Occupation within the fort continued, with artefacts and structures recorded from each of the succeeding centuries

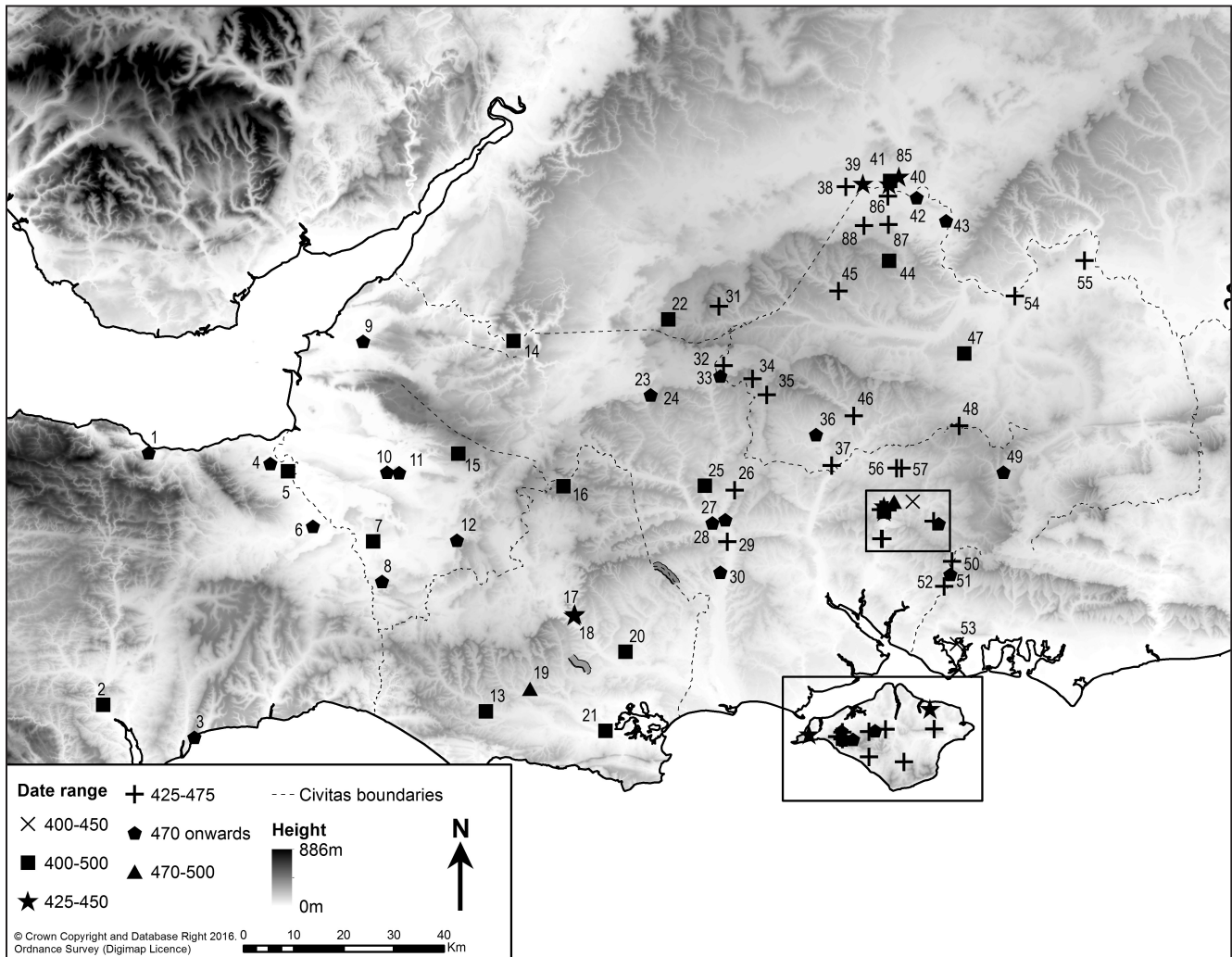


Figure 5 Fifth-century sites in Wessex (for the identification of the site numbers on Figs 5–8, see Appendix) (Harry Manley)

(Cunliffe 1976, 301–2). There are coin hoards of the reigns of Julian (355–363) and Theodosius I (379–395) from *Portsmouth* (Robertson 2000, nos 1368 and 1465).⁹⁶ Six inhumations have been excavated at *Ports Down*, one with coins of 388–395 (Corney *et al.* 1967, 119, 125).

An aisled building, apparently part of a religious complex,⁹⁷ at *Shavards Farm, Meonstoke*, was rebuilt in or after the mid-third century. It is notable for the preservation of the collapsed early fourth-century façade of an aisled building, showing its upper floor with two tiers of blocked round-arched clerestory windows. This wall sealed fourth-century coins. A few sherds of grass-tempered wares were recovered during the excavation. A supporting-arm brooch has also been found in the environs of the building. The latter is, very exceptionally, an example of the heavier type, worn by men and, just as the large zoomorphic brooches, in the tradition of the late Roman crossbow brooches which fastened the military cloak. A strap-end in the Quoit Brooch Style, and button, ring-and-dot decorated disc, and gilded small square-headed type brooches of the late fifth or early

to mid-sixth centuries, have also been found close to the villa (see also Paper 3).

A second strap-end in the Quoit Brooch Style is on record from *Corhampton* and a third from *Exton*. The upper part of Group II cruciform brooch has been found at *Soberton*, on the east bank of the Meon.⁹⁸

*Civitas Atrebatum*⁹⁹

The north-western parts of the *civitas* are dominated by the chalklands of the Berkshire Downs, fringed on the north by the Upper Greensand, beyond which lie the Kimmeridge Clay and Corallian limestone outcrops across the Vale of the White Horse, towards the Thames. At the east, south of Reading, there is a very extensive area of Tertiary deposits of the Barton, Bracklesham and Bagshot Beds, surrounded by the London Clay, which stretches, increasingly attenuated, from the eastern boundary of the *civitas* as far as its western limit at Savernake Forest. To its south lie the clays of the Weald and to its south-west, the northerly parts of the Hampshire Chalk.

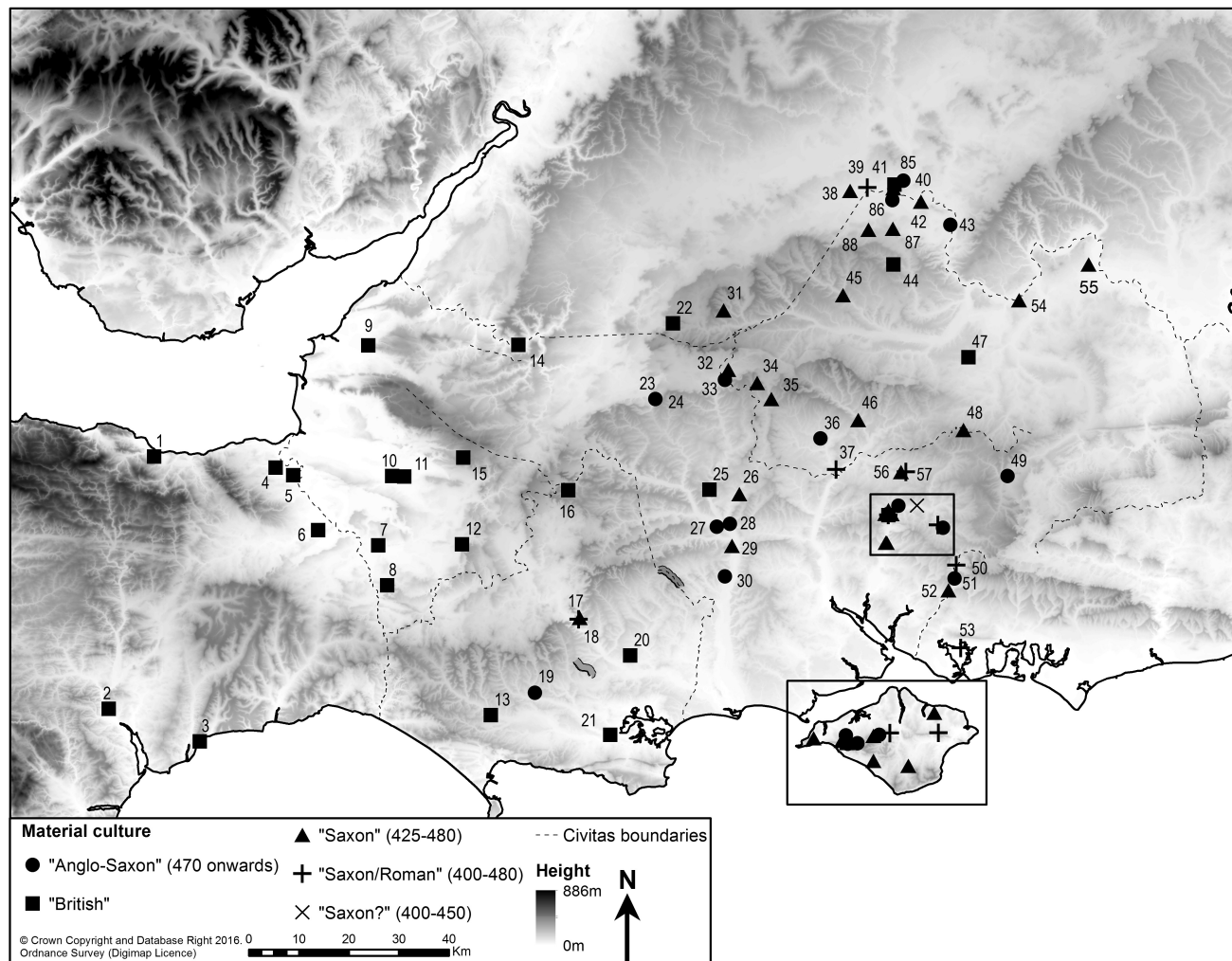


Figure 6 'British' and 'Anglo-Saxon' sites in Wessex in the fifth century as definable through material culture (Harry Manley)

Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum)

Extensive excavations in *Insula IX* have shown how different the town looked in the fourth century in comparison to earlier times. It was now a townscape of timber buildings (illustration on the front cover of Fulford *et al.* 2006), apart from some buildings, now undergoing considerable alteration, which may still have retained some public function. Forty-two kilogrammes of forging slag, associated with coins dating up to the 370s, were retrieved from features in the floor make-up at either end of the basilica, suggesting smithing, rather than smelting, on a significant scale, with the iron being recycled; there was also small-scale iron smithing, and smelting too, elsewhere in *Insula IX* (Fulford *et al.* 2006, 145–63, 267–70). A small pit or post-hole produced a coin of Theodosius (379–395). Limestone moulds, probably for the production of bronze or pewter vessels, were also found (Fulford and Timby 2000, 72–5, 577–9). A hypocaust inserted in the southern ambulatory of the west range of the basilica appears to have cut through a layer with fourth-century pottery and access

to the west ambulatory was blocked off (Fulford and Timby 2000, 75). The forum/basilica complex was demolished in two stages, both undated. The forum itself and the altered west range, where stone-robbing reached to below ground-level, surviving later than the rest (Fulford 2012, fig. 12.6). It has been suggested that the west range, which produced red-streaked window-glass (which may be of either Roman or late seventh-century date in Britain), thereafter may have served as a church or even a monastery, the surprisingly unrobbed town walls perhaps serving as a *vallum monasterii* (Fulford 2012). The amphitheatre may have gone out of use by the end of the third century (Fulford 1989, 192). Four late Roman buckles, of Types IA, IA/B and IIA (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 43, 50, 55, but omitting no. 8: Hawkes 1972, 146) and another with a semi-circular plate and three rivets (Boon 1959, pl. iii, A8) lack association.¹⁰⁰ The stratified sequences in *Insula IX*, immediately to the north of the forum, indicate occupation there continuing into the fifth century. Thus Pit 2224 cut the corner of the north-east room of Building 1, within which Pit 1354, whose fill

included a coin of 395–402, had been inserted through the slumped clay floors in one of its rooms (Fulford *et al.* 2006, 273–85, for further discussion of this period in the town). An ogam-inscribed Roman dwarf column, recovered from a well, is suggested to have come from the north verandah of Building 1, which is thought to have been constructed c. 300/325. The well is argued to have been put out of use in the fifth century. The inscription, the date of which has been the subject of much debate, includes the British (not Irish)¹⁰¹ name TEBICATO(S). Professor Sims-Williams is of the view that it is no earlier than c. 550 (Sims-Williams 2003, 54, n. 207). It may, however, be rather older.¹⁰² The purpose of the inscription, which possibly stood alone after the demolition of the verandah, may have been to identify Tetricus's property. There are two sherds of chaff-tempered ware from the backfill of Victorian trenches in *Insula III* (*Britannia* 45 (2014), 386). A small hoard, with gold and silver finger-rings and clipped silver *siliquae* (so post-402, or even later, see above) of Arcadius, the eastern co-emperor of Honorius (for the date of their coins in Britain see above), was found just outside the presumed late Iron Age earthwork in Rampier Copse, to the south-west of the town (Hobbs 2006, Silchester II). A fragmentary cranium from the city's defensive ditch (perhaps itself a secondary location), from the 1991 excavations, produced a radiocarbon determination of cal AD 340–570 (Fulford 2000).¹⁰³ The hand-made grog-tempered convex-sided bossed dish, a type which may post-date 400 (see above) is also in evidence (Lyne 2015, 97). There are also unstratified finds of the fifth–seventh centuries: a pin from a large zoomorphic penannular brooch, an old find (Boon 1959, 82, B1; Kilbride-Jones 1980, 142, no. 148); a button brooch of Class JI (Boon 1959, 83, C1); a bronze *foliis* of Justinian I (an issue of 527–537) – a stray find, now lost (Morrisson 2014, no. 40: see also Paper 3); and a fragmentary glass palm cup of the seventh century (Boon 1959, 83, item C3, fig. 41; Evison 2000, 68).¹⁰⁴

*The Roman 'small town'*¹⁰⁵ of Cunetio

The town, of 18 ha (44 acres), at *Mildenhall* on the south bank of the River Kennet, was well served by the Roman road system, with direct links to three *civitas* capitals – Cirencester, Silchester and Winchester – as well as to Bath and Old Sarum. It was also located near the intensively farmed arable of Salisbury Plain and the Berkshire and Marlborough Downs. *Cunetio* is likely to have functioned as a *pagus* centre. There was an uneven street grid in much of the central and eastern parts of the town. Stone buildings included one of winged corridor form, with an apse, which was contemporary with or later than the construction, c. 360–380, of stone defences with external bastions. This stone circuit exceeded, exceptionally, that of its earthen predecessor. These defences disregarded the earlier layout, suggesting a new role for the town. There is a late Roman buckle from a wide belt.¹⁰⁶ The coin sequence continues

to the House of Theodosius (Corney 1997; 2001, 12–18; Moorhead 2001, 88, 100). There is a possibility that the deliberate filling of a well, whose contents included a range of building material, potsherds from more than 200 vessels and a hoard of silver and bronze coins deposited probably soon after 375, was associated with clearance outside the defences on the south side in connection with the refortification (Moorhead 1997a). A supporting-arm brooch is recorded from 'Marlborough', the parish adjacent to the west.

The settlement at *East Anton, Andover* (?*Leucomagus*), at and to the north-west of the crossing of the Roman roads from Winchester to Cirencester and from Silchester to Old Sarum, is another candidate for a small Roman town. Excavations between 1970 and 1972 revealed extensive occupation until the fourth century.

The Vale of the White Horse and its environs

To the north of the Vale, at *Tubney*, 3 km north of Frilford, on the Corallian limestone and in an area suggested here to have been within the *civitas Dobunnorum*, there is a group of seven unaccompanied inhumation burials with two radiocarbon dates of cal AD 420–540 and cal AD 425–545 (Simmonds *et al.* 2011). They lay about 20 m to the west of a late Roman cemetery, where eight graves have been excavated. Five of the latter were orientated north (head) to south or north-west to south-east. The others were aligned west-south-west to east-north-east. One of these had been intersected by a north to south grave; the burial in another was accompanied by a comb and a coin of Valens (364–378) and had hobnailed footwear. Four of the post-Roman burials, one of which was intersected by a north-west to south-east grave, were placed within enclosures, perhaps indicating individuals of a higher status; five of these – two, within a conjoined enclosure, yielding the radiocarbon dates – were strictly north to south. At least one of them was in a prone position. The other inhumation was oriented west-south-west to east-north-east, as some of the Roman burials. Both cemeteries were located beside a Roman road which continued south to Frilford (though the ultimate destinations of the route are unknown: Simmonds *et al.* 2011). There is an amphora-shaped strap-end from *Hatfield* (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.). A fifth-century Germanic bow brooch with upturned foot is recorded from *Kingston Bagpuize*. In the Vale itself, at *Frilford*, to the east of a Roman road (its destinations unknown) crossing of the Ock, an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery has produced cruciform brooches arguably of the middle of the fifth century. A Roman settlement and religious site here was also in use into the fifth century and there may be a period of overlap with those burials. The temple complex may lie on the northern border of the *civitas*. There is a later fifth-century button brooch of Suzuki's Class A1, the earliest group, from the cemetery at *Watchfield* (now in Oxfordshire) near the Wiltshire border.

The Thames valley

Excavation at *Barton Court Farm, Abingdon* (16088: Oxfordshire, formerly Berkshire), on the edge of the second gravel terrace, revealed a late Iron Age to Romano-British farmstead that developed into a modest villa in the later third to fourth centuries. A third- to fourth-century cemetery of twelve cremation (six within an enclosure) and 57 inhumation burials, mostly orientated north–south, at *Radley Barrow Hills*, only 300 m to the north-east, may have been used by the villa's occupants. Sixth-century Anglo-Saxon burials had been cut into Rooms 4 and 5 of the villa. An adjacent Anglo-Saxon settlement – with both sunken-featured buildings and post-built structures – showed no regard for the Roman boundaries, one of which produced parts of a mid-fifth-century Germanic faceted carinated bowl. Chambers and MacAdam (2007, vol. 2, 7) note that 'early Anglo-Saxon occupation of the Romano-British villa appeared to have followed rapidly after the demolition of the main villa building', but even so, this change appears to have been marked by disruption. Further Anglo-Saxon occupation at *Radley Barrow Hills*, dated between the fifth and the early seventh centuries, may belong to the same settlement. The excavated remains there comprised forty-five sunken-featured buildings and twenty-two post-built structures and also fence-lines; the central group of buildings appears to have been arranged round three sides of an open space (Miles 1986; Chambers and MacAdam 2007).

Within the present town of *Abingdon* the Roman settlement continued well into the fourth century (Booth *et al.* 2007, 78). A fifth-century large zoomorphic penannular brooch has also been recorded from the town (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 93, no. 25), where numerous sunken-featured buildings have been excavated, some of whose associated pottery is said to belong to the fifth century (noted in Booth *et al.* 2007, 91). A Germanic cemetery, with cremation and inhumation burials, beginning in the second quarter of the fifth century, is close by. The settlement at *Sutton Courtenay* may have begun in the second half of the fifth century (excavations produced a silver-gilt equal-arm brooch: Leeds 1923, 171, 174–5). A rural settlement at *Wickhams Field* near *Reading* continued in occupation to c. 400 (Crockett 1996). One of two coin hoards assignable to the period 395–410 from *Reading* itself has clipped *siliquae* (Robertson 2000, no. 1500; the other is 1516). Fieldwalking of a settlement of 2 ha (5 acres) on a low-lying gravel ridge in the *Loddon valley*, to the south of Wargrave and close to the confluence of the river and the Thames, produced both Roman and post-Roman organic- and sand-tempered pottery (Ford 1994–1997, settlement 22).

Other furnished burials, and finds of Germanic ancestry by the Thames date to the middle or the second half of the fifth century; their locations have no demonstrable Roman associations. These new sites appear to indicate the

beginnings of a more independent phase in the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area. The burial grounds at *Wallingford*, *Reading* and *Long Wittenham* may be large and may have continued for a considerable time. The bones of an infant in a cremation urn at *Wallingford* have a radiocarbon date of cal AD 426–540 (Booth *et al.* 2007, 96). The *Cox Green Roman villa, Maidenhead*, was in use until at least the last quarter of the fourth century, though in decline from c. 350. There is a fragmentary chip-carved equal-arm brooch from *Maidenhead*.¹⁰⁷

The Berkshire Downs¹⁰⁸ and the Upper Greensand

On the Upper Greensand which fringes the Chalk at the north there is a Roman settlement at *Denchworth Road, Wantage*, which continued to the late fourth century (Barber and Holbrook 2001), and another at *Mill Street* occupied to its last quarter. At the latter an archaeological horizon above the Roman contained a coin of 388–402, hand-made organic-tempered pottery and annular loom-weights (Holbrook and Thomas 1996). At *Didcot* a Roman settlement was in use until the 'late Roman' period.¹⁰⁹ A coin hoard with clipped *siliquae* is recorded from *Letcombe Regis* (Hobbs 2006, no. 1531). Small Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at *West Hendred* (Hamerow 1993) and *Harwell* began in the second half of the fifth century. Another coin hoard, similar to that at *Letcombe Regis*, is known from the Chalk in the east on *Compton Downs* (on the Ridgeway) and one of 364–394 from *Aldworth* (respectively, Robertson 2000, nos. 1514 and 1378A). On *Roden Downs, Compton*, the latest of ten fourth-century inhumations, four male and six female, was associated with coins of 379–399 (Hood and Walton 1948). A pin from a large zoomorphic penannular brooch is recorded nearby from *East Ilsley*. A coin hoard of 364–394 and another with coins to Theodosius (387–402) have been found at *Chaddleworth* (*Britannia* 43 (2012), 344).

The Lambourn Downs

The villa at *Maddle Farm, Lambourn*, has coins to Eugenius (392–394), while a nearby settlement at *Knighton Bushes* produced others to Valens (364–378) and five sherds of organic-tempered pottery (Gaffney and Tingle 1989). An Anglo-Saxon cemetery, beginning in the second half of the fifth century, has been excavated to their south-east at *East Shefford*, in the valley of the Lambourn, a tributary of the Kennet.

The Kennet valley

The extensive villa at *Littlecote* (17035), where the valley is cut through the Chalk, to the east of *Cunetio*, has a South Dobunnian Group mosaic, and its coin series extends to the end of the Roman period (Moorhead 2001, 88; Walters 2001). A settlement on a gravel ridge between the Kennet and the River Enborne at *Crookham* (12059), was in use 'through to the end of the fourth century'. A logboat

coffin at *Burghfield* produced a cal AD radiocarbon date of 426–647.¹¹⁰ There were no grave goods, but the extended body (of a female?) was covered with bark.¹¹¹

A saucer brooch with a five-pointed star design is recorded from immediately north-west of *Membury* hill-fort.

The Wiltshire and Hampshire Chalk: Kinwardstone Hundred

At the north, *Pewsey* lies towards the eastern end of the Upper Greensand of the Vale which carries its name. Finds include a hoard of *siliquae*, two of 395–402, mostly clipped (*Britannia* 42 (2011), 387; 43 (2012), 342), and a strap-end with Quoit Brooch Style decoration. The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Blacknall Field*, probably almost fully excavated, with approximately one hundred inhumations and four cremations, and which began c. 475, is located on the Chalk to the south.

The villa at *Castle Copse, Bedwyn*, Wiltshire, on a cap of Plateau Gravel above the Chalk to the south-west of Littlecote, is one of the largest courtyard villas yet found in Britain. One of its mosaics belongs to the Central Southern Group. Coin use lasts to the end of the Roman period, the latest issues belonging to 388–402 (Hostetter and Howe 1997; see also Paper 11). The earliest Germanic artefact so far identified on the Wiltshire Chalk is at *Collingbourne Kingston* in the valley of the Bourne, which flows southwards at the eastern margin of Salisbury Plain. There the findspot of a supporting-arm brooch, of the middle third of the fifth century, is possibly close to the course of the largely lost Roman road from *Cunetio* (Mildenhall) to *Sorviodunum*. The inhumation cemetery at the adjacent *Collingbourne Ducis* began in the second half of the fifth century.

From the Hampshire Chalk an altogether exceptional roundel of copper alloy and red enamel, which may have decorated a box or a piece of furniture, has been recorded from *St Mary Bourne*. It displays late Romano-British techniques and decoration in the use of red enamel and the central marigold in its design, while the ring of backward-glancing animals recalls the late Roman military style associated with the frontier (for examples, Böhme 1974, *passim*; 2000). The piece dates either to the late fourth or the early fifth century.

The villa at *Andover (Castlefield)* has coins to the reign of Valens (364–378), as has the nearby settlement at *Smannell*, while the latest coin at the villa at *Abbotts Ann* is of 350. There is a cruciform brooch from *Finkley Down, Andover* (Hampshire Council Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record 29056; HCMS collections). *Thruxton* villa, which has an Orpheus mosaic, produced five hand-made organic-tempered sherds and another in a sandy ware from superficial deposits (Cunliffe and Poole 2008b). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Portway, Andover*, began in the later fifth century; it exhibits a mixed inhumation and cremation burial rite, which is paralleled, though with fewer cremations, at *Blacknall Field, Pewsey*. To the south

of Andover, a supporting-arm brooch, together with hand-made pottery, has been recovered from an occupation layer in a stone-footed ‘hall’ in the last phases of the Roman villa at *Fullerton* in the Test valley. There is a coin hoard with clipped *siliquae* from *Whitchurch* (Robertson 2000, no. 1536A). A settlement on the Chalk at *Popley, Basingstoke* (15091) ‘extended the breadth of the Roman period’. Part of a fifth-century cruciform brooch has been found at *Cliddesden*, south of the town. The villa at *Odiham*, east of Basingstoke, and at the boundary of the Chalk and the London Clay, has coins to 381.

Civitas Dobunnorum

This volume is concerned only with that very small part of this *civitas* south of the Thames which falls within Wiltshire or was formerly in Berkshire.

Roman ‘small towns’

Three of these ‘small towns’ in Wessex were located within the southern parts of this *civitas*. One, at *Wanborough* (17007), probably *Durocornovium* (see also Paper 1), continued until at least the end of the fourth century. The town, at the junction of Roman roads from Winchester to Mildenhall and Silchester to Cirencester, lay on low-lying Kimmeridge Clay, liable to flood. Its wooden buildings were raised on stone supports to keep them clear of the wet ground. There is a suggested *mansio*, or guest-house, for the use of travellers. The planned core is of at least 16 ha (40 acres), though occupation may have extended over 25 ha (60 acres). Defences of the late second or the third century were short-lived (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 164; Corney 2001, 10–12; Anderson *et al.* 2001, 85, 88, nos 50–1 and 53–4, for, respectively, a plate from a late Roman narrow, probably military, belt (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Type I); the tongue of a Type IIA buckle; and a Tortworth strap-end and another of related type). The second town was at *Whitewalls, Easton Grey* (17037), on the Fosse Way, roughly midway Bath and Cirencester. Its site is unexcavated but is known to have stretched for almost 1 km along the road. The coin series runs to issues of the House of Theodosius (Corney 2001, 23–6; Moorhead 2001, 88, 99). The third is *Verlucio*, at Sandy Lane, approximately midway on the road between Bath and Mildenhall. The place has earthwork defences, which enclose about 3 ha (7.4 acres). There is a buckle of Hawkes and Dunning Type IB (Wiltshire Museum Day Book, no. 1289) and coins run to the end of the Roman period (Moorhead 2001, 88, 99). There are many notable, late villas in its hinterland (Corney 2001, 29–30), including the one at *Bromham*, Wiltshire, whose coin series continues to 353. There is also a coin hoard of 364–394 from *Bromham* (Robertson 2000, no. 1426). A probable villa site, possibly with religious connotations, at *Mother Anthony’s Well*, north-west of Rowde, has produced coins to the end of the fourth century (Moorhead 2001, 99).

The very large Roman settlement at *Silbury Hill*, near Avebury (17003 and 17012), potentially covering over 20 ha (49.4 acres), though on the same road as *Verlucio*, and indeed midway between *Cunetio* and *Verlucio*, is of a rather different character. Its location beside the source of the River Kennet suggests that it was a place of some religious significance, a role seemingly underlined by the adjacent Waden Hill, whose Old English name refers to a shrine (Paper 7). The settlement appears to have been occupied throughout the Roman period (Corney 2001, 26–9; Moorhead 2011, for full publication of the coins from Silbury itself and other sites in its immediate environs; Crosby and Hembrey 2013).

North-west Wiltshire

At *Malmesbury* (17041), close to the Gloucestershire border, and on the Cornbrash which edges the Oxford Clay on the west, a pipeline excavation trench revealed parts of a settlement with ditched enclosures, masonry buildings, field boundaries and trackways. A stone villa with hypocausts and tessellated floors was built in the third or fourth century. Pottery extended to the late fourth century. To the north-east, a settlement on the Upper Thames gravels, which in many places overlies the Clay, at *Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes*, has produced hand-made organic-tempered pottery and other sherds in sandy and calcareous fabrics in association with the latest Roman wares, and appears to have been occupied into the fifth century and possibly later. A five-spiral decorated saucer brooch was found close by (Powell *et al.* 2008). There is also a late Roman propeller-shaped belt-stiffener from the parish (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.). A Hawkes and Dunning Type IB buckle is recorded from *Wootton Bassett*, on the limestone (WM Day Book, no. 1660).

To the south-west of Malmesbury, on the Fosse Way, at *Nettleton Scrubb*, a temple complex, with dedications to Apollo Cunomaglos, Silvanus, Diana, Rosmerta and probably Mercury, witnessed a series of architectural developments in the fourth century – by no means easy to elucidate from the published archaeological record – evident of a thriving paganism to the Valentinianic period. The shrine was thereafter converted to a farm, amongst whose debris were the bones of fourteen individuals, male and female, several with cut-marks, and there was one decapitation. These remains were associated with coins up to 392 and, unexpectedly, a *plumbata* (lead-weighted dart), a weapon of the late Roman army. The coin series for the site as a whole extended to 402.¹¹² There is a coin hoard of 364–394 from *Chippenham* (Hobbs 2006, no. 1395).¹¹³

The chalklands north and north-east of East Wansdyke

The hill-fort of *Oldbury* (see Pl. 9), Cherhill, to the north of Wansdyke, arguably lay close to the northern border of the Belgae. It was clearly a significant place both in the

late Roman period and in the fifth century. There are coins to Magnus Maximus (383–385) from within the defences, and small finds, including a fourth-century silver penannular brooch and coins to Gratian (367–383) from a site at the foot of the hill. Excavations in the nineteenth century produced a large zoomorphic penannular brooch from within what is now recognized to be a late enclosure within the hill-fort. A second example of this type of brooch is also most probably from the hill-fort (Paper 7).

In *Cherhill* village itself, there is a villa with a Durnovarian Group mosaic. A further site in the parish has produced coins to Valens (364–378). A Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA buckle is recorded from *Calstone* (WM Day Book, no. 1336).

To the north of the Kennet, on *Overton Down*, a settlement is argued to have continued in occupation until the mid-fifth century (Fowler 2000, 102–11). A hoard from *Manton Down, Presnute*, has clipped *siliquae*. In the valley of the River Og, a northern tributary of the Kennet, there is organic-tempered pottery on the Roman site at *Round Hill Down, Ogbourne St George* (VCH, Wiltshire, Vol. I. ii (1973), 466–7). A Germanic fifth-century supporting-arm brooch is recorded from *Ogbourne St Andrew*. A Roman settlement at *Upper Upham, Aldbourne*, has produced a late Roman belt-fitting of Type IA (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 45) and there are also two of Type IB from ‘*Aldbourne*’ (WM Day Book, nos 1535 and 1576). The Roman villa located in a dry combe running into the north scarp of the Marlborough Downs at *Badbury, Chiseldon* (17107) is thought to have continued in occupation into the fifth century, though on a much reduced scale. The records of this excavation are very incomplete. There is also a hoard datable to 395–410 from *Weir Farm, Presnute* (Robertson 2000, no. 1599). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Watchfield* began in the late fifth century (Scull 1992b).

Civitas Belgarum

This *civitas* is very large, extending from the Bristol Channel in the west to the Surrey border in the east, and from West and East Wansdyke in the north to the south coast. It encompasses a wide range of environments, which include, in the east, extensive areas of chalk downland in Wiltshire and Hampshire, fringed on the north, west and east by the Upper Greensand. South of the Chalk there are large expanses of the Tertiary deposits of the Hampshire Basin, to either side of the Solent. The west is dominated by the Keuper Marl and Carboniferous Limestone in north Somerset, which are separated from the Chalk by, in places narrow, outcrops of Oolite, and Oxford Clay, which supported Selwood on the Somerset/Wiltshire border.

Winchester (Venta Belgarum), the civitas capital

Our knowledge of late Roman *Winchester* is fragmentary (Biddle 1972; Booth *et al.* 2010, 523–6). The north-west

quarter saw an increase in settlement density in the first half of the fourth century, but many buildings were abandoned in the second half and ‘dark earths’¹¹⁴ developed (Biddle 1983, 112). At The Brooks too there was ‘gradual abandonment and demolition of all the town houses in the second half of the fourth century, but also evidence of some continuing occupation, including possible metalworking, to the late fourth or early fifth century’ (Fulford and Holbrook 2015, 72–3). Ironworking was increasingly important in the fourth century.

Alterations to the north range of the forum in the late third and fourth centuries included the laying of red tessellated floors and excavations also showed the ‘heavy usage’ of a corridor and that ‘its mortar floors were continually repaired or replaced.’ Rebuilding followed, including the amalgamation of two rooms, and

‘[s]ometime during the late Roman(?) period the character of the occupation changed when the rooms were not cleaned, dog faeces left on the floor and small fires lit. Shortly afterwards the building appears to have been completely abandoned and left to decay. Subsequently the stone roof collapsed and the walls slowly decayed onto the floors. Eventually the building became levelled with a dark loamy soil from which a single piece of early Saxon pottey [chaff-tempered ware] dated 5th/6th century was recovered.’ (Teague 1988, 7)

The pottery otherwise included New Forest colour-coated, Oxfordshire parchment, grey and grog-tempered wares. Theodosian coinage is relatively common in the town (Rogers 2011, 162).

The ‘managed’ cemeteries appear to end abruptly in the early fifth century (see also the Introduction for Lankhills). The immediate post-Roman phases illustrate the problems of dating only too well. Thus we know that the road between the south and north gates remained open: street surface 7 sealed coins to Gratian (375–383); Street 8 was used until the south gate collapsed onto it. Heavy traffic continued across the rubble, which became worn and patched and was twice resurfaced. Professor Martin Biddle’s plan shows that gate open in the ‘5th–6th century.’ None of this sequence, however, can be directly dated after the coins of Gratian. It is also considered that the road northwards from King’s Gate (possibly a Roman gate), past the forum, was kept open, with ‘rough late resurfacing’ and that the main west–east road also survived ‘into the 7th century’.

Part of a hand-made faceted, carinated pottery bowl of a distinctive north German type (*Schalurne*), of the first half of the fifth century, has been retrieved from residual contexts from the north-east part of the city. A triangular decorated bone comb of the second third of the century was found in a pit cut into rubble from the forum wall; such combs are of Roman ancestry but also occur in Germanic

contexts. In noting this very limited evidence for fifth-century activity, we need to be aware that excavations, even on the grand scale that they have been carried out at Winchester, have covered only some 2% of the walled area. A cruciform brooch of Martin’s Group 1.1.1 is also recorded from ‘Winchester’. A villa at *Twyford*, to the south of the city, has coins to Valentinian II (375–392: *Journal of Roman Studies (JRS)* 14 (1924), 238–9); occupation may have continued into the fifth century (*JRS* 49 (1959), 131). There is a mosaic datable to Valentinian I at *Otterbourne* (Cosh and Neal 2009, 24), a place that has also produced two coin hoards with clipped *siliquae* (Robertson 2000, nos 1532, 1533).

Another, significant, aspect to the archaeological evidence for the first half of the fifth century in the immediate environs of *Winchester* must also be considered (Figs 7 and 8). Three of the earliest cruciform brooches and five supporting-arm brooches have been recovered by metal-detectorists from *Winchester* and from *Headbourne Worthy*, *Abbotts Worthy*, *Twyford* – where there is also a crossing of the Itchen – and *Compton* beside the Roman roads leading in and out of the city. The cruciform brooches belong to Martin’s sub-group 1.1.1 – potentially direct evidence for immigrants or imports. The occasional occurrence of Group II cruciform brooches on some of these sites indicates their continuing occupation.

The Itchen valley to the north of the city has produced other significant evidence of occupation in the late fourth and the fifth centuries. At *Kings Worthy* a mosaic dates to Valentinian I (Cosh and Neal 2009, 24), and an Anglo-Saxon mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery at *Worthy Park* has produced a mount in the Quoit Brooch Style and an inlaid kidney-shaped buckle. A damaged south–north inhumation burial at *Itchen Abbas* was accompanied by late Roman belt-fittings, including a tubular-sided attachment-plate, *spatha* and a knife with, very exceptionally, the copper-alloy chape from its sheath. In the same cemetery there are a north–south burial with hob-nails and a purse, with a Roman coin, at the waist, in a coffin, some sixty unexcavated inhumations, apparently unaccompanied, and possible cremations within a penannular ring-ditch. A hand-made Anglo-Saxon pot with prominent long, defined, bosses and linear decoration accompanied another inhumation. On the upper reaches of the river, at *Cheriton*, a silver scabbard mount finely decorated in the Quoit Brooch Style has been found in the vicinity of a probable Roman villa. There is also a Type A1 button brooch from *Cheriton*, and the enamelled terminal from a large zoomorphic penannular brooch from a disturbed Anglo-Saxon cemetery elsewhere in that parish (a grave in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, also produced one of these brooches: Youngs 2010, 37).

At *Bitterne*, by Southampton, fortified in the later third century (King 1990), occupation continued to the very end of the fourth century, and possibly into the early fifth (Lyne 2015, 97, 135).

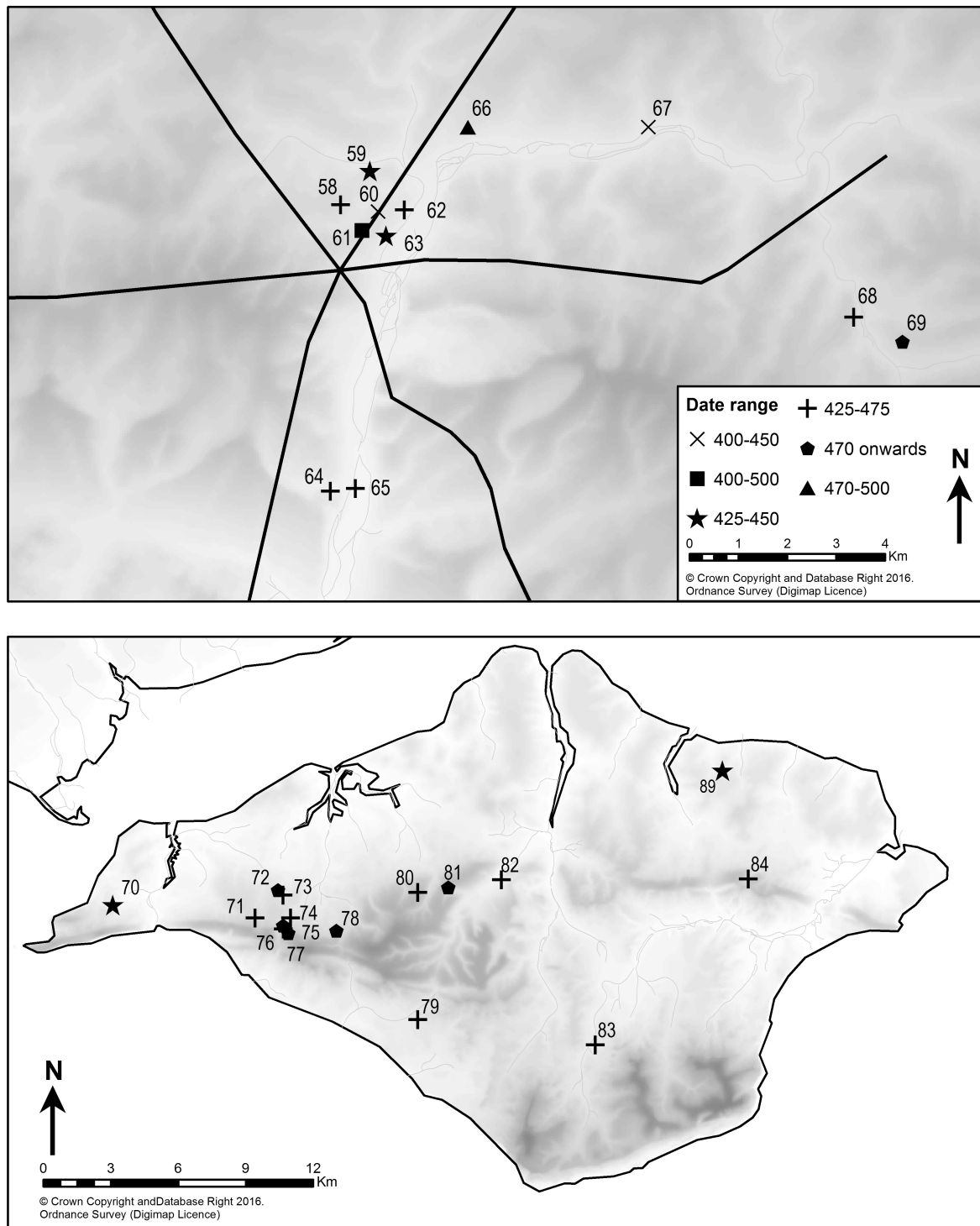


Figure 7 Fifth-century sites in and around Winchester and on the Isle of Wight (Harry Manley)

Bath

At Bath the temple of Sulis¹¹⁵ Minerva collapsed, or was dismantled in stages, during the second half of the fourth and the fifth centuries, but resurfacings and continuing wear in the doorways leading to the sacred spring (temple period 5) and clipped *siliquae* and a fifth-century large enamelled

brass zoomorphic penannular brooch from the spring itself point to its continued veneration. Radiocarbon dates from animal bone indicate that period 5e ended no later than c. 430; period 5f might reasonably be considered to have come to an end by c. 450 (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985; Gerrard 2007; Youngs 2010 (brooch); La Trobe-Bateman

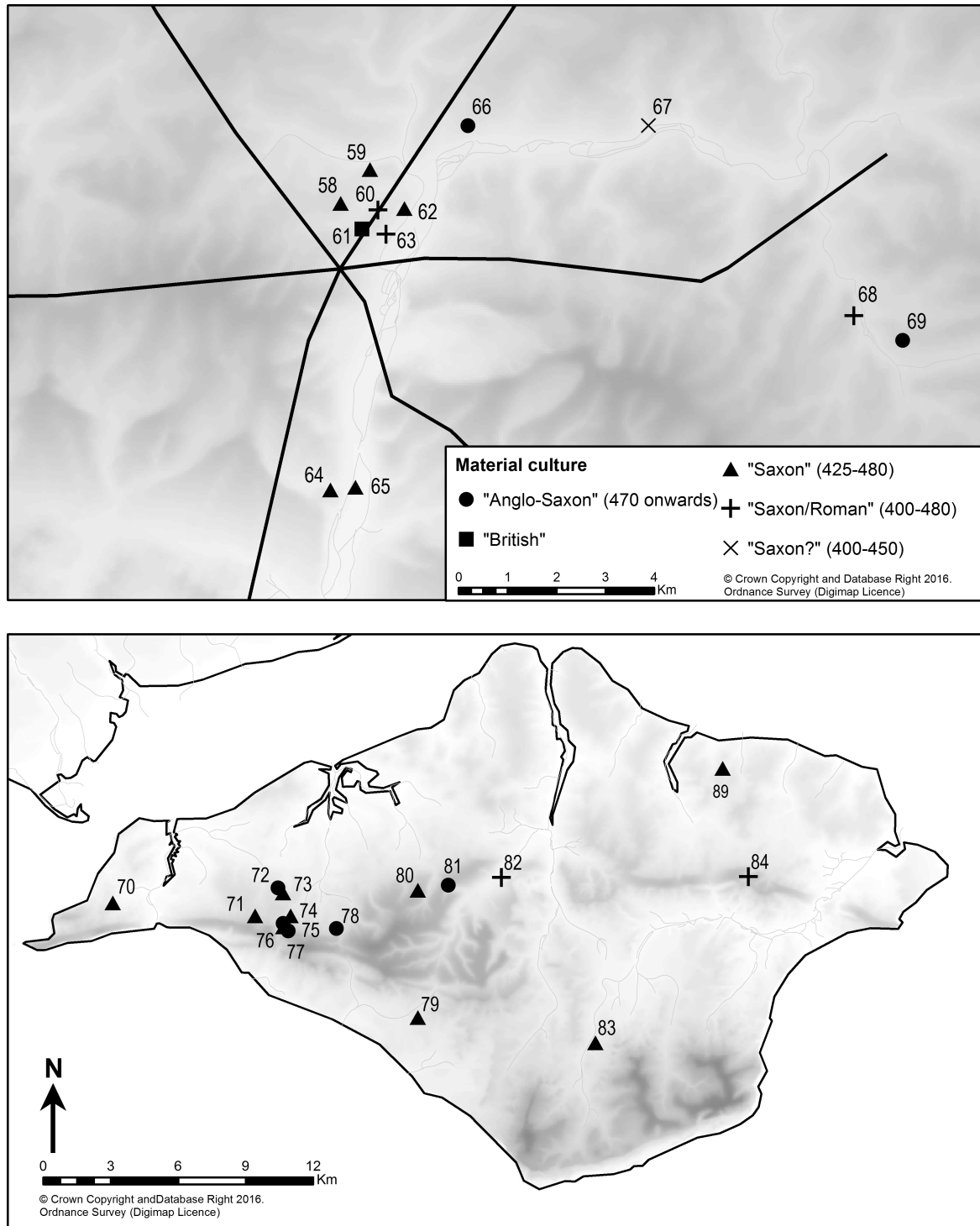


Figure 8 'British' and 'Anglo-Saxon' sites in and around Winchester and on the Isle of Wight in the fifth century as definable through material culture (Harry Manley)

and Niblett 2016). A fragment of an Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooch (Leeds 1949, Type BI) was recovered from a later context (Davenport 1999, 60). The fame of the hot springs continued, described, probably, by Bede (*HE* i. 1), in the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon poem *The Ruin*

(Crossley-Holland 1982, 55–6) and in the ninth-century Nennius (Morris 1980, c. 67).

Later fourth-century villas cluster around the town (Branigan 1972; 1977). If we can consider those within about 10 Roman miles as lying within its immediate orbit,

we would include North Wraxall, Colerne and Box, all in Wiltshire and here attributed to the Dobunni; Brislington, Keynsham and Newton St Loe in the Belgic Avon valley to the west, Combe Down and Wellow to the south in Somerset and Bradford-on-Avon and Staverton in Wiltshire to the east. Atworth in Wiltshire is on the Dobunnic border.

At *North Wraxall*, on the Oolite, a well of masonry within a hexagonal building revealed an exceptional fill on excavation. Amongst its contents there were, from the top, human bones at 25 ft (7.62 m); two skeletons at 43 ft (13.11 m), above building debris, including column fragments; and below these coins of the 'Lower Empire' were recovered. The latest securely provenanced coins from the villa are of Valens (364–378) and Gratian (367–383) (Scrope 1860; 1862; Moorhead 2001, 98). Other finds include a late Roman Type IIA belt-buckle, a heart-shaped strap-end and a (military) boar's tusks ornament (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 29–31). The villa at *Colerne* possessed a South Dobunnic Group mosaic; a coin hoard from the parish is composed entirely of clipped *siliquae* (Robertson 2000, no. 1596). At *Box*, the final, rebuilt phase, above a thick third- to fourth-century layer of ash, included a mosaic of the South-western Group; the coin series extends to Valens.¹¹⁶ There is a South Dobunnic Group mosaic at another nearby villa at *Hazelbury Farm*.

Along the Avon the villa at *Brislington* has a South-west Group mosaic; its coin series extends to Constantius II (324–361). A coin of Constantine II (317–340) was found at 14 ft (4.27 m) on a ledge in the side of a masonry well, 38 ft (11.58 m) deep, above a sequence of deposits with, respectively, from top to bottom: building material; cattle bones; human remains of at least four individuals; a few tesserae, seven pewter vessels and pottery; further building debris; and the remains of wooden buckets. A human jawbone was also found close to the well (Barker 1900; 1901). The excavator interpreted these successive deposits as a clearing-up operation; Branigan (1972) tentatively associated them – and also the destruction and human skeletons at Keynsham and King's Weston (below) – with raiding in 367. In regard to Brislington, however, Poulton and Scott (1993) note the ritual connotations of the well deposits, in the tradition of Iron Age ritual shafts, which may also be reasonably considered in respect of the well at North Wraxall (above). They point out that at some villas two wells are known, one having a ritual, the other a domestic function. The courtyard villa at *Keynsham* (21082) also has a mosaic of the South-west Group; the roof of the hexagonal room J was apparently burnt down, and there were the remains of an adult in the debris. Reoccupation followed, and there are coins to Valentinian I. All the finds suggest a fourth-century date for the villa (Bulleid and Horne 1925). At *Newton St Loe* coins extend to Honorius and there is a South Dobunnic Group mosaic. A coin hoard from *Newton Mills Park* dates to 364–394 (Robertson 2000, 358, no. 1474; Hobbs 2006, no. 1430).¹¹⁷

The villa at *Combe Down* was destroyed by fire; its coin series continues to Gratian. At *Wellow* the latest coins are issues of Valentinian I. The villa has a mosaic of the South Dobunnic Group. The extensive villa complex at *Bradford-on-Avon* focuses upon two adjacent and contemporary multi-roomed buildings of similar plan, unique in Britain. In one, with its own courtyard, there is a mosaic of the South-western Group, which was subsequently cut into by a possible Christian baptistery. The other building, however, was not finely decorated and is considered to have incorporated agricultural functions on a significant scale. The coin series continues to issues of 388–402 (Moorhead 2001, 88; Corney 2003). Five hand-made post-Roman sherds and a coin of Theodosius I (379–395) have been recovered from ditches and other features in the vicinity of a Roman villa at *Staverton* (Barber *et al.* 2013). At *Atworth* villa corn-driers were inserted in living rooms in the second half of the fourth century. The coin series continues to Theodosius and a disc-headed pin with off-set head may date to the fifth century (Erskine and Ellis 2008, pin, Susan Youngs at 78–9).

Other Roman sites in the Bath region and North Somerset in use after c. 350

The settlement at *Gatcombe*, on the lower southern slope of the Failand Ridge, was, very exceptionally, enclosed by 5 m thick masonry walls. There is evidence of agricultural and industrial usage. The latest coins are much worn issues of Arcadius and occupation is considered to have lasted well into the fifth century (21032: Smisson and Groves 2014). A settlement at *Bathampton* (21086), situated on the very edge of the flood plain of the River Avon, 3 km east of Bath, was occupied until the late Roman period, two possible threshing floors being dated to the last quarter of the fourth century or later. Another on *Lansdown* has a coin of Arcadius (Costen 2011, 10). At *Combe Hay* (21107), 3.5 km south of Bath, excavation of a later Romano-British settlement, sited on a terraced hillside, revealed massive dry-stone revetment walls, a masonry footed timber-framed building, four infant burials and two adult burials in stone coffins, apparently contemporary, and a timber building surrounded by a paved yard and a stone boundary wall. Coins and pottery indicate occupation could have continued until at least the end of the fourth century. There were buildings on both sides of the Fosse Way at the 'small town' of *Camerton* in the third and fourth centuries. Masonry buildings appear soon after the mid-third century, with evidence of rebuilding in the late fourth century. Pewter-working and iron smelting are in evidence. Buildings VIII, IX and XV appear to have been in use until the early fifth century. There is a late Roman buckle-plate of Hawkes and Dunning type IIA (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.) and a propeller-shaped belt stiffener.¹¹⁸ The coin series ends with issues of Honorius (Wedlake 1958: Burnham and Wachter 1990, 292–6). A coin hoard includes clipped *siliquae* (respectively, Robertson 2000, nos 1579,

1583). Another coin hoard, composed entirely of clipped *siliquae*, is recorded from nearby *Paulton*. Other sites are on or close to the Mendip Hills. A villa at *Star* was finally demolished after 353; another at *Chew Park* was abandoned before the 360s. A settlement at *Wookey Hole* (21089), near the southern edge of the Mendips, dates between the first and late fourth centuries. At *Locking* (21119) a settlement continued to be occupied until the end of the fourth century. There are coin hoards of 364–394 from *East Harptree* and *Uphill* (respectively, Robertson 2000, nos 1424, 1443), and one with Valentinianic coins from *Wrington* (Hudson 1992).

A Roman 'small town'

Shepton Mallet (21010) is located on the Fosse Way, where it crossed the River Sheppey, half way between Ilchester and Bath. The place may either have been located within the *civitas Belgarum*, if the River Axe and its eastern counterpart, the Whitewater River, formed the boundary with the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium*, or in the latter if the Roman road to Charterhouse were the limit (Paper 1). A series of evaluations, watching briefs and excavations in 1990 and 1996–7 revealed parts of a roadside settlement alongside the road. The town was flourishing during the fourth century. Archaeomagnetic dates of AD 400±90, 515±45 and 515±65 from hearths in demolished Roman buildings indicate that occupation continued well into the fifth century, if not later. Inhumation burials, including one with hobnails, have a radiocarbon date of cal AD 430–680. The Roman villa at *Whatley/Nunney* has a mosaic of the South Dobunnian Group.

The Vale of Pewsey

The fertile Vale of Pewsey and its environs are the provenance of a hoard found at *Bishops Cannings* to the south, but within sight of, Wansdyke (Gillian Swanton, pers. comm.). The hoard comprises one gold, 1569 silver (57% clipped) and 5837 bronze coins, gold and silver jewellery (Guest *et al.* 1997; Hobbs 2006, no. 1478). There is another hoard with Valentinianic coins from *All Cannings* (Moorhead 1997b), and a third, datable between 395 and 410, from *Wilcot* ('*Stanchester Hill*': Abdy and Robinson 2009; Hobbs 2006, no. 1576). A Roman building, a little more than 500 m from the hoard, at *Stanchester*, *Alton Priors*¹¹⁹ has associated coins of Valentinian. Pewsey itself lay within Kinwardstone hundred (Paper 1). There is a remarkable, recently discovered, late Roman hoard with copper-alloy vessels and scale-pans, with identifiable plant remains used as packing, from the Greensand in the Pewsey area.¹²⁰

The Wiltshire chalklands

A site at *Westbury Ironworks* has produced coins to the end of the Roman period (Moorhead 2001, 101). At *Wellhead Lane*, *Westbury*, on the Upper Greensand which skirts the Chalk on the west and the north, a site has produced

unstratified Romano-British and hand-made organic-tempered pottery, the latter including a distinctive form with small pierced lugs which is paralleled in Anglo-Saxon contexts elsewhere (Fowler 1966; Eagles 2001, 206, 210). There is a hoard with clipped *siliquae* at *Edington* (Hobbs 2006, no. 1500). An isolated Anglo-Saxon burial ground and associated, nearby, settlement, beginning in the last quarter of the fifth century has been excavated at *Market Lavington*, on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain (Paper 6). Coinage at the possible shrine site at *Urchfont* (note its **fuinta* name, Paper 6) continues to issues of the House of Theodosius (S. Moorhead in Roberts *et al.* 2017, 140–3).

Topographically, Salisbury Plain dominates the part of the *civitas* that lies in Wiltshire. The exceptional survival of many ancient settlements and other sites as upstanding earthworks today is due to the ownership of the greater part of the chalklands of Salisbury Plain by the British Army since 1897. Numerous, unenclosed, nucleated Romano-British settlements with defined 'streets', especially to the west of River Avon, are surely indicative of agricultural intensification – field lynchets are up to 6 m high at the settlements at *Charlton Down* 25 ha (62 acres), *Upavon* and *Compton*. Water shortage on the Plain was overcome by the maintenance of dammed reservoirs. At *Knook Down* the coin sequence extends to Gratian (367–383: Moorhead 2001, 101: 'Heytesbury'). At *Charlton* there are around 200 potential building sites, some with stone footings and ceramic or sandstone roofs; its coin list ends with Theodosius (379–395). A settlement (17032) on *Chapperton Down* appears to have been occupied until the late fourth or the early fifth century. Five clipped *siliquae*, the latest of the joint emperors Honorius (395–423) and Arcadius (395–408) have been recorded from *Rushall Down* (Moorhead 2001, 101). Hand-made fine-grained sand and organic-tempered potsherds, all associated with 'much larger quantities of Roman pottery' have been recovered from areas of settlement and field lynchets at *Coombe Down* (one sherd has rosette stamped decoration) and *Chisenbury Warren*, *Enford*; *South Tidworth*; *Widdington Farm*, *Upavon*; *Weather Hill*, *Fittleton*; and *Snoddington Down*, *Shipton Bellinger*. The majority of this pottery is from Coombe Down, only single sherds having been found elsewhere. No higher status settlements have been identified (McOmish *et al.* 2002, 87–108: Fulford *et al.* 2006). Settlements such as these may be similar in size to the 'small towns', and were integrated into an extensive rural, farmed landscape interconnected by a network of trackways and droveways, but away from the main Roman roads. Two clipped *siliquae* are recorded from north of *Casterley Camp* (the late Dr Paul Robinson, pers. comm.).

To the south of Salisbury Plain, the Nadder–Wylve chalk ridge, capped by Clay-with-Flints, is the setting for settlements, by the Roman road from *Sorviodunum* to the north Somerset lead mines, at *Stockton* (*Earthworks*), *Hamshill Ditches* and *Ebsbury*, all of which are known to

have been occupied throughout the Roman period (Corney 1989; Moorhead 2001, 101). There is a coin hoard of 395–410, with gold and silver rings and silver coins, from *Grovely Wood*, at the eastern end of the ridge. A further hoard of the same date, and also, from a restricted area on the south side of the Ox Drove – the Ridgeway to the south of the Ebbles valley – a Tortworth and an amphora-shaped strap-end, two narrow belt-plates in use with Hawkes and Dunning types IA/IB buckles and other late Roman belt-fittings (for the latter, N. Griffiths, pers. comm.) from *Bowerchalke*, the present village on a tributary of the River Ebbles, which itself flows into the Avon, to the south (hoards: respectively, Robertson 2000, nos 1597/8 and Hobbs 2006, 1480). Yet further south on the Chalk the coin series extends to Arcadius and Honorius at the villa at *Rockbourne* (RCHME 1983) and there are a late Roman amphora-shaped strap-end decorated with a human face (Evison 1965, 59–60) and two rosette-shaped mounts from a *cingulum* (for the type, Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 65). A coin hoard of 364–394 (Robertson 2000, no. 1487) has been found 3 km from the villa and a metal-detected ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch are also recorded from the parish (Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) HAMP-BF82C5). A grass-tempered pot was found at the hill-fort at *Whitsbury*, where there was also some indication of post-Roman refurbishment of the ramparts but no sign of Anglo-Saxon material culture (Ellison and Rahtz 1987).

The Plain is bounded on the east by the River Avon, as it flows southwards to reach the sea at Christchurch in Dorset. The Roman ‘small town’ of *Sorviodunum*, below Old Sarum hill-fort and now within Salisbury, was sited at a major, strategic Roman road junction and is the most important Roman settlement in the valley. The coin sequence extends to issues of 395–402. *Sorviodunum* could well have served as the centre of a *pagus*, and may have offered a *mansio*, given the town’s location roughly equidistant between Mildenhall and Badbury. There was possibly also some Roman activity within the hill-fort itself (Corney 2001, 18–23; James with Algar 2002). Early Anglo-Saxon burial grounds cluster around the town. A grave with a *francisca* (throwing axe, often considered to be typically ‘Frankish’) in the cemetery at *Winterbourne Gunner*, on the south side of the Portway, the Roman road from Silchester, 5 km to the north-west of Old Sarum, dates to c. 470 or perhaps a little later, though an unfurnished burial in that cemetery may be earlier. The burial grounds at *Petersfinger* and *Harnham Hill* began in the late fifth century and there are also inhumations probably of that date close to the hill-fort itself (Eagles *et al.* 2014). A cemetery at *Charlton*, a short distance to the south of the Salisbury, has produced tubular belt-slides and a quoit brooch with associations with that Style. To the north of Salisbury there are a hoard of pewter vessels and coins to the early fifth century from the villa at *Netheravon* (McOmish *et al.* 2002, 104). There is a late Roman Type IIIB

buckle with fixed plate from *Widdington, Upavon* (the late Dr Paul Robinson, pers. comm.) and part of a narrow plate associated with types IA and IB from ‘*Upavon*’ (both are in WM). A remarkable waterlogged burial at *Lake, Wilsford cum Lake*, has a radiocarbon date of cal AD 450–610, with a probability that the burial dates to c. 500.¹²¹

The chalklands continue to the east of the River Avon. There, to the north of Salisbury and west of the River Bourne (for its northern reaches see the *civitas Atrebatum* above), there are indications of the continued occupation of Romano-British sites into the fifth century. A programme of evaluation, excavation, watching brief and geophysical survey on a flat-topped ridge on *Butterfield Down, Amesbury* (17048) revealed an extensive late Roman settlement covering at least 6 ha (15 a); a hoard of eight gold coins dates to the early fifth century (Rawlings and Fitzpatrick 1996). There is also a coin hoard of 364–394 from *Amesbury*. At *High Post*, in *Durnford* parish, two Oxfordshire colour-coated ware foot-ring bases shaped into discs, an apparent imitation of a Black Burnished ware Type 18 bowl and the pedestal base of a hand-made sandy ware pot (?Saxon) were found together in the ash of what seems to be the last firing of a corn-drying oven.¹²² Charred grain from the same deposit produced a radiocarbon date of cal AD 335–535. A large zoomorphic penannular brooch has been found at a probable Roman villa site at *Salterton, Durnford*.

The villa at *Longstock*, in the Test valley in Hampshire, has coins to Constantius II (324–361). There are the lower part of a Group I or II cruciform brooch and a fragment of a chip-carved equal-arm brooch of the middle of the fifth century from a Roman and Anglo-Saxon site of uncertain function at *Northbrook, Micheldever*. A grave in the large Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Micheldever* has produced a supporting-arm brooch, paired with a round applied brooch of indeterminate type. There is a late Roman belt-plate associated with a buckle of either Type IA or IB from *Popham* (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 50, no. 3) and an amphora-shaped strap-end from *Cheriton* (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.).

The Roman ‘small town’, up to 14 ha (34.6 acres) in extent, at *Neatham (Alton)*, in Hampshire (?*Onna*: Rivet and Smith 1979, 432), was sited on a gravel terrace on the north bank of the River Wey, at the crossing of the Roman roads between Silchester and Chichester and Winchester and London. The place should probably be included within the *civitas Belgarum*, but it has not proved possible to suggest *civitas* boundaries in this area (Paper 1). The town’s earthwork defences date to the late second or the early third century. There was expansion or settlement shift in the third and fourth centuries. A small bath-house dates to the mid- to late fourth century. Bone, pewter, copper- and bronze-working were carried out. Coinage continues to 402 and the pottery includes grog-tempered ware (Millett and Graham 1986; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 264–72). The nearby

Anglo-Saxon mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery (*Alton*) produced five-spiral decorated saucer brooches.

In the Meon valley in south-east Hampshire, Grave 35 in the cemetery at *Droxford* contained an inlaid purse mount, and Grave 36, ring-and-dot ornamented disc brooches; unassociated finds from the burial ground include five-spiral saucer brooches.

In south-east Wiltshire, on Tertiary deposits, corn-driers had been inserted into living rooms at the villa at *East Grimstead*; the coin series continues to Valentinian I. A short distance to the east another villa, at *West Dean*,¹²³ at the edge of the Chalk and on the county boundary with Hampshire, produced coins to Magnentius (*WANHM* 13 (1872), 33–5; 22 (1885), 243–50). About 200 coins, the latest of Magnentius and Constantine II, roofing-stones, window-glass, animal bones, oyster shells, iron tools, bronze small finds, pottery and other finds are also recorded from the vicinity of a Roman building at the site of an old chalk quarry at *Holbury* in the adjacent parish of *East Dean*, Hampshire (SU 281270: *WANHM* 13 (1872), 39–41, 276–9). In addition, pottery and coins to Constantine I have been reported from *Holbury Copse* (SU 288275: *WANHM* 13 (1872), 35–9). Three late Roman belt-fittings of Types IA, IIA and IIIA (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 43, 52 and 59) cannot now be assigned to any one of these three locations (P. Saunders and D. Algar, pers. comm.).

*Vectis (Isle of Wight)*¹²⁴

Later Roman settlement (15137) has been recorded within a small promontory fort at *Yaverland*, overlooking Brading haven, on the east coast. A free-standing late Roman structure, associated with a large quantity of industrial waste, has also been identified further down the hill slope. Grog-tempered convex-sided dishes with solid hemispherical bosses (Type 6A.25: see above) are known from *Quarr Beach* and *Brading villa* (Lyne 2015, 97, 138).

The circulation of Roman coinage has been studied by Walton (2012, chap. 9). She has shown that the coinage on the Island is in many ways distinct from that on the mainland, a difference which may be attributable to trade and exchange. Eleven Theodosian coin hoards are known, and especially from East Wight; they may indicate both a late Roman military presence and the maintenance of maritime links with the Continent (Moorhead and Walton 2014, 104, 112). There is a *solidus* of Libius Severus (461–465) from *Newport*.

There is little indication that the Roman villas continued to be occupied in the second half of the fourth century. An exception is the one at *Brighstone*, near the south-west coast, with a T-shaped corn-drier dated to 375–400. The environs of another villa and a Roman settlement have produced fifth-century artefacts. The excavators (Busby *et al.* 2001) considered that the villa at *Clatterford*, *Newport*, went out of use in the early fourth century; a quoit brooch, a Quoit

Brooch Style buckle plate and ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch are recorded from nearby (Figs 7, 8). A worn example of a Group II cruciform brooch has been recovered from close to a Romano-British settlement at *Brading*, in the east of the island.

A Group 1.2 cruciform brooch is on record from *Totland, Freshwater*, in the west of the island. There are a number of finds from *Shalfleet*: a Group II cruciform brooch, a D-section tubular belt-slide associated with the Quoit Brooch Style, a quoit brooch and Class A1 button brooches. *Calbourne* has produced a further AI button brooch. The Quoit Brooch Style is also represented by a strap-end from the *Chessell Down* cemetery and a much worn openwork roundel from the one at *Bowcombe*, and there are also fifth-century kite-shaped rivets from the latter. Another D-section belt-slide derives from *Newport*. From more southerly areas the relevant finds are a Group II cruciform brooch from *Godshell*, and a Group 1.1 cruciform brooch, another of Group 1.2, and a Quoit Brooch Style punch-decorated mount from *Shorwell*.

*Civitas Durotrigum (the southern Durotriges)*¹²⁵

Durnovaria, the civitas capital

Roman Dorchester lies on the River Frome and at the junction of the Roman roads to Badbury and Old Sarum, Weymouth, Exeter and Ilchester. The town saw widespread clearance of domestic housing in the fourth century and its replacement by fewer buildings, some with fine mosaics, others ('urban farmsteads') with industrial and agricultural functions. The overall impression is one of piecemeal change in the late Roman period, with buildings no longer adhering to the street grid. The public baths appear to have continued in use until late in the fourth century (Putnam 2007, 70). There were alterations to the amphitheatre (Maumbury Rings) entrance and interior in the late third and the fourth centuries; the coin sequence there extends to Constantine I (Bradley 1975). There is no information as to the ultimate fate of the forum/basilica (Fulford and Holbrook 2015, 101–3).

Within the walled area, at Greyhound Yard, to the south of the putative Roman forum, an aisled building of the late fourth century was directly associated with a courtyard house. The range of late fourth-century pottery at the site (Periods 10 and 11) includes New Forest and Oxfordshire products, red-slipped table-wares, three sherds of Biv amphora imported from the eastern Mediterranean (datable only between the late first and later sixth centuries AD) and local black-burnished wares (Woodward *et al.* 1993, 80–3, 217–8 (D. F. Williams), 287–9, 366–7). More problematic to date is a dry-stone wall, an unusual construction at any date in Dorchester, uncovered at a slightly higher level than the Roman walls, at the Library site in the north-west part of the town.¹²⁶ A post-built 'barn' (Building 571) and

adjacent ‘pens’, on a different alignment from a nearby Roman street, have been uncovered on the site of County Hall in the same area and have been considered post-Roman (Smith *et al.* 1997, 305, *contra* Smith 1993, 22–5). A similar, undated, sequence has been recognised at Charles Street, in the south-west quarter of the town.¹²⁷ Pottery from the latest deposits at the Roman house at Colliton Park (with an aisled building, as Greyhound Yard, still standing in the fourth century (RCHME 1970a, 553–8), also in the north-west of the town), and from Hearth I in a Roman house at Trinity Street, west of the forum, appears, from its published descriptions, to include organic-tempered wares (respectively, Drew and Collingwood Selby 1937, 12 and pl. ix; and Kirk 1939, 50, 57).¹²⁸ In the south-west part of the town at the site of the County Hospital, houses on the road frontage had been demolished by the late third or the early fourth century and new masonry buildings, including one with mosaics – again arguably an intra-mural ‘urban farmstead’ – constructed to the rear. A large, scattered, hoard with worn Theodosian coins, of the first decades of the fifth century, was recovered from demolition deposits of an aisled building with an industrial function (Building 12)¹²⁹ and another (possibly a little earlier) from nearby (Cooke 2007; Trevarthen 2008, 12, 39–41). A third hoard, with coins, including *siliquae*, some ?clipped, to Arcadius and Honorius and silver plate, is recorded from Princes Street (Hobbs 2006, no. 1498, Dorchester I). Two late Roman belt-fittings (a Type IIA and a strap-end associated with a narrow plate) have been found in the town, the latter on the Hospital site (Sparey-Green 1984b). The large late Roman cemeteries outside Dorchester suggest a sizeable urban population in the fourth century. The latest phase of the one at *Poundbury*, where painted mausolea and bodies coated in plaster suggest a strongly Christian element amongst the elite, may be marked by cists and stonelined graves (A. Woodward in Farwell and Molleson 1993, 235–6). The date of disuse of these burial grounds is unknown.

A post-Roman British settlement outside Dorchester

Extensive excavation has uncovered a post-Roman British settlement immediately outside the eastern defences of the hill-fort of *Poundbury* (Pl. 3), to the north-west of the town. This occupation was preceded on the same site by a Romano-British settlement, which itself continued in use into the fifth century and also overlay part of a late Roman cemetery, the latest phase of which may be marked by shallow, undated, uncoffined graves, some of them stone-lined (Woodward 1993, 235–7). The post-Roman settlement passed through two phases, from the fifth until, probably, the early seventh century, and appears to predate the arrival of Anglo-Saxons in the area (Sparey-Green 1987; 1996; 2004). Radiocarbon dates obtained from charred grain from the driers provide a mean value of cal

AD 442–635 (see acknowledgements in Eagles 1994). In the first phase there were a minimum of five rectangular timber buildings. Plastered Roman mausolea with painted figures, most probably Christian, were incorporated into the new arrangements. The limits of occupation were defined by shallow ditches, which appear to have enclosed about 0.8 ha (2 acres). It is suggested that the second phase dates to the sixth and early seventh centuries. The settlement was now characterised by a number of irregular enclosures, again set within a boundary ditch, on a different orientation, and now encompassed about 0.7 ha (1.8 acres). Three rectangular timber buildings could certainly be assigned to this period and, arguably, two grain-driers too.

The structures and the few finds owe nothing to Anglo-Saxon influence. The settlement was probably that of a British farming community, though the respect shown to some of the Roman mausolea, in particular, has led to the suggestion that it may have been monastic (Sparey-Green 2004; see also the Introduction above for the introduction of monasticism into Britain). Post-hole patterns point to sizeable, but apparently rather irregular, timber buildings with multiple aisles, although the possibility that there has been reconstruction on the same site should be borne in mind. Dry-stone walling was incorporated into some of the structures. Smaller buildings at the site, although described as sunken-featured, are terraced into the slope and appear unrelated to Germanic *Grubenhäuser*.¹³⁰

Only two sherds of vegetable-tempered hand-made pottery were recovered from the excavations, which must raise the possibility of the widespread use of vessels of wood and leather. Dr Tylecote drew particular attention to the sophisticated metalworking techniques as evidenced by the iron knives, which had specially hardened edges. These technically advanced artefacts, except one from the filling of drier 4, were from the latest occupation. Hone types also differed from those in use in the Roman settlement. In one place it was noted that there were quantities of Romano-British sherds with fresh breaks in and near structures characteristic of the post-Roman phase. At the end of the settlement, some buildings, at the least, were burnt down.

The grain-driers provided important evidence of the cereal crops which were grown (see also the Introduction), and their numbers indicate the large scale of cereal production. Wheat, barley and cultivated oats are represented, with a particular emphasis on a free-threshing bread wheat. A comparison with the late Roman period showed that there was a significant post-Roman increase in the numbers of sheep and pig and their contribution to the meat diet, although cattle remained dominant. No young horses were identified and it has been suggested that horses were not bred but that animals were selected and trained following a round-up, which would imply land available for wild horses to run free, although not necessarily in the immediate area.

In the possible context of this British settlement, reference may also be made to the addition of a revetment of limestone dry-walling to the hill-fort defences (RCHME 1970a, 487–9; Sparey-Green 1987, 69).

Villas

Six late Roman villas are known within 7 Roman miles of Dorchester. Those at *Frampton* (Maiden Newton parish) and *Wynford Eagle* have mosaics of the Durnovarian Group and the *Preston* villa, near Weymouth and the coast, one of the *Lindinis* Group. The coin series at *Preston* extends to Constantians. The courtyard villa near *Puddletown* is argued to have continued to c. 400 (Ladle 2014; Ladle and Morgan 2015) and that at *Dewlish* is notable for the hearths, with which coins of Honorius are associated, inserted into its mosaics. The villa at *Charminster* has coins to Gratian (RCHME 1970b, I, 72).

Other villas are more distant from the *civitas* capital. To the north-east, at *Hemsworth*, *Witchampton*, the villa, on the Chalk, has a *Durnovaria* Group mosaic and the latest coins are of Gratian. At the courtyard villa at *Tarrant Hinton* (20075), by the north–south Roman road to Badbury and Poole, the coin series continues to Valentinian (RCHME 1972, 99). Post-holes are indicative of a late or post-Roman phase at a villa at *Myncen Farm*, *Sixpenny Handley* (Sparey-Green 2007). The villa at *Iwerne* (Hawkes 1947, 48–62; RCHME 1972, 40–1), on the Upper Greensand and at the headwaters of River Iwerne, a northern tributary of the Stour, was occupied to c. 360. At *Shillingstone*, in the Stour valley itself, occupation is provisionally assessed to have lasted between c. 270 and 400 (Corney and Robinson 2008). Another, at *Hinton St Mary*, on the Corallian Limestone above the Stour, has a remarkable *Durnovaria* Group mosaic, considered by many to include a representation of Christ.¹³¹ A mosaic at a third, at *Fifehead Neville*, also on the Corallian Limestone, but on the River Divelish, a southern tributary of the Stour, belongs to the *Durnovaria* Group; the latest coins are of Gratian. The villa at *Halstock* (20082), on the limestone, is located close to the Somerset border. One of its mosaics was inspired by the Saltire Group (Cosh and Neal 2010, 20). *Halstock* is the southernmost of a large group of villas with significant, attributable fourth-century mosaics, which extends to Hurcot, north of Ilchester, in the north (Cosh and Neal 2005, 23 map). In the Isle of Purbeck the villa at *Brenscombe* has a Saltire Group mosaic.

At the limit of the *civitas* at the north-east, the villa at *Pit Meads*, *Sutton Veny*, on the River Wylfe – which here marks the boundary with the *Civitas Belgarum* – has a fourth-century mosaic (Cosh and Neal 2005, 25). Further west, where the upper reaches of the Wylfe take the British name of Deverill, and in an area close also to the border with the *Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensem*, the debris from the latest occupation in the Roman villa at *Brixton Deverill* includes a sherd of a hand-made biconical pot

with ?imitation slashed decoration of Saxon type on its sharp carination, along with other hand-made sherds. There is also a metal-detected fragmentary large penannular brooch from *Kingston Deverill*. The shrine at *Cold Kitchen Hill* is discussed in Paper 1. Both Romano-British and organic-tempered pottery have been found together at *Swallowcliffe* (PastScape, ST 92 NE 36; CBA Groups 12 and 14 *Archaeology Review* 3 (1968), 4).

Rural settlements

Late Roman settlements have been recorded at *West Hill*, *Corfe Castle* (coins to Gratian: RCHME 1970a, 599); *Wareham*, both within the Anglo-Saxon walls (RCHME 1970a, 614) and at *Bestwall Quarry* (an ironworking, pottery production and shale-working site); *Shapwick* (coins to Arcadius: (RCHME 1975, 60–1); *Woodcuts*, *Sixpenny Handley* (occupied to c. 360; a propeller-shaped belt-stiffener (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.): RCHME 1975, 68) and a propeller-shaped belt stiffener from Chapel Down, *Sixpenny Handley* (Sparey-Green 1986); *Bokerley Junction*, *Woodyates* (to 395+: late Roman narrow belt-plate (Pitt Rivers 1892, pl. clxxxiv, 2) and an end-plate of a late Roman belt from the upper filling of the Rear Dyke (Pitt Rivers 1892, pl. clxxv, 2; see also Bowen 1990, *passim*, for the site); *Gussage All Saints*, IIA (PAS, DOR-8EDD03; Green 2000, 138, fig. 101c); and *Maiden Castle*, a Tortworth strap-end, unstratified, close to the temple (Wheeler 1943, 288, fig. 96.15).

Finds from immediately below the hill-fort at *Hod Hill*, *Stourpaine*, on the River Stour (Fig. 9; Pl. 4), include part of a Group I cruciform brooch (not in Martin 2015) and an early form of equal-arm brooch with animal-headed terminals. The former may have been worn by either a man or a woman; the latter by a woman. The equal-arm brooch appears to be an imitation of a Continental Saxon type – there is a similar piece from Holland, which was on the route of many of the subsequent immigrants from north Germany to England. This was found close to a Roman building, the other about 400 m to the north. There is also a spearhead¹³² of Germanic type of the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries from within the ramparts. The only other fifth-century Germanic item from the county is an applied saucer brooch with floriate cross motif of the last third of the fifth century from *Puddletown*, close to the Roman road to *Durnovaria* from the settlement, probably *Vindocladia*, at the major Roman road junction at the foot of Badbury Rings (see also the Introduction for these finds). Within *Badbury Rings* itself (Pl. 5) recent excavations have revealed post-Roman occupation which is very probably of fifth-century date. The hill-fort has also produced an Anglo-Saxon spearhead considered to be of early sixth-century date.

Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensem (the northern Durotriges)

The northern part of the Roman *civitas* is dominated by the Somerset Levels, a region bisected by a limestone ridge, the

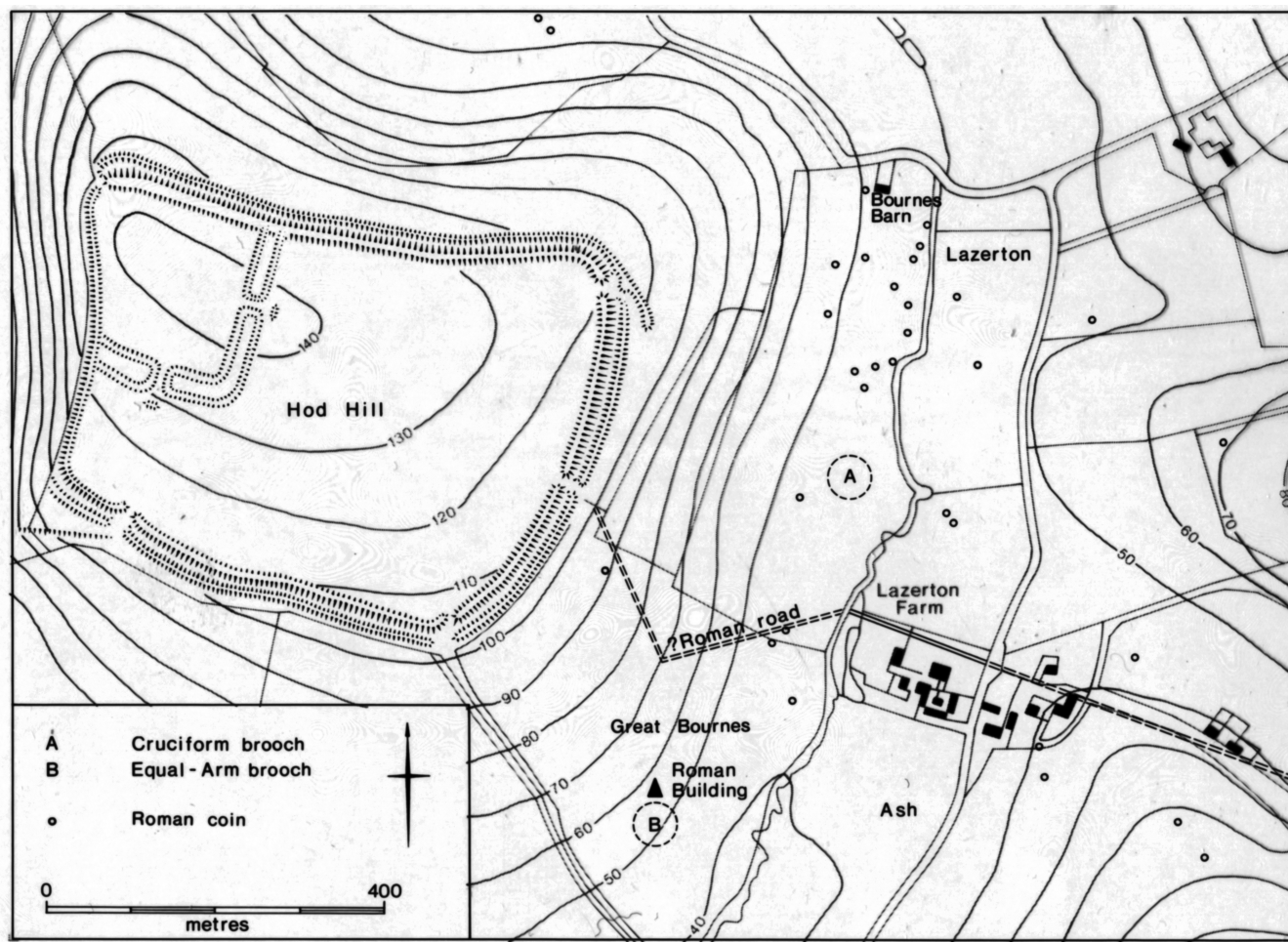


Figure 9 Hod Hill hill-fort and its environs (Mark Corney)

Polden Hills. There are also smaller outcrops of limestone. To the south lies a further limestone landscape, of the Lower, Middle and Upper Lias and the Inferior and Great Oolite.

The probable civitas capital, Lindinis, and its environs

Ilchester lies in the southern part of the *civitas* on the Lower Lias. Its Latin name refers to a 'wet place', no doubt with reference to the town's low-lying location, where the Fosse Way crossed the River Yeo (Rivet and Smith 1979, 392). Excavations have established the town's late expansion and prosperity, though precise chronological information is sparse. A stone wall may have been added to the defences in the first half of the fourth century (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 68, refer to a coin of 342–343 from its foundations). Some buildings in the suburbs possibly continued into the early fifth century and the cemetery at Northover, by the Fosse Way, where there were both stone and lead coffins, 'probably extends well into the fifth century'. A Christian element in the population seems probable (Leach 1994, 6–11).¹³³ At the villa at *Ilchester Mead*, where a mosaic of

the *Lindinis* Group sealed a fairly worn coin of Valentinian I and a hearth was then laid on its worn surface, occupation appears to have continued into the fifth century (Costen 2011, 10). At *Queen Camel*, in the Cam valley, less than 10 km north-east of the town, there was a mosaic of the Saltire Group.¹³⁴

The settlement at *Catsgore*, 4 km to the north-west of Ilchester, has a coin sequence extending to the House of Theodosius, but it most probably shrank in size in the second half of the fourth century (Leech 1982b; Ellis 1984); the excavations produced two amphora-shaped strap-ends of military type. At the northern edge of the Lias plateau, at *Bradley Hill*, 5 km to the north-west of Catsgore, another fourth-century farm was not abandoned until, it has been strongly argued, the early fifth century; the associated coins include a clipped, but not heavily worn, *siliqua* of Arcadius. There were two associated cemeteries. One of them comprised 21 infant burials, which had been interred in stone-lined cists within a byre, an extension to one of the farm buildings, itself dated between c. 365 and 380 or after. The infant burials were themselves sealed by occupation

debris. A second burial ground of 24 west–east inhumations, one with a coin of 388–398, perhaps of Christians, and a single north to south burial with hobnails, lay to the south-west (Leech 1981b; Gerrard 2005). A Roman building at *Hurcot*, to the south-east, has a mosaic of the *Lindinis* Group and coins to Theodosius (379–395). The Roman villa at *Low Ham* (21118) is located about 10 km to the north-west of Ilchester. In its final form, around the early to mid-fourth century, it comprised three building ranges round a courtyard. From about 330 there is evidence for increasing opulence, with high quality mosaics, including one of Aeneas and Dido. There is little evidence for occupation much beyond 370. This villa, probably, and another nearby at *Pitney*, certainly, have mosaics of the *Durnovaria* Group.

From *Long Sutton*, in the Yeo valley approximately 5 km north-west of Ilchester, a red enamelled silver handpin (a cloak fastener) is reported to have been found in a surface quarry ‘in some kind of grave, & many interments found close to it’. Susan Youngs (2016) suggests that these finely decorated silver dress fasteners may have become in the later fourth century ‘a mark of official favour and status’.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period the area was dominated by the great royal vill at Somerton,¹³⁵ seized, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, by Æthelbald of Mercia in 733. The vill lay approximately 7 km to the north-west of the Roman town and, according to the Hundred Rolls, Ilchester was within its manor (Dunning 1975, 44). Somerton’s large parish contains a number of Roman villas and Roman farms.

On the limestone to the east of Ilchester, occupation almost certainly continued into the fifth century at a Roman settlement at *Castle Farm, South Cadbury* (21053), close to the bottom of the valley which divides Cadbury Castle from Littleton Hill. At another settlement, to the south-east, at *Sigwells, Charlton Horethorne* (21054), coin evidence points to occupation until late into the fourth century.

In the south-western part of the *civitas*, to the west of the Roman road from Dorchester to Ilchester, there is a cluster of Roman villas. The one at *West Coker* was reoccupied following a fire, its coin list extending to 388–395. At *Lufton*, the tessellated floor of Room 4 was covered by a mortar layer which sealed a coin of 330 (*JRS* 52 (1962), 182–4); and hearths, one perhaps used for smithing, associated with New Forest beakers, overlay mosaics elsewhere (Hayward 1972). The coin series continues to Valens (Hayward 1953). There is a *Lindinis* Group mosaic. At *East Coker* there are coins of Valens, and a mosaic of the *Durnovaria* Group. The settlement (Leech 1982a, 219–22, considers that it was a small town), at *Yeovil/Westlands* has produced coins of Gratian, but occupation continued later (Costen 2011, 9).

Romano-British occupation in the Somerset Levels is discussed by Leech (1981a); material recovered from fieldwalking 302 ha (746a) in the area of *Shapwick* included fourth-century pottery and finds (Aston and Gerrard 1999; Gerrard with Aston 2007). There are three coin hoards from

Shapwick, one with coins to Magnus Maximus (383–388), one with *siliquae* and dated to 395–410 (Shapwick II), the third, Shapwick I, with pewter vessels and clipped *siliquae* (Robertson 2000, nos. 1475, 1497, 1584). A further hoard (Hobbs 2006, no. 1482), from *Burtle*, is similar to Shapwick II. A large Roman settlement (21021) at *Crandon Bridge/Bush Marsh, Bawdrip*, is located near the estuary of the River Parrett and at the termination of the Roman road to Ilchester. The place may have served as a river port where goods brought by road and river were loaded onto larger vessels that could cross the Bristol Channel. Occupation continued into the second half of the fourth century; the coin series ends with Valens. Extensive layers of charcoal and slag indicate industrial activity, and there was copper-working debris. Bone in a hearth inserted in a Roman building, following its previous abandonment and partial demolition, at a settlement at *Sladwick, Shapwick*, produced a radiocarbon date of cal AD 430–640.

There is also notable evidence for the post-Roman period from the Levels. Pottery imported from the Mediterranean between c. 450/475 and c. 550 has been found at *Glastonbury Mount and Tor* and at *Athelney*, on the River Tone, a western tributary of the Parrett.¹³⁶ At *Glastonbury Abbey* unabraded sherds of imported Mediterranean amphorae for wine, and possibly olive oil, apparently derive from a roughly trodden floor associated with an early timber building.¹³⁷ A British monastic origin for the monastery prior to the English abbot Hæmgils (680–682), who is the recipient of the first three charters, issued in the reign of Centwine of the Gewisse (676–685/6), cannot, however, be substantiated (Foot 1991, 169; Kelly 2012: Hæmgils may have been the first abbot). Ine of Wessex (688–726) played a major role in the development of the abbey, including the construction of the church of Saints Peter and Paul to the east of the *vetusta ecclesia* (Gilchrist and Green 2015, 57, 234: stone foundations of around his time have been identified under the west end of the medieval nave; the order of the wording in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 688, may point to Ine’s claimed founding of Glastonbury at the beginning of his reign). Radiocarbon dates from glass furnaces, using both recycled Roman and raw glass, suggest a short period of glass production, for both windows and vessels, probably around the 680s. There may have been input from the Continent (Gilchrist and Green 2015, 233–5).¹³⁸ There may have been another British monastery at *Lantocai*, arguably at Street, unless that name is to be associated with Glastonbury (Hall 2009, 161).

In the second half of the fifth century the southern limestone was dominated by the major hill-forts of *Cadbury Castle*, South Cadbury (Pl. 6), and *Ham Hill*, Stoke sub Hamdon, the one about 11 km north-east of Ilchester, the other about 7 km to the south-west. Both hill-forts produced amphorae for wine imported from the Mediterranean, implying high status occupation. The coin series at the

Roman villa and adjacent settlement area within the hill-fort defences at *Ham Hill* continues to the reign of Arcadius (Burrow 1981, 276).¹³⁹ The hill was extensively quarried for Ham stone in the Roman period. A sixth-century Anglo-Saxon shield-boss, a casual find, is almost certainly from its northern spur (Burrow 1981, 273 and fig. 34). Ham Hill is beside the Ilchester to Axminster Roman road.

Excavation took place at the hill-fort at *South Cadbury* between 1966 and 1970 and in 1973, when the sequence of the fortifications and some 6% of the interior were examined (Alcock 1995). A new – the innermost – defence (Rampart E), about 4–5 m wide and 1200 m long, with a ragged dry-stone front revetment and a timber framework, was constructed in the fifth or sixth century AD, the date determined by stratified sherds of Mediterranean pottery. Its construction would have required 20,000 m of planks and beams. Roman building materials were reused in the rampart. There was an elaborate gateway, with two double doors, at the south-west. Following geophysical survey in the interior, where there had been ‘centuries of ploughing’, excavation uncovered traces of a post-Roman timber hall. This has been interpreted as a structure 19 × 10 m, with slightly bowed end walls, a chamber at the east end and two longitudinal inner aisles. Imported BI amphorae sherds were found in the filling of one wall-slot. Imported pottery is generally widely scattered on the site but there were concentrations in and around this building and at the gate. Another building, 4 × 2 m, was identified some 4 m from the hall; an amphora sherd was recovered from a wall-trench. A post-built roundhouse may also belong to this phase. Glass drinking vessels were in use. The site is witness to the power and manpower resources available to a British leader at this time. A repair made to a metal road through the south-west gate sealed a ‘ring’, arguably a pendant, of leaded high tin bronze. The ‘ring’ itself (subsequently adapted by the addition of a pin, perhaps for use as a buckle) is of great interest, for its form is unparalleled and its English Salin Style I relief decoration being on both sides very exceptional – perhaps here there is some degree of British and Anglo-Saxon cultural assimilation (Dickinson in Alcock 1995, 66–70). An Anglo-Saxon button brooch of the early sixth century (Suzuki 2008, 107: Class B1)¹⁴⁰ was also recovered from the site.

Examination of the pottery imported from the Mediterranean suggests that occupation at the hill-fort at *South Cadbury* lasted through much of the sixth century (phase 11). The absence of Class E ware of the seventh and eighth centuries may point to a cessation of use before that time, although it has been noted that this pottery is generally absent in central and eastern Dumnonia (Thomas 1981, fig 50), or to a change in the nature or status of the settlement. It has been suggested that the ring and an iron axe-hammer – which partly protruded above the road surface – served, together with many bones of butchered domestic

animals, as ritual deposits at the gate at the time of the ‘closure’ of the site in the last decades of the sixth century.

The enlargement of the civitas in the fifth century

It is arguable that after the Roman period, but in the fifth century, there was a realignment of boundaries and polities in north Somerset. Ptolemy includes *Aquae Sulis*, though on the north bank of the Avon, within the *civitas* of the Belgae. Bath is 90 km from Winchester, the capital of the Belgic canton. The western part of the northern boundary of the *civitas Belgarum*, as defined by the Romans, appears to have been the River Avon. From Bitton the county boundary, which arguably follows the same course as that established for the diocese of Worcester and the Hwicce c. 680, diverges from the Avon in a great loop round the north side of Bath. It is noticeable that there is a kick in this boundary where it meets the Fosse Way at the Three Shire Stones at ST 796 710 and again where it coincides with the Roman road from *Verlucio* – suggested to have marked the boundary between the Belgae and the Dobunni (Paper 1) – at ST 804 664. These approach roads to Bath seem therefore to have been of some significance in the layout of the boundary, but whether this limit in any way here defined a *territorium* of the Roman town is quite unknown.

Ptolemy also includes *Iscalis* in the *civitas Belgarum*. Although there is doubt about the association of the name *Iscalis* with the River Axe or the Roman lead mines at Charterhouse (Paper 1), he appears to locate the place in north Somerset (Rivet and Smith 1979, 107, fig. 1). In post-Roman times, however, north Somerset is dominated by the hill-fort at Cadbury-Congresbury, which, just as the hill-forts at South Cadbury and Ham Hill in the south of the *civitas*, but unlike anywhere in the *civitas Belgarum* (or, indeed, in the *civitas* of the southern Durotriges), was tied in firmly to a trading zone which included Devon and Cornwall. It is possible that in the fifth century Selwood came to serve as a new eastern limit of either the northern Durotriges, who had expanded northwards from, say, the Axe to the Avon or a new, independent small polity centred upon Cadbury-Congresbury (see below). In either case, Selwood arguably now cut them off from the rest of the Belgae to the east. Such a re-alignment could account for the loss of the Charterhouse to Old Sarum Roman road (Costen 2011, 13).

Penselwood is the only extant name which refers to the once extensive Selwood (Yorke 1995, 23–4).¹⁴¹ It was described as ‘the great wood’, *Coit Maur*,¹⁴² by Asser, the biographer of Alfred, at the end of the ninth century (Stevenson 1904, 45), and defined the eastern limit of the new bishopric of Sherborne, which had been founded for the region ‘west of the wood’ (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Plummer and Earle 1892), s. a. 709).¹⁴³ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 894, refers to troops drawn from both east and west of Selwood, a phrase which suggests it was still recognised as a major boundary. Selwood is not recorded by that name in

Domesday Book. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the royal Selwood Forest extended, on either side of the Somerset/Wiltshire county boundary, and as far south as Shaftesbury in Dorset – so Leland, writing in 1540 – but mainly in Wiltshire, northwards to the Bristol Avon.¹⁴⁴ The north-facing West Wansdyke would then have defended the northern limit of this new or expanded territory.¹⁴⁵ The Dyke noticeably excludes Bath which, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (s. a. 577), appears to have had a king of its own in the sixth century (see the Introduction). His kingdom appears to have looked northwards – there are no fifth-century Mediterranean imports – and it seems that Bath had by now become detached from the Belgae.

Cadbury-Congresbury, also in Somerset, but formerly within the *civitas Belgarum*, too, has been the focus of an important excavation, carried out on some 5% of the interior, between 1968 and 1973 (Rahtz *et al.* 1992). This work has added greatly to our knowledge of the area in the immediate post-Roman period. The hill-fort is less than half the extent of South Cadbury and it has far weaker defences. It faces west, towards the Bristol Channel, which was within easy reach along the River Yeo.

The first of the three periods identified was characterised by the excavators as ‘ultimate Roman’, before the arrival of imported pottery and glass but at a time, perhaps the later fifth century, when Roman artefacts and building-materials may have been still in use (Burrow 1981, 114), although Roman building techniques, such as the use of mortar, were no longer current (the filling of one deep pit or quarry showed a clear horizon (but see below) between deposits with Roman and with imported material). Burning traced under the ‘Diagonal Bank’ of period II may mark the clearance of scrub. The ‘Diagonal Bank’ also partly sealed the possibly domestic Structure VI, of irregular but partially rectilinear outline, and a nearby hearth. The rectilinear Structure I, the very large, rounded, Structure III and a series of rock-cut platforms also belong to this initial period.

The second period, which possibly followed very closely on the first but is characterised by the presence of imports (as is the third period), is thought to date to the late fifth or early sixth century. The construction of the ‘Diagonal Bank’ now divided the hilltop into two parts; the excavation exposed the entrance through it. The ‘Diagonal Bank’ makeup itself produced only a few sherds of Roman pottery. The penannular Structure II was now built – a sherd of Class B II amphora was found in its wall trench; a northern entrance was inserted in Structure III; and the apparently substantial Structure V belongs to this phase. This period is seen as marking a major change from the previous one in building style, which was now more massive, regular and accomplished.

The third period is dated to the sixth century. Some features, notably foundation wall(s) inside Structure VII and the ‘apron’ of stones by the ‘Diagonal Bank’ and partly underlying VII were possibly integrated at some stage into

the Bank. Structure VII itself, which had a stone base, lay athwart the ‘Diagonal Bank’; it was considered a defence or status feature, and possibly a successor to the foundations and the ‘apron’. The superstructure of the ‘Diagonal Bank’ suffered intense burning. The small penannular Structure IV, with evidence of craft working and with which a full range of imports was associated, was located so as, apparently, to block the entrance through the ‘Diagonal Bank’, which was now therefore presumably an irrelevance; Structure VIII occupied a similar position outside, that is to the east of, the ‘Diagonal Bank’. The latest features recorded include a deposit which is notable for a variety of hand-made pottery not recorded elsewhere.

Dating the successive stages, and indeed the sequence overall, presents many problems, in spite of the wealth of datable artefacts recovered. Thus a considerable amount of post-Roman glass, reported on by Professor Jennifer Price (see also Evison 2000, 62), was recovered but none of it was found in a primary archaeological context. This glass included a minimum of eight Kempston type cone beakers of the fifth to mid-sixth centuries, whose source lay in the Anglo-Saxon east of England. Other glass, from conical beakers and bowls, is not paralleled there and is probably of Continental origin, although there is the possibility that it was produced in western Britain by itinerant craftsmen using, as elsewhere, blocks of imported raw glass (see eg Whitehouse 2003). Pottery from the Mediterranean further underlines the status of the occupation. It includes Red Slipware from Phocaea, western Turkey (one vessel of the late fifth but most of the early to mid-sixth century) and Africa (including a stamped dish of the second and third quarters of the sixth century); and East Mediterranean amphorae (class BI, fourth to early seventh century; BII, early fifth to mid-seventh century; and BIV, probably late fourth to sixth century). The excavators suggest occupation occurred between either c. 450 and 650 or c. 480 and 580. Imported Class E ware is absent, which in this area suggests that the former date bracket is correct. Iron *styli* are also recorded from the site.

Some similarities and differences between the civitates

Holbrook (2008, 157) states:

The actual political boundaries of the *civitates* are...probably irrelevant to a consideration of regional and sub-regional identity. For instance regional patterns in the distribution of villas are well known, and presumably reflect choice just as much, if not more, than the ability to generate local economic wealth.

The later fourth century and the increased role of the State

It has been argued, notably by Reece (1980) and Faulkner (2002), that the towns were in decline in the fourth century. It

is certainly the case that they changed, and greatly. A feature of a number of them was the addition to their defences of bastions which incorporated platforms for artillery, whose operation required professional soldiery (Corder 1955; Bishop and Coulston 2006, 206–8). Frere (1987, 346–7; see also Stevens 1940b, 148) has suggested that the *vicarius Britanniarum*, whose insignia in the *Notitia Dignitatum* exceptionally incorporated castellated enclosures, may have carried a responsibility for the garrisoning of towns.

The towns were certainly not deserted. In Wessex, building in stone came largely to an end and the public baths did not always outlast even the early fourth century. It has been noticed that at both *Silchester* and *Winchester* there was a marked emphasis on iron-working in the fourth century, at *Silchester* even to the extent that the *basilica* itself was turned over to this purpose. The overall impression is one of greatly increased State activity in these towns. In *Dorchester* the fourth century is marked by the widespread clearance of domestic housing and its replacement by fewer buildings, some with fine mosaics, others of them with industrial and agricultural functions, or with a combination of the two. Excavations at *Ilchester* have established that town's late Roman expansion and prosperity. Some buildings in the suburbs there possibly continued into the early fifth century. A Christian element in its population seems probable, as is definitely the case at *Dorchester*. It should be noted, however, that even at Winchester (see further below) only a tiny fraction of the urban area has been revealed through excavation.

The 'small towns' appear to have become of increasing importance in the later Roman period, providing opportunities for the local elite who controlled the *pagi* (Drinkwater 1985, 54 (for Gaul); Millett 1990, 143–56). Most of those in Wessex can be shown to have been occupied throughout the fourth century, and those at *Camerton* and *Shepton Mallet* in the *civitas Belgarum*, prospered at that time. At the 'small town' of *Cunetio* in the *civitas Atrebatum* the defences were enhanced by their construction, c. 360–380, in stone with external bastions, arguably reflecting its official role in the collection of the *annona militaris* (see below), and Dr Sam Moorhead has suggested to the writer that such a function may also have been true at at least some of the other 'small towns'. In north Somerset, in the *civitas Belgarum*, the settlement at *Gatcombe*, occupied into the fifth century and enclosed by 5 m thick walls, may also have had some official role, perhaps related to taxation.

In the second half of the fourth century the countryside in Wessex affords a mixed economic picture. There are indications of considerable prosperity, both in terms of coin circulation and in the commissioning of elaborate mosaics, in those parts of the *civitas Belgarum* which lay close to or west of the Salisbury Avon and in the *civitates* of the *Atrebates* and the *Durotriges*, although the mosaicists' work is less evident in the *civitas Atrebatum*. Moorhead (2001) has noted that the pattern of coin loss indicates 'a

flourishing rural economy in Wiltshire [330–348]', but also that coin usage in the county, especially in the north, was exceptionally high between 364 and 378, a pattern also seen in Somerset (Moorhead 2001, table 3 and fig. 5.3). The same patterning of late coin circulation is reflected in the hoards. The more easterly parts of the *civitas Belgarum*, however, appear to have become less prosperous as the fourth century progressed, an assessment suggested by the comparative fortune of the villas at *Grateley*, *Sparsholt* and *Bramdean* in Hampshire.¹⁴⁶ 'Of the many villas known in ... Hampshire, the extreme west of Sussex [and that part of Wiltshire east of the River Avon] ... very few have occupation after about AD 350' (Neal and Cosh 2009, 24). The *Central Southern Group* of mosaicists flourished in this region in the early fourth century, that is, earlier than the comparable Groups further to the west. Their work is represented at *Bramdean*, *Sparsholt* and also *Itchen Abbas* in Hampshire (Neal and Cosh 2009, 20–1). Moorhead and Stuttard (2012, 204–6) – and others before them – have suggested that some of them may have been abandoned due to the savage reprisals exacted by Paul Catena on the supporters of the failed usurper Magnentius (350–353).

In the time of Julian (359 (as Caesar)–363) eight hundred ships were needed to transport grain from Britain to the Rhine army (Moorhead and Stuttard 2012, 206–8, with reference to Libanius, Eunapius, Ammianus, Julian and Zosimus). The grain required would have reached the government by means of the *annona militaris*. The system was supervised by the Praetorian Prefect, and was collected by a *procurator* or *susceptor*, who was appointed by each *civitas* from among its *curiales* and who remained responsible for delivery, through officials, to government installations in the territory (Jones 1964, 456–7). Bowes (2010, 94) has noted that:

Diocletian's tax reforms [had] tied taxation more firmly to the land itself; the rise of the *iugum*, a land/productivity unit, as preferred measurement of tax liability, and the emphasis on the *origo*, or physical location, of taxpayers, is testament to this. The gaze of not only municipal councillors but now also imperial officials like the *praepositus pagi* or municipal/imperial go-betweens like the *curator rei publicae*, were focused on the site of tax production – the land.

This must have been even more the case in Britain, where so much of the grain was sent abroad. Bowes (2010, 91) has also pointed out, with reference to the notable villa concentrations in Pannonia, Aquitaine, Hispania, south-west Britain and southern Italy/Sicily, that these regions:

had relatively low concentrations of active urban centres. And yet, as new research is suggesting, each of these rural regions may have had particular concentrations of imperial administrative presence, either through a focused taxation apparatus or through the military.

Mention has been made above, in connection with the militarisation of late Roman society in northern Gaul, of the loss of the once treasured and cultivated leisure (*otium*) of the elite. 'The Roman style of private residence had [thus] become 'socially irrelevant'. [Rural elite habitations] were replaced by more ephemeral buildings in which high-status occupation [and] utilitarian functions...were carried out in close proximity' (Lewit 2003, 268). The same phenomenon is seen in Britain, where the living areas of villas were turned over to agricultural use, even to the extent that mosaics might now be cut through by corn-driers. In Wessex there are examples at *Rockbourne* and *Atworth* in the *civitas Belgarum* and at *Dewlish* and *Lufton* in the *civitates* of the Durotriges.¹⁴⁷ Attention may also be drawn to the exceptional concentration and growth of the almost contiguous villages of *Charlton*, *Upavon* and *Compton Downs* on Salisbury Plain (Fulford *et al.* 2006, 209; cf. Fowler 2000, 229). Overall, there appears to have been widespread agricultural expansion in many areas in the late Roman period.

The local presence of imperial officials and soldiers, both termed *milites* (Jones 1964, 566), may be recognised archaeologically through the recovery of buckles and other fittings from their issued belt, a mark of their status, the *cingulum*.¹⁴⁸ One of its earliest representations is on the Arch of Mérida (*Augusta Emerita*) of c. 300 in Spain, where the Emperor Maximian (286–305 and 307–308) is depicted wearing a *cingulum* fitted with propeller-shaped stiffeners (Arce 1982, pl. 62, b, c). Another example appears on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, which dates to 314 (Sommer 1984, 84). Alongside this wide form of the belt there was another, narrower, from 21 mm in width, whose buckle was associated with a plain semicircular plate affixed by three rivets. Both types of belt were in use from the early fourth century (Kazanski 1995, 191). Von Rummel (2007, 161), with reference to the *Codex Justinianus*, notes the use of the *cingulum* by higher officials of differing grades, but it is not possible to relate observable differences in the form of the belt to such distinctions in the rank of their wearers.¹⁴⁹ Before this time all belts had been fastened by a stud (Clarke 1979, 265–6). In the second half of the fourth century the buckles, including those found in Britain, became more elaborate, with chip-carved animal and dolphin heads, and belts might be 140 mm wide (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 219–22). Many of the belt attachments found in Britain date to the time of Valentinian I (364–375) and later; see below). Both the narrow and broad forms of the belt are widespread in Wessex and also in other parts of Britain.¹⁵⁰

The late Roman belt-fittings found in Britain have been the subject of a seminal study by Hawkes and Dunning (1961), which has been subsequently reviewed in the light of a significant number of new examples from the cemetery at *Lankhills*, *Winchester* (Clarke 1979, 264–91; Booth *et al.* 2010, 285–90). Further papers¹⁵¹ have added to our

understanding of their use and significance. Simpson (1976) classified a further four types of plain buckle and associated amphora-shaped and heart-shaped strap-ends.

Hawkes and Dunning identified three types (II to IV) of buckle which they argued were used to fasten the *cingulum*, together with other associated belt-fittings. Some of these clearly arrived with soldiers posted from the Continent. Others incorporate features, in particular Type IIA, that point to their manufacture in Britain.¹⁵² Type IIA itself was developed from a form current in northern Gaul and on the Danube between c. 350 and 380 (Sommer 1984, Sorte 2; Böhme 1986, 482). In addition, Hawkes and Dunning noted the widespread occurrence here of two forms of the much narrower types (IA and IB, the latter especially associated with long, narrow, distinctively decorated, plates and strap-ends of the Tortworth type), for which there is almost no evidence on the Continent. Ager (in Leahy 2007, 142) notes that:

[T]he notable differences between the late Romano-British and continental buckles and belt fittings suggest that British manufacturers in the late 4th and early 5th centuries operated wholly independently of the centralised state factories of arms and military/official equipment on the Continent.

Type IIIA, which has semi-circular loops terminating in open-jawed animal heads confronted across the hinge-bars, dates from c. 370 into the fifth century. Type IIIB, with the loop and plate cast as one, developed from them (Clarke 1979, 277). Heart- and amphora-shaped strap-ends have been considered to have been in use 'within the later years of the fourth century' (Simpson 1976, 203), though Keller (1971, 64–6) had suggested c. 340–c. 370 for the former and c. 350–c. 390 for the latter.

Hawkes (1974, 393) considered that the Type I buckles were too flimsy for military use.¹⁵³ One of the Type IB buckles, together with its plate, has been found in a burial context at Dorchester-on-Thames, on the east bank of the Thames to the south-east of Abingdon. Two Germanic brooches were also present in the grave.¹⁵⁴ Leahy (1984, 23) suggests the women with these belts may have been reflecting the status of their menfolk. The grave was one of two found in 1874 which were intrusive in the Dyke Hills, an Iron Age earthwork to the south of the Roman town. The other, nearby, was that of a male, probably with a sword and who wore the *cingulum*, the buckle noticeably worn and the plate repaired; a bone sword bead was also found with him.¹⁵⁵ The Nydamfibel variant 6/Group I cruciform brooch with Grave 2 dates that burial to c. 420.¹⁵⁶ Recent excavations at Dyke Hills produced fragments of a child's skull and an additional, disturbed, male, buried with an axe and belt-fittings, including a Type IIIA/Sorte I Form C Type Variant 5 buckle of c. 407–c. 450 (Sommer 1984, 29, 79). His 'oxygen isotope data are consistent with [a childhood] in northern parts or in high altitude regions such as the Alps.

The strontium data are inconsistent with inland parts of Scandinavia but coastal parts could produce these values'. He was, therefore, probably from western Europe and beyond the *limes* (Booth 2014, 260). Current excavations within the town have produced three Type IB buckles and more than fifty Theodosian coins (Booth 2014).

The second example of a Type IB buckle and plate from a recorded burial is from *Lankhills, Winchester*, where Grave 1175, of a male aged 45+, was accompanied by a knife and a coin of Theodosius I, dated to 388–395. The grave has been radiocarbon dated to cal AD 237–400 (Booth *et al.* 2010, 159–60). Böhme (1986, 507) has suggested that the Type IB buckles continued in use into the first half of the fifth century, a dating supported in a recent, detailed, discussion (Booth *et al.* 2010, 285–90). Generally, late Roman women did not wear belts,¹⁵⁷ but they were in widespread use amongst Germanic peoples. All further examples, of this and other types, recovered from graves are from women's graves, mostly later in the fifth century and which include other grave goods of Germanic background (several examples are given in Hawkes and Dunning 1961).

Another 'badge' of official (but see Clarke 1979, 262–3), and high status, Roman male uniform was the crossbow brooch (see also the Introduction). It first came into use c. 280–290, and by the beginning of the fourth century the brooch was already established as a primarily military object from Pannonia to Britain and especially along the frontier (Swift 2000, 14, 73). Very few of these brooches date to the very late fourth century. A gold example is recorded from *Odiham* in Hampshire (Brailsford 1951, 20, fig. 10.28) and there are several, exceptionally, in graves at *Lankhills*.

The distribution of late Roman belt-fittings in Wessex

Towns and 'small towns'

Belt-fittings associated with the fourth-century *cingulum* have been found widely in Wessex. Their occurrence in the *civitas* capitals of *Durnovaria* (IIA and a strap-end from a narrow belt), *Calleva Atrebatum* (IA, IA/B and IIA) and *Venta Belgarum*, where, as noted, an exceptional number and range of belt-fittings have been recovered from graves in the Lankhills cemetery, could betoken the presence of garrisons, or government officials, or even soldiers from the field army (*comitatenses*) billeted in those towns (Tomlin 1976, 189; Mattingly 2006, 251). Such items are also recorded from the 'small towns' of *Cunetio* (IIA) in the *civitas Atrebatum*, *Verlucio* (IB) and *Wanborough* (a narrow plate, the tongue of a IIA buckle, a heart-shaped strap-end, and a Tortworth strap-end and another of related type) in the *civitas Dobunnorum* and *Camerton* (IIA and a propeller-shaped belt-stiffener) in the *civitas Belgarum*. *Cunetio* is of particular interest in connection with its possible, even likely, role as a collection point

for the *annona militaris*, given its strong defences and its key location not only at a road hub, but at a crossing of the Kennet, whence grain laden on barges could so easily have been conveyed to London and the east coast via the Thames.¹⁵⁸ The belt-fittings are also widespread throughout the Wessex countryside.

The countryside

CIVITAS ATREBATUM

Of the 13 rural locations, eight buckles from wide belts and two from narrow, are on the Chalk: *Hampstead Norreys* in Berkshire, Type IIIA, PAS, BERK-ED2E37; in Hampshire: *Ashley*, IIA, HAMP-1BB5E7; *Hannington*, IIA, SUR-A33F21; *Greywell*, IIA, SUR-A2A213; *Kimpton*, IB, HAMP565; *Nether Wallop*, IIA, WILT-169D92; *Old Basing*, IIA, SUR-886B81; *Preston Candover*, IIA, HAMP-BF41E6; *Thruxton*, IB, HAMP-E2C957; *Twyford*, IIA, HAMP-F6FC56; and *Whitchurch*, IIB, SOMDOR-4EFC05. One narrow belt, from *East Hendred*, IA, BERK-842F13, and one wide one from *Letcombe Regis*, IIIA, BERK-AA17F8, are from the Upper Greensand at its edge. The other belt-fittings are from the Thames Valley, at *Pangbourne*, IA, SUR-F222F3; the Vale of the White Horse, at *Hatford*, an amphora-shaped strap-end; and from north of the Vale, at *Sunningwell*, IB, BUC-B32F67; and there is an openwork plate associated with a IIA buckle from the valley of the Kennet at *Thatcham* (BERK-576A37).

CIVITAS BELGARUM

Somerset: *Backwell*, IIA, GLO-871BC8; *North Wraxall*, Roman villa, IIA belt-buckle, a heart-shaped strap-end and a crescentic ornament of a pair of boar's tusks (in the British Museum), worn by the cavalry (there is also a IIB from 'Wraxall and Failand', GLO-261AA4).

Hampshire: *Cheriton*, amphora-shaped strap-end; *Crawley*, IA, HAMP-BBD951; *Nether Wallop*, IB, HAMP-722FA3; *Over Wallop*, IB, WILT-F77983; *Old Alresford*, IB, HAMP-8C3C28; *Popham*, IB; villa at *Rockbourne*, amphora-shaped strap-end and rosette attachments; *Ropley*, IIA, HAMP-6636CF; and *Upham*, IA, HAMP-93C8D4, and a narrow plate.

Wiltshire: *Amesbury*, *Boscombe Down*, a strap-slide with pelta-shaped terminal (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 222; N. Griffiths, pers. comm.); *Bishops Cannings*, IB, IARCH-513EDB; *Chapmanslade*, IB, WILT-2BCB88; *Heytesbury*, IB, WILT-7BCEA0; *Shrewton*, IB plate WILT-58EDD3; *Upavon*, *Widdington*, IIB buckle with fixed plate; *Upavon*, IIA, WILT-09A142; 'West Dean', IA, IIA, and IIIA; and *West Lavington*, IIA, WILT-01CDC7.

All the above sites are on the Chalk, except Backwell (limestone), Chapmanslade (sandstone), North Wraxall (Oolite) and West Lavington (Upper Greensand). There are fourteen attachments from wide belts and fifteen others from narrow ones.

CIVITAS DOBUNNORUM

Four of these belt-fittings (*Aldbourn*, a Type IA and two IB, and *Chiseldon*, a Type IIA, WILT-2F6731) have been found on the Marlborough and Wiltshire Downs to the north and east of *Cunetio*, an area where, as has been seen, at least one farm (Overton Down) and a villa (Badbury) continued to 400 or later and where there are late coin hoards (Broad Hinton and Preshute). From elsewhere in north Wiltshire: *Ashton Keynes*, a propeller-shaped belt-stiffener (Bishop and Couston 2006, 222); *Bremhill*, IB, HAMP-BC5C21; *Calstone*, IIA; *Lacock*, IIA, WILT-324BB3; *Latton*, IIA, WILT-9247D5; *Sutton Benger*, IB, NMGW-9D50B7; and *Wootton Bassett*, IB.

CIVITAS REGNORUM

Buriton, IA, HAMP-379E41

ISLE OF WIGHT

Arreton, IB, IOW-079970; *Newchurch*, IB, IOW-438BE2; and *Shalfleet*, IIA, IOW-20F627.

CIVITAS DUROTRIGUM

South-west Wiltshire: *Bowerchalke*, two narrow plates, a Tortworth and an amphora-shaped strap-end etc; *Chilmark*, IIA, WILT-0A224F; *East Knoyle*, IIA, WILT-0A3C54; *Kingston Deverill*, IB, WILT-741DAF; *Longbridge Deverill*, IIA, HAMP-34EBF6 and PUBLIC-28886D; and *West Tisbury*, IIA, WILT-2DC6B1.

Dorset: *Chalbury*, strap-end related to the heart-shaped type (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.); *Cranborne*, IIA, DOR-DCAD55; *Gussage All Saints*, IIA; *Handley*, propeller belt-stiffener; *Marnhull*, IIA, DOR-C6F631; *Wimborne St. Giles*, IIA, DOR-DC649F; *Woodcuts*, propeller stiffener; *Woodyates*, narrow belt-plate and end-plate of belt; and *Maiden Castle*, a Tortworth strap-end.

Attention may also be drawn to official control of the main road from *Durnovaria* and *Vindocladia* to *Sorviodunum* at Shapwick and Bokerley Dyke in the late fourth century (Paper 1). It may also be noted that the group of belt-fittings from *Bowerchalke* (above) may point to similar interest by the Roman government to control movement along the Ox Drove (a ridgeway) at the point where it crossed from the *Civitas Durotrigum* into the *Civitas Belgarum*.

CIVITAS DUROTRIGUM LENDENIENSIIUM

Somerset: *Catsgore*, two amphora-shaped strap-ends; *Chedzoy*, IA, SOM-A0BA82; and *Moorlinch*, IA, NMGW-2C8F7E.

Other indications of the presence of the late Roman army in Wessex are seen in a lead-weighted dart (*plumbata*) from *Nettleton Scrubb* (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 200–2; White 2007, 71) and a distinctive form of zoomorphic prick spur, of barbarian background and not in common use in the Roman army. The latter, which appears in Britain in the late fourth

century, is recorded from *Bitterne* (two examples), *Buriton* (PAS, HAMP-37F143: a probable example), *Kimpton* (PAS, HAMP567), *Lankhills*¹⁵⁹ and *Upham* (PAS, HAMP3317) in Hampshire, a notable grouping. There are three further examples from *Dorchester*, Dorset (Shortt 1959; Worrell 2004; Cool 2010b).¹⁶⁰

Continuity of Roman occupation in the *civitates* of the Atrebates, Belgae, western Regni and the Isle of Wight after c. 400

As has been discussed above, clipped Roman silver coinage may have continued in circulation until c. 430. Many of these coins have been found in hoards¹⁶¹ as well as site finds. The occurrence of hand-made sand- and organic-tempered pottery on Roman sites may also indicate prolonged occupation into the fifth century. These wares are widespread in eastern Wessex and are increasingly being found where careful fieldwalking surveys have been carried out. The end of the centralised Roman pottery industries, whether wheel-thrown, hand-made or hand-finished, is less certain at present, though there are indications for their variable survival after 400. Large zoomorphic penannular brooches point to the presence of high status Britons in some places in the fifth century. Other sites, across Wessex, and noted above, have been shown through their stratigraphy, or have been considered by their excavators, to have continued into the fifth century but lack such specific artefactual evidence.

The *civitas capitals*

The role of the towns in the later fourth century appears to have been closely related to the tax-collecting and other needs of the central government. From this point of view their relevance ended abruptly at the beginning of the fifth century. We may note that at *Silchester* the only clipped *siliquae* are in a hoard and that there are none at all from *Winchester*. The fortifications of the towns may henceforth have been of little use. Unlike some of their counterparts in Gaul, the towns in Britain lacked late Roman citadels and retained extensive walled circuits often established centuries before, ill-suited, one might think, to the needs of post-Roman warlords (Loseby 2000 and 2004 for recent reassessments; but note the possible ‘sub-Roman’ use of the amphitheatre at Cirencester as a fortification: Wachter 1976, 16–17; Holbrook 1998, 174). A casual find of a pin from a large zoomorphic penannular brooch at *Silchester* may hint at the presence of a high-status Briton there in the fifth century.

The ‘small towns’

Shepton Mallet, on the border between the *civitates* of the Belgae and the northern Durotriges, is the only one in Wessex that can be shown to have continued in occupation for any length of time after the Roman period. Archaeomagnetic dates from hearths in demolished Roman buildings indicate that occupation continued well into the fifth century, if not

later. Inhumation burials, including one with hobnails, have a date of cal AD 430–680.

Villas, rural settlements and a hill-fort

Four villas have produced organic-tempered and other hand-made pottery in a late/post-Roman context: in the Belgic canton, *Staverton*, on the clay belt of north-west Wiltshire; *Fullerton*, in the Test valley, and *Thruxton* on the Chalk in Hampshire; and *Shavard's Farm*, *Meonstoke*, in the *civitas* of the Regni. Similar sherds have been recovered from Roman settlement sites at *Bickton*, in the *civitas Belgarum*, in the valley of the Salisbury Avon; *Knighton Bushes*, on the Berkshire Downs, and the *Loddon valley* in the *civitas Atrebatum*; and *Ashton Keynes* and *Ogbourne St George* in the *Civitas Dobunnorum*. The hand-made pottery from *High Post*, *Durnford* and *Westbury*, both in the Belgic canton, include sherds which appear to show Saxon influence, as is also the case at the villa at *Brixton Deverill*, just across its border in the *civitas Durotrigum*. Both Romano-British and hand-made organic-tempered pottery have been found together at *Swallowcliffe*. There is also an organic-tempered vessel from *Whitsbury* hill-fort in the *civitas Belgarum*.

The circulation of Roman coin after c. 400

Casual finds of clipped *siliquae*¹⁶² have been recorded very widely and they appear to have been in use throughout Wessex, with the implication that coin may have continued to circulate in the region until, perhaps, c. 430. Moorhead and Walton (2014) have noted the higher proportion of clipped *siliquae* to bronze coins at rural than at urban sites. They map the distribution of these coins on their figure 3.

Civitas Atrebatum

Thames valley: *Cholsey*, *Moulsford* and *South Moreton*.
 Vale of the White Horse: *East* and *West Hanney*, *Lyford*, *Stanford in the Vale* and *Uffington*.
 Upper Greensand on the northern edge of the Berkshire Downs: *Childrey*, *East Hendred* and *Wantage*.
 Berkshire Downs: *Beedon*, *Blewbury*, *East Garston*, *Great Shefford* and *Lambourn*.
 Hampshire chalklands: *Andover*, *Basing*, *Bighton*, *Chawton*, *Crawley*, *Deane*, *Droxford*, *Dummer*, *Fyfield*, *Greywell*, *Hannington*, *Hurstbourne Tarrant*, *Kempshott*, *Kimpton*, *Micheldever*, *Nether Wallop*, *Over Wallop*, *Overton*, *Ropley*, *Smannell*, *Steventon*, *Twyford*, *Upham* and *Wherwell*.
 London Clay and the Barton and other Beds: *Beech Hill*, *Mortimer West End* and *Winchfield*.
 Kennet and Lambourn valleys: *Mildenhall* and *Shaw cum Donnington*.
 Kinwardstone Hundred: *Collingbourne Kingston* and *Pewsey*.

Civitas Dobunnorum

Chiseldon, *Colerne* and *Kington Langley*

Civitas Belgarum

Vale of Pewsey: *All Cannings*

Upper Greensand on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain:

Easterton, *Urchfont* and *West Lavington* (5 recorded)

Salisbury Plain: *Bratton*, *Upton Scudamore*

Avon valley and its tributaries: *Amesbury*, *Coombe Bissett*, *Heytesbury*, *Rushall* (10 recorded), *Salisbury* (5 recorded), *Stockton*, *Tilshead* and *Woodford*.

Greensand at the western edge of the South Downs: *Stroud*

Tertiary deposits: *Bishops Waltham* and *Otterbourne* (N edge), *Swanmore*

Civitas Regnorum

Clanfield, *Corhampton* and *Meonstoke*, *Havant*, *Horndean* and *Soberton*

Isle of Wight

Arreton, *Bleadon*, *Brading*, *Brighstone*, *Calbourne*, *Havenstreet* and *Ashey* (7 recorded), and *Newport*

Civitas Durotrigum

South-west Wiltshire: *Alvediston*, *Donhead St. Andrew*,

Hindon, *Kingston Deverill* (4 recorded), *West Tisbury*

East Dorset: *Edmondsham*, *Gussage All Saints*

Stour valley: *Charlton Marshall*

Blackmoor Vale: *Stalbridge*

Central Dorset: *Hilton*, *Winterborne Zelston*

North-east of Dorchester: *Puddletown*, *White Lackington*

South-west of Dorchester: *Portesham* (6 recorded)

Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium

Bradley Hill; *Bawdrip*, *Chedzoy*, *Ilchester* and *South Petherton*

Large zoomorphic penannular brooches

Three of these fifth-century brooches (or their pins) are known from the *civitas Atrebatum*: *Silchester* and *Abingdon*, both Roman sites, and *East Ilsley* on the Berkshire Downs. Two others, one certainly and the other probably, are associated with *Oldbury hill-fort*, where there was also late Roman occupation, close to the northern border of the Belgae. There are two from that canton itself, again from Roman sites, from the *Bath* spring, which also produced clipped *siliquae*, and from *Salterton*, and another from just across its western boundary with the Durotriges, at *Kingston Deverill*. The remaining two, from *Blacknall Field*, *Pewsey* in the *civitas Atrebatum* and *Cheriton*, in the *civitas Belgarum*, are certainly or probably to be associated with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. No large penannular brooch has yet been reported from the Isle of Wight or the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium* and only the one from *Kingston Deverill* from the *civitas Durotrigum*.

The area around Andover

On the Hampshire Chalk the area around *Andover* has already been discussed as of particular interest in terms of the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition, not least on account of the translation of place-names from Brittonic to Old English at the grammatical level, pointing to bilingual contact (Paper 1). Interestingly, however, the archaeological evidence, at least as presently understood, does not offer the closeness of dating between the Roman and Saxon that has been observed, for instance, in the Abingdon area (see below). The villa at *Abbotts Ann* was in use to c. 350 and the one at *Andover* has coins to Valens. Clipped *siliquae* are recorded at *Andover*, *Fyfield*, *Greywell*, *Kimpton*, *Smannell* and *Wherwell*. The villas at *Thruxton* and *Fullerton*, have produced hand-made sherds of late/post-Roman date and the one at *Fullerton* a Germanic supporting-arm brooch, datable to the middle third of the fifth century, too.

The appearance of a Germanic-derived material culture in eastern Wessex

Germanic-derived artefacts datable between c. 430 and c. 475, whether from settlement sites, in burials or as casual finds, are, with one notable exception, restricted to eastern Wessex, and in particular the *civitas Atrebatum*, the more easterly areas of the *civitas Belgarum*, the western parts of the *civitas Regnorum* and the Isle of Wight, and even there they are of only sporadic occurrence (Figs 6, 8). As has been noticed, the relevant items are supporting-arm and Group I cruciform brooches and others decorated in the Quoit Brooch Style.

Attention may be drawn to the areas around *Abingdon* and *Winchester*, both noticed above, as particularly potentially pertinent to our understanding of the marked changes that occurred in the fifth century. From elsewhere, there are Group I cruciform brooches from *Cliddesden* in the *civitas Atrebatum* and from *Freshwater*, *Godshill*, *Ryde* and *Shorwell* on the Isle of Wight. Supporting-arm brooches are recorded from *Fullerton*, above, and, along with hand-made pottery, also already noted, and belt-fittings in the Quoit Brooch Style, from close to the villa at *Shavard's Farm*, *Meonstoke*, in the *civitas Regnorum*. Another of these brooches accompanied a burial at *Weston Colley*, *Micheldever*, in the *civitas Belgarum*. There are unassociated supporting-arm brooches from *Ogbourne St Andrew* in the *civitas Dobunorum* and from 'Marlborough' and *Collingbourne Kingston* in the Atrebatian canton. No supporting-arm brooch has yet been reported from the Isle of Wight. Elsewhere in Wessex the Quoit Brooch Style and associated artefacts are represented in the main in the more southerly parts of the region: on the Isle of Wight at the *Clatterford villa*, *Newport*, the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at *Bowcombe* and *Chessell Down* and at findspots at *Newport*, *Shorwell* and *Shalfleet*; in the territory of the *Meonwara* at *Corhampton* and *Exton*; at the cemetery at

Charlton, in the Avon valley to the south of the Salisbury; the cemetery at *Worthy Park*, *King's Worthy*, and at *Itchen Abbas* and *Cheriton* in the Itchen valley in Hampshire; *East Shefford* in the valley of the Lambourn in Berkshire; and at *Pewsey* in the *civitas Atrebatum*. There are Saxon equal-arm brooches from *Micheldever* in central Hampshire and from *Maidenhead* and *Sutton Courtenay* in the Thames valley. Cemeteries that began in the second half or the last third of the fifth century are known from *Long Wittenham*, *Wallingford* and *Reading (Earley)* in the Thames valley; *Harwell* and *West Hendred* on the Greensand at the northern edge of the Berkshire Downs; and at *Collingbourne Ducis* in Wiltshire and the *civitas Atrebatum*.

From c. 475, that is over 30 years after the successful Saxon revolt, acculturation between the Britons and the Saxons, as it has been argued in the Introduction, advanced rapidly, a process reflected in the marked increase in the number and spread of the new types of cemeteries with furnished burials, which suggests that numerous Britons were now being assimilated to the new order. Germanic-derived material culture becomes evident throughout the *civitas Atrebatum* but was limited to the more easterly parts of the *civitas Belgarum*, its most westerly occurrence being in the valley of the Salisbury Avon and at the isolated settlement and cemetery at *Market Lavington*, on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain. There is a notable group of burial grounds around Salisbury, an area which had been prosperous in the Late Roman period, as early fifth-century hoards at *Grovely*, *Amesbury* and *Bowerchalke* bear witness.

The civitates of the Durotriges

In comparison with the *civitates* of the Atrebates and the Belgae, the material culture and archaeology of the Durotriges could not look more different in the fifth century. Only at the hill-fort of *Hod Hill*, in the *civitas Durotrigum*, is there any evidence of comparable Germanic material culture nature at this date, and there it is limited to the presence of two brooches, one a Group I cruciform and the other an equal-arm, and a spearhead. Apart from a floriate-cross brooch from *Puddletown*, Germanic artefacts are not otherwise found amongst either the southern or northern Durotriges until the sixth century (Paper 9). Their early appearance in the context of a hill-fort also underlines another significant contrast between the Durotriges and eastern Wessex at this time, where only an organic-tempered pot from *Whitsbury* hints at post-Roman occupation.¹⁶³ In the territory, or territories, of the northern Durotriges, as redefined in the fifth century following the Belgic loss of north Somerset, however, the hill-forts of *Cadbury-Congresbury* and *South Cadbury*, both refortified (cf. the comment by Gildas, c. 25.1), and *Ham Hill* dominate the archaeological record. Furthermore, these hill-forts, and also other sites, have produced wheel-thrown amphorae

and other vessels for the transport¹⁶⁴ of wine and perhaps also oil from the Mediterranean, particularly the eastern Mediterranean, between the last quarter of the fifth and the mid-sixth centuries.¹⁶⁵ These fifth-century pottery vessels have not yet appeared in Dorset and, surely significantly, not at Poundbury, Dorchester, where excavation has been extensive. Their presence in Somerset indicates the incorporation of the northern Durotriges within an international trading zone which included Cornwall and Devon (the Dumnonii), but not, apparently, and interestingly, the southern Durotriges in Dorset. It has also been suggested, as noted above, that the territory of the northern Durotriges remained otherwise aceramic until the tenth century.

The amphorae brought wine and olive-oil. Apart from elite secular consumption, the wine will have been needed in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, for Christianity is increasingly evident in western Britain from the fifth century, marking a further contrast with the pagan world of the Saxons. Certainly for Gildas paganism is no longer a problem for the Britons in the west. In the *civitas Durotrigum* fourth-century mosaics at the villas at *Frampton* and *Hinton St Mary*, and gypsum burials, and also possibly murals in the mausolea at *Poundbury*, together strongly suggest that Christianity was well established there at that time. It has also been suggested that the earliest, uninscribed, memorials at *St Mary's*, *Wareham* date to the fifth century. It is also likely that the cemeteries of very largely or wholly unaccompanied inhumations laid out in formal west to east rows are those of Christians, and indeed an open display of their religion intended to contrast with the predominantly furnished burial grounds in the east. The earliest of these cemeteries is the one at *Tolpuddle*, which appears to date from the fourth to the seventh centuries, but there are a number of others, in the *civitas* of the northern Durotriges too, which begin in the fifth century (Paper 9).¹⁶⁶ A possible Christian baptistery has been excavated at the villa at *Bradford-on-Avon*. The archaeological contrast with the Saxons extends to styles of building too, as exhibited at the fifth-century settlement at *Poundbury*, intruded upon the burial ground. The retention of the Latin language by the Britons was also a key, indeed a major, factor as they forged a new, distinct, post-Roman identity (see the Introduction). The result was 'a curious fusion of Celtic and Roman, in which the Celtic predominated but without entirely obliterating a sense of *romanitas*' (Wood 2000b, 523).

Acknowledgements

The writer has benefited greatly from very helpful comment from Barry Ager, Dr Paul Barnwell, Professor H. W. Böhme, Dr Sam Moorhead and Susan Youngs.

Notes

- 1 This paper revises and otherwise subsumes the relevant parts of Eagles 1994.

- 2 'By 500 it is clear that all over the island of Britain new political entities were coming into being, some of which made use of Roman-style vocabularies, objects in particular, but seldom in ways that an inhabitant of fourth-century Roman Britain would have found comprehensible; this was not about direct experience of Rome but an appeal to the memory of Rome, in itself testament that Rome was no longer a living reality in the island': Esmonde Cleary 2013b, 45.
- 3 For some brief, but useful, comment on certain aspects of a number of the major Continental written sources for this period, Barnwell (1992, chap 1 and pp. 91–3; and for a more detailed discussion of the history of northern Gaul at this time, 1993 (I owe this reference to Dr Paul Barnwell)).
- 4 Their capital was *Vagoritum* (Ptolemy (Stevenson 1991), *Geographia*, II, 7: ?La Bazouge-de-Chéméré (Union Académique Internationale, 1983, 20–1), west of Le Mans.
- 5 *Incerti Panegyricus Constantio Caesari* (*Paneg. Lat.* VIII (V), xxi.1: Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 142 (English) and 553 (Latin): De Ste. Croix 1981, 513, n. 14, for this settlement and possibly further ones of Salian Franks among the Batavii in c. 297 or 341 or 350–353.
- 6 De Ste. Croix 1981, 514, n. 17.
- 7 Zosimus, *Historia Nova* (Paschoud 1971–89; Ridley (trans.) 1982), VI, 5.3. Zosimus was a Greek historian writing in c. 500, but in the second half of Book V and the fragmentary Book VI he is apparently using a now largely lost contemporary history of Olympiodorus of Thebes (Matthews 1970, 81; Woolf 2003, 346–7). For the 405 date, Kulikowski 2000.
- 8 Claudian (Platnauer 1922, I, 380), *De consulatu Stilichonis* (AD 400), I, lines 232–45 and *ibid.*, II, line 156; *De bello Gothico*, lines 421–22: Goffart 2006, 95, 301, n. 93). See also Introduction.
- 9 Sidonius Apollinaris (Anderson 1956), *Carmina*, V, lines 211–54.
- 10 MacGeorge 2002 (chaps 6–11 and p. 297) – the contemporary situation in southern Britain may have been rather similar; see further below in the section headed 'Emigre Britons'. For the chaos north of the Loire in the 460s, Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, II, 18–19; his source was apparently an Angers chronicle (Wood 2000b, 509).
- 11 Amory (1994, 22) notes of the Roman elite: 'none of them has left any record of feeling different or special due to his Roman descent. Their prominence and self-conscious pride were due to their senatorial descent, a more specialized category than an ethnic group.'
- 12 Sid. Ap., *Ep.* 1.7.5; Barnwell 1992, 74; Harries 1994, 159–66.
- 13 Even in Scandinavia, links with Rome are seen in the development of Germanic animal art Style I and the designs on the gold bracteates, whose origins lay, respectively, in late Roman art and gold coins and medallions.
- 14 For an account of the kingdoms of the Visigoths, Burgundians and Franks in this period, Barnwell 1992, chap 6–8.
- 15 The impact of this process on the burial rite is discussed in the Introduction.
- 16 Gillett 2008; Arbogast, *comes* of Trier in c. 470, was exceptional in maintaining both: MacGeorge 2002, 75.
- 17 Barnwell 1992, 93–4. There is no reason to believe that Childeric, unlike his successor Clovis, held independent power in the Roman province. Significant Frankish expansion

- in northern Gaul arguably followed the defeat of Syagrius by Childeric's son, Clovis, c. 486 (MacGeorge 2002, *passim*). Perhaps Childeric held the 'governorship' under Syagrius as *rex*. See also Halsall 2001, who notes that the traditional, and widely accepted, date of 481 for Childeric's death cannot be so precisely fixed.
- 18 Böhme 1974, Fundlisten 1–4 and Karten 1–4, and pp. 155–7, Zeitstufe I.
 - 19 Böhme 1974, Karte 7 and Fundliste 7, and p. 28.
 - 20 See eg. the cremation burial at Altenbühlstedt, Lower Saxony: Böhme 1974, Tafel 1. For the possibility that some of these brooches were also worn singly by men, see the archaeological section below.
 - 21 Smith 1969, 116, for the similarities between a mosaic of the 'Corinian' school and one at Trier. Cf. Barnwell 1992, 62.
 - 22 Marcus, Gratian and Constantine; for the ancient sources for their respective careers, Martindale 1980, respectively, 719–20, 518–9 and 316–7. Orosius (Zangmeister 1882), 7.40.3–4, that the Rhine crossing was the cause of the usurpations: Goffart 2006, 302, n.102. Britain had become a byword for its propensity to throw up usurpers (Gildas (Winterbottom 1978), c. 4.3, quoting Jerome, *Ep.* (Labourt 1963, VIII, 63), 133.9, not Porphyry, as he states). It is possible that Gildas (c. 21.4) refers to these usurpers (George 2009, 49; cf. Charles-Edwards 2013, 38; Orosius (7.40) would have been his source (Woolf 2003, 354).
 - 23 Kulikowski 2000, 338
 - 24 *Historia Nova*, VI. 6.5.2–3: quotation from Ridley (trans.) 1982, as amended by Charles-Edwards 2013, 41).
 - 25 The repeal of the *Lex Julia de Vi Publica* (*Codex Theodosianus* VII, 13.16–17 (Mommsen and Meyer 1905, I.2, p. 340; Pharr (ed. and trans.), 1952, 173) in 406 had allowed, for the first time, civilians and even slaves to own weapons, other than for the purposes of hunting and self-defence, in public; they were thereby freed for military service (Matthews 1975, 276–7).
 - 26 Thompson (1977) considered this to have been a peasant uprising, comparable to the Bacaudic rebellions in Gaul, but see eg. Drinkwater 1992 in response. The main problems of the peasantry were health and periodic hunger and hardship (Jones 1964, 10, 810–11; Brown 2012, 199). Constantine's mission subsequently failed and he was executed on the Continent in 411.
 - 27 Procopius (*The Vandalic War*, 2, 38; Dewing, II, 20–1) was the first to date the end of Roman Britain to the reign of Constantine III (Wood 2004, 439).
 - 28 Britanniae, Wood (1987, 253), literary usage, as by Prosper, Constantius and Patrick.
 - 29 Muhlberger 1983; (ed. and trans.) 1990; Burgess 2001. On the general reliability of the *Chronicle*, Wood 1987; Jones and Casey 1988 (though see comments by Burgess 1990 and Woolf 2003, 349–50); Wood 1998, 519–20. Faustus the Briton, once abbot of Lérins, later bishop of Riez (Charles-Edwards 2013, 199–202; Brown 2012, 403, 431, 450), or his circle may have played some part in its compilation (Wood 1992, 14). The generally more reliable regnal dating system is followed here, unless stated otherwise; on the unreliability of its olympiad dating, Jones and Casey 1988 and Wood 1984, 17, though it should also be noted that the chronicler also, in places, grouped events to maximize their impact (Wood 1984, 19).
 - 30 For a recent discussion of the date, George 2009, 2–4. It was before 545 as he does not refer, as he surely would have done, had he known of it, to the great plague of that year (Charles-Edwards 1986; 2013, 216–17). For the exceptional survival of Gildas's work among the Anglo-Saxons when that of other British writers is lost, note his criticism of his own people (Sharpe 2002, 109).
 - 31 See also Introduction, n. 28.
 - 32 *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969), I.22.
 - 33 Gildas, c. 18.2; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 1672–3 (*Durotriges Lendinienses*), 1843–4 (*Dumnonii*), 1962 (*Catuvellauni*) and 2022 (*Brigantes*).
 - 34 Wood (2000b, 497) notes that in the aftermath of the western Roman empire Celtic kings emerged only in western Britain and Brittany. Their origins are unclear. Coroticus, probably in the second half of the fifth century, was not called a king by Patrick (for whom see Introduction, n. 29) – though later sources do so – but he rules by tyranny and he has a warband (Wood 2004, 439: the whereabouts of his western 'kingdom' are unknown; for leadership in battle as a key component of early kingship, eg. Sarris 2011, 199). Gildas's kings also had a judicial role (Schaffner 1984, that a ruler might be described as a *iudex*; George (2009, 66) has argued that his *reges* and *iudices* were one and the same, though Woolf (2003, 366) has raised the possibility that the *iudices* governed areas where kings had never arisen). According to Jordanes, Riothamus, in Gaul in 469, was a British king (see below).
 - 35 The location of another British martyr, Sixtus, is unknown (Stancliffe 1999, 121; Sharpe 2002, 123–5). For continuity between the Church in Roman Britain and that of the world of Gildas, especially Sharpe 2002.
 - 36 Frere 1987, 355, with reference to Claudian (Platnauer 1922, II, 20), *De consulatu Stilichonis*, II, lines 250–5.
 - 37 Claudian (Platnauer 1922, I, 168), in *Eutropium*, I, 391–3.
 - 38 Claudian (Platnauer 1922, II, 156), *De Bello Gothico*, lines 416–18 – but Birley 1981, 375, thinks this may be 'a poet's fantasy'.
 - 39 Zosimus, VI. 10.2; Thompson 1982; Paschoud 1989, n. 133, 57–60. To say this is to reject, *contra* eg. Birley 2005, 461–2, a seventeenth-century emendation to Zosimus's text, replacing 'Brettania' with 'Brouttia' (Bruttium, in Italy).
 - 40 For staggering army losses during Honorius's reign, Jones 1964, 198.
 - 41 Jones 1964, 1023; but cf. Brown 2012, 11.
 - 42 Collins and Breeze 2014, 68 and cf. Jones 1964, 649–54; Gildas claimed they were 'too lazy to fight: *segnis ad pugnam*'.
 - 43 Mommsen 1892, at p. 472.
 - 44 They sailed from the 'Bay of Gaul', probably *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne). An account of the visit is given by Constantius (*Vita Germani* (Levison 1920), cc. 12–18), arguably written c. 475–480: Mathisen 2010, n. 58). Prosper says that a deacon, Palladius, had persuaded Pope Celestine to send Germanus.
 - 45 George (2009, 110–11), notes the apparent lack of interest in Germanus by the British clergy, according to Constantius.
 - 46 Observations of Germanus may also have played a part in informing the mission of Palladius to the Irish in 431 (Wood 1984, 14). Patrick was to follow in Palladius's wake.

- 47 Such phrases may, however, represent no more than a literary trope (cf. Brown 2012, 220, 345).
- 48 See also the *Passio S Albani*, which may well have been commissioned by Germanus on his return to the Continent (Sharpe 2001; 2002, 112–7). The *Passio* is closely associated with Britain, even possibly an eye-witness account of the location of the martyrdom. It has also been suggested, however, that the resemblance of ‘Alban’ and ‘Albion’, an ancient name for ‘Britain’, might indicate that there never was a Roman (St) Alban, but that he was invented in order to provide Britain with its own martyr cult – the antiquity of the name ‘Aaron’, the martyr at ‘the city of the legions’ (Gildas, c. 10.2) might perhaps also be called into question on such grounds (Mark Laynesmith, lecture, Christian Archaeology Conference, Winchester, 8 July 2015; Sharpe (2002, 83) notes that Victricius of Rouen may refer to the cult of St Alban c. 396 and, *ibid.*, 119, supports the authenticity of the names Aaron and Julius at Caerleon). Wood (2004, 434) suggests that Germanus’s visit was a deliberate act to impose the traditions of the Continental Church onto the cult of an insular saint. For archaeological evidence for Roman continuity into the fifth century at Verulamium: Niblett 2001, 128–40, 144–6 and Frere with Wits, 2011. A shorter timescale for this sequence is argued by Cosh and Neal 2015.
- 49 In 367 the Picts had co-operated with the Scotti and Attacotti in the north and the Saxons and the Franks had harassed the coasts of Gaul – also quite possibly causing problems in southern Britain too – in a *barbarica conspiratio* (Frere 1987, 339–48, and Rance 2012 for its significance; cf. Collins and Breeze 2014, 65, a ‘major event’). Theodosius then restored the situation, which involved not just the defeat of the barbarians, but the suppression of the rebellious Valentinus, and apparently many others, and the return of army deserters to the colours (Ammianus Marcellinus and other relevant ancient sources are discussed in detail by Birley 2005, 427–39; see also Moorhead and Stuttard 2012, 213–28). The battle and victory are accepted by Salway (1981, 470) and Jones (1986), but Wood (1984, 11–12) considers the whole episode to be allegorical. It may also be noted that it has been suggested that the phrase *ducatus culmen et regimen per provincias* (Constantius, *Vita*, I, 2) refers to Germanus’s earlier provincial governorship – not a military post, as often suggested (Jones 1964, III, 316, n. 135; but cf. Barnwell 1992, 40). Susan Youngs (pers. comm.) points out that the Picts were widely recognized as the archetypal foe in Britain and their appearances in some texts may be little more than literary tropes.
- 50 The leader is named Vortigern, the British translation of ‘proud tyrant’, by Bede (*HE* i. 14). For his appearance in the Kentish origin legend, as retold by ‘Nennius’ in the ninth century, Brooks 2000.
- 51 Is it possible that Germanus himself might have had a hand in this treaty? Salway (1981, 440) suggests that if the Britons after 409 refused to pay the costs of army recruitment, there may have been some ‘inevitability’ in the eventual employment of Saxon federates. We may note that, as argued below, archaeological evidence indicates that post-Roman Germanic settlement began in Britain c. 425–430. Pictish assaults since well before 410 appear to have circumvented the Wall, to focus upon the richer parts of the Roman provinces further south (Gildas, cc. 14, 16, 19 for Picts from ‘overseas’: Frere 1987, 342; Moorhead and Stuttard 2012, 225). Their co-operation with the Saxons in 367 may already point to their increasing seaborne audacity.
- 52 As with many hagiographical works, many scholars have taken a highly critical view as to the historical value of the ‘Life of Germanus’. Charles-Edwards (2013, 49) holds a much more positive standpoint on its worth and is inclined to accept the probable validity of both of Germanus’s visits to Britain, as does Wood (1984, 14). Barrett (2009) – he was not the first – considers the second visit a mistaken duplication of the first.
- 53 Martindale 1980, 206, *Auxiliaris I; Vita*, c. 24.
- 54 442 was the year of Goar’s death (Martindale 1980, 514–5). *Chronicle* (Muhlberger 1990; Burgess 2001), Theodosius, XVIII, 127: *Alani, quibus terrae Galliae ulterioris cum incolis diuidendae a patricio Aetio traditae fuerant, resistentes armis subigunt et ex pulsus dominis terrae possessionem ui adipiscuntur*: ‘the Alans, to whom the lands of *Gallia Ulterior* had been given by the patrician Aetius, to be divided up with the inhabitants, subject those who resist them, by arms, and, once the masters have been driven out, obtain control of the lands by force’ (trans. Wood 1984, 19).
- 55 The date of Germanus’s death, at Ravenna, is uncertain (Sharpe 2002, 80, n. 22), but the olympiad date of 441 for the suppression of Tibatto would fit well with Germanus having been in Britain c. 440. See also Stancliffe (1986), who too argues that Germanus’s second visit to Britain surely preceded the Saxon revolt.
- 56 MacGeorge (2002, 71) notes that even in Gaul the form of taxation is unclear after Aetius (who died in 454), but *annona* was still exacted (by the *civitas*?) in the Paris region as late as the 470s (*Vita Genovefae Virginis Parisiensis* (Krusch 1896, 35; this text is considered to have been written c. 520: MacGeorge 2002, 117 and 119–20).
- 57 The rapid, successive loss of parts of Gaul, Africa and Britain in the 440s marked the real end of the western Roman empire, as the percipient ‘chronicler of 452’, exceptionally, appears to have been aware – emphasising the point by his grouping together of these events for extra effect. In 454 Valentinian III murdered Aetius for treason, for his part in the transfer of territories to the barbarians (Wood 1984, 19). Burgess (1990) accepts the date but would qualify the statement (ie. that it was ‘believed’ in Gaul that this is what had happened in Britain). For ongoing Saxon attacks on Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, VII, line 369 (*tractus aremoricus*, in 456) and *Epp*, VIII.6.13 (the Saintonge, 469–70) and VIII.9.5, line 21 (Saxons at the court of Euric in Bordeaux in c. 476).
- 58 *Prosperi Aquitani Pro Augustino Liber contra Collatorem*, c. 21.58 (Migne 1865, at column 1831). Gildas’s statement stands in apparent contrast to the archaeological evidence (see below), though an essentially Roman way of life appears to have been maintained during this period. Another indication of Britain’s continued integration within the Roman world after 410 is the tombstone of 425 at Salona (for the late Roman importance of this Dalmatian provincial capital, MacGeorge 2002, 19–23) of the Dumnonian woman of senatorial status (*clarissima femina*): Handley 2013, 747 and 762, C2). Theodoret’s statement that

- Simon Stylites, who died 459/460, attracted pilgrims from Britain to Syria may be no more than a literary trope ie that they came from the farthestmost parts (Sharpe 2002, 77, n. 6). Continental contacts with western Britain continued apparently largely uninterrupted by the Saxons (p. 35).
- 59 Skene 1868, I, 35–7; Stevens 1941, 357, 360–3; Charles-Edwards 2013, 38.
- 60 Wood (2004, 436) has noted: ‘Gildas’s tirade is very carefully constructed on a model of recurrent cycles of sin, disaster, repentance and recovery, and it is perfectly possible that this pattern has interfered with the accurate narration of events’.
- 61 25.2: *Tempore igitur interveniente aliquanto, cum recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones*.
- 62 If there is truth in Jordanes’s statement that Riothamus arrived in Gaul with a large army in c. 469 (p. 16), it indicates that by that date the Britons were able to send considerable forces into the field.
- 63 Padel (1994, 16–17) argues that by the omission, just as in the earliest, tenth-century, extant full ms text of the *De Excidio*, of a new paragraph at 26.1 (which begins *ex eo tempore* ...) it is clear that Ambrosius Aurelianus was the victor at Mount Badon.
- 64 ‘[A] gentleman who, perhaps alone of the Romans, had survived the shock of this notable storm’ (trans. Winterbottom 1978, 28). As Wood (2004, 437) points out, his father’s usurpation appears to suggest that he had been working against Vortigern, who perhaps had had the assistance of Germanus (above) and was acting in line with the general policies of Aetius. Gildas’s use of *parentibus* might refer to relatives or ancestors rather than parents (MacGeorge 2002, 126, n. 61). Gildas might be read to mean only that Ambrosius was the last of his *gens*, which claimed connections to emperors among its forbears (Salway 1981, 461–2; Dumville 1984, 76). It will be apparent from the foregoing pages that a more positive value has been placed upon the historical information and chronology in the *De Excidio* than many scholars would be prepared to accept.
- 65 Gildas’s reference (c. 19.4) to desperate Britons looting from each other at the time of the Picts’ post-410 invasions does not necessarily denote civil war.
- 66 See the Introduction, n. 29.
- 67 The situation in Armorica up to 442 has been discussed earlier in this paper. The *Chronicle of 452* reports that there had been a further rebellion there in 448 under Eudoxius. Britons may have also fled on account of the civil wars in Britain (Giot, Guigon and Merdrignac 2003, 99). For further British settlements, probably of the fifth century, in north-west Spain, Charles-Edwards 2013, 4, 93.
- 68 Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, 8, 20) was the first writer known to us to use the name *Britannia* for Armorica: Thompson 1980a. The old name did not disappear for a long time, but the new one could only have gained currency when emigration from Britain had reached a tipping-point, which it must have done by the mid-sixth century.
- 69 This sixth-century reference to a British ‘king’ may be no more than an assumption on the part of Jordanes.
- 70 *Getica*, XLV, 237–8: Mierow 1915, 117–8; Mommsen 1961, Latin text.
- 71 I.e. he came directly from Britain. MacGeorge 2002, 74, n. 17: ‘Historians deride this (probably because it has been picked up by some ‘Arthurian’ writers)’. Wood (2004, 438) also accepts Riothamus’s arrival from Britain, but amends the figure for his army to ‘2000’, though even that might be too high. Charles-Edwards (2013, 59), however, considers that Riothamus’s army was already in Armorica and had been recruited from the ‘Britons settled to the north of the Loire’, referred to by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.*, 1.7.5: see also the Introduction).
- 72 *Britanni de Bituricas a Gothis expulsi sunt, multis apud Dolensim vicum peremptis*.
- 73 We also hear of another British emigré, a twice exiled priest and monk Riochatus (*ortu Britannum, habitaculo Regiensem* (Sharpe 2002, 81, n. 24, with reference to Avitus of Vienne: see also Paper 1), who knew Faustus of Riez (see above, n. 29). He appears in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.*, 9.9.6), who met him c. 471 as he passed his home city, Clermont.
- 74 This latter group will have absorbed Latin speakers from Britain; they were known as *Armorici*, and distinct from the Britons. The *Armorici*, unlike the Bretons, but as other Gallo-Romans north of the Loire, became a part of the Frankish body-politic in the seventh century (Charles-Edwards 2013, 71–2; Gallo-Romans south of the river remained ‘Romans’).
- 75 See also the Introduction: Charles-Edwards 2013, 56–60; and see also Galliou and Jones 1991, chap. 6.
- 76 Dating of the Groups is difficult on account of the very few mosaics that have satisfactory dates provided independently by coins.
- 77 A mosaic of this Group was laid down at Ilchester Mead in or after the reign of Valentinian I (364–375: Cosh and Neal 2005, 30).
- 78 Neal and Cosh prefer the term ‘Group’ to ‘School’, which was used by Smith, on the grounds that the craftsmen could be peripatetic and that some mosaics in different groups show similarities which indicate at least a common influence in their designs.
- 79 For the overall distribution of the major villas, Rivet 1969, 212, fig. 5.7.
- 80 There is a direct link between a mosaic at Woodchester, Gloucestershire, and one in the imperial palace at Trier (Smith 1969, 116).
- 81 Bowes 2010, 90–5; also Esmonde Cleary 2013a, 256–8. See also below.
- 82 And where a bullion economy had finally replaced a monetary one, as in Britain.
- 83 Hobbs 2006, 53–8.
- 84 There has been an increasing recognition of the significance of the sacred aspects of Roman coin and other hoarding (eg. with reference to that of copper-alloy and base silver coins from Frome, Somerset: Moorhead *et al.* 2010).
- 85 Radiocarbon dating is being increasingly employed with reference to fifth-century sites and examples are included in the appended Site List, but they do not provide a tight chronology.
- 86 Cool 2014, 16; this paper also provides references to her earlier studies on this and related subjects; Evison 2000, 58–66, Period 1.
- 87 Gerrard 2014, 91–2: he would, reasonably, emphasise the significance of regional economies.
- 88 eg. Fulford *et al.* 2006, 281; White 2007, 24. Dr Ellen Swift (2014, 131) has noted, however, that the evidence for the late riveting of pots is patchy.

- 89 Cf. eg. the single *Nydamfibel* in male graves at Pritzier and elsewhere in northern Germany: Rau 2010, Abb. 59; Dr. T. Martin, pers. comm.
- 90 Ager (1987, 28, n. 8) notes the lack of Christian symbolism – as is evident on some of the late Roman strap-ends and belt-plates associated with the narrow military belts which were produced in Britain from the late fourth century (Hawkes 1972, 151–8) – in the Quoit Brooch Style (Ager 1985, 12, 15 and n. 55).
- 91 Evison 1965; 1968b; distribution in England: Suzuki 2000, figs 78, 79.
- 92 Richardson (2011, 78) points out that metal-detected examples of Quoit Brooch Style metalwork are exceptional, which also seems to point to its restricted circulation.
- 93 Class A1 is heavily concentrated in east Kent. Examples from outside Kent are from East Sussex (1), the Isle of Wight (6), Hampshire (1), Oxfordshire (1) and Essex (2) (Suzuki 2008, fig. 3.5, 145–52, 356–9; 2009 for further emphasis on the close links between Kent and the Isle of Wight, *q.v.* see also Paper 8).
- 94 There are examples of probable late fifth-century date in the cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, Wiltshire (Annable and Eagles 2010, 85, with reference to graves 15 and 85).
- 95 In Paper 12 the places discussed here as within the *Civitas Regnorum* are argued to have belonged to the Anglo-Saxon *Meonwara*. NB Portable Antiquities Scheme Database numbers, where relevant, and other references to fifth-century artefacts, where not cited in this section, are to be found in the Site Gazetteer appended to this Paper.
- 96 Details of coin hoards are taken from Robertson 2000 and Hobbs 2006, unless stated otherwise.
- 97 *Digging for Britain*, BBC4, television programme aired on 22 November 2017: comment by the director of the excavations – which are ongoing – Professor Anthony King.
- 98 For details of these sites in the Meon valley I am indebted to Dr N. Stoodley, the director of the Meon Valley Research Project, who very kindly provided notes in 2016, though the summary here does not include all the numerous finds that have been recovered in this area. The site (as others so numbered below) has the unique identification number of 15122 in the ‘The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource’ database (Allen *et al.* 2015). For other late Roman sites and artefacts, quoted dates, the latest for any particular site, are taken from PastScape, the online Site Inventory maintained by Historic England; Rivet 1969; Scott 1993 (villas); and Cosh and Neal 2005; 2010; Neal and Cosh 2009 (mosaic Groups). The coverage is not exhaustive and is intended to offer only an indication of the range of the latest sites in each *civitas*. The possible continuation of the same Roman material culture into the fifth century in some places, discussed above, should also be borne in mind. It should also be noted that the records for the great majority of villas and settlements are inadequate to provide even this minimal level of information.
- 99 Published references to individual post-Roman sites and artefacts of the fifth century are given in the separate List below.
- 100 Site finds of late Roman belt-fittings are referred to here in the accounts of the individual *civitates*; both they and others recorded in the Database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme are discussed in the section headed *The later fourth century and the increased role of the State* below.
- 101 ie. the ogham script was being employed by a literate, probably higher status, Briton; its use, however, presumably points to the presence of Irish people locally who could read the script; see also Handley 2011, 24–5.
- 102 Fulford *et al.* 2000, as Harvey (1987) and Stevenson (1989) have argued that the ogam script was invented in southern Ireland, an area long in close contact with Latin speakers in Britain, perhaps as early as the third century (Redknap *et al.* 2007–13, I, 143; but see also Charles-Edwards 1995, 721, n. 97).
- 103 Other human remains may also be noted: a male skeleton in the cold plunge of the *mansio* baths, which were in use until the late fourth century, and skulls sealed beneath the latest cobbled road surface through the north gate and from the forum (Boon 1974, 81–2).
- 104 The hooked mount terminating in a lion’s head (Bruce-Mitford 2005, *Corpus* Group 2, no.5, pp. 462–3, is surely Roman (Susan Youngs, pers. comm.).
- 105 An unsatisfactory term, but in widespread use: see Millett 1990, 143–56 for a useful discussion of their nature.
- 106 Annable 1975/1976: Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Type IIA; Böhme 1986, 481, 563, Liste 1, no. 50a.
- 107 There is also a cremation urn, with an infant, from *Wallingford*, with the cal AD date of 426–540 (noted in Booth *et al.* 2007, 96).
- 108 The sites on the Berkshire Downs are here considered together, but the boundary between the *civitas Dobunnorum* and the *civitas Atrebatum* here cannot even be suggested.
- 109 Allen *et al.* 2015, 16132.
- 110 *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 71 (1981–2), 104; *Radiocarbon* 26(1) (1984), 63; Professor Tim Darvill, pers. comm.
- 111 The radiocarbon sample was resubmitted and then produced a date of cal AD 138–394. The discrepancy may have arisen as a result of a difference between the growth date of the heartwood and that of the outer trunk.
- 112 Lewis 1966, *passim*; Wedlake 1982; Burnham and Wachter 1990, 40–1, 188–92; Corney 2001, 30–4.
- 113 Roman villas in west Wiltshire which may be considered to have been within the orbit of Bath are discussed below in the account of the *civitas Belgarum*.
- 114 Booth *et al.* 2010, 525: ‘Analysis of dark earth deposits from Northgate House in the north-west corner of the town showed that they were biologically worked, forming naturally through the growth and decay of vegetation and the action of worms and other creatures, and also contained ash, dung and domestic waste consistent with middening and the accumulation of occupation debris, rather than formation through manuring and cultivation.’
- 115 The hill-fort of Solsbury, at Batheaston, 4 km to the north-east of the town, may derive its name from the goddess Sul (Hill 1914, 26).
- 116 Hurst *et al.* 1987 have queried whether this site might have had a religious function.
- 117 A further villa by the Avon, but on its north bank in Gloucestershire, at *King’s Weston*, has coins to Valentinian I. A man hacked down by a sword was found in the hypocaust

- and above the partially collapsed floor debris of Room 11 (Boon 1950).
- 118 Wedlake 1958, fig. 58, 12: the type was in use for much of the fourth century (Clarke 1979, 285). Keller (1971, 219–20) for its distribution.
- 119 *VCH, Wiltshire*, I. i (1953), 126; *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* 45 (1932), 504–5; 65 (1970), 207; 66 (1971), 74.
- 120 Henry *et al.* 2017: dating subsequently revised, presentation by Richard Henry to the Roman Finds Group, Salisbury, 21 October 2017.
- 121 Sites in and near the Avon valley south of Salisbury are discussed in Paper 4.
- 122 For a comparable association of hand-made late Roman and early Saxon pottery at the villa at Beddingham, East Sussex, and at the Roman town of Dorchester-on-Thames, Lyne 2015, 95 and 97.
- 123 ‘West Dean’ is the name by which this villa is generally known, though its NGR (SU 258 271) is in Tytherley, Hampshire. There has also been confusion as a result of conflation with the other Roman sites in East Dean.
- 124 Many entries in the PAS Database for the Isle of Wight have restricted information regarding location and are therefore omitted from this paper.
- 125 See also Paper 9. Additional information about late Roman sites in this *civitas* will be found in the Inventories (1952–1975) of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for the county of Dorset.
- 126 Draper 1983; Hinton 1998, 11, with reference to this and other sites in that area: for dry-stone walling at the nearby post-Roman settlement at Poundbury, see below.
- 127 Adam *et al.* 1992; Adam and Butterworth 1993; Dr Jörn Schuster kindly made these reports available.
- 128 Regrettably, it does not appear to be possible to re-examine this pottery. The paper bags, labelled with finds contexts, which contained the Colliton Park pottery in the Dorset County Museum (DCM), Dorchester, have disintegrated (Durham and Fulford 2014, xviii) and those for Trinity Street (DCM, accession no. 1938.86) do not contain organic-tempered ware or other pottery which appears to fit these published descriptions (pers. exam. by Bruce Eagles, September 2015). Attention is drawn to these potentially significant deposits in Dark 1994b, 95. Ken Dark (pers. comm.) tells me, however, that he too never saw this pottery.
- 129 There is also a Theodosian coin from a construction layer of this building.
- 130 Cf. Buildings 02309 and 02357, probably of the late third or fourth centuries AD at the Maiden Castle Road site, south-west of the Roman town, and Building 01466, ?late Roman, at St George’s Road, to the east: Smith *et al.* 1997, 67–70 and 21–2.
- 131 For a discussion of elite Christian influence at Frampton and elsewhere in this area, Scott 2000, 155–9. Attention may also be drawn to the late fourth-century popularity of pagan shrines (Lewis 1966): *Maiden Castle*, coin series to gold of Arcadius and Honorius; *Jordan Hill, Weymouth*, coins to Honorius and Arcadius (RCHME 1970a, 616–7); and a probable temple at *Witchampton* (coins to Valens: RCHME 1975, 110). There is also a precious metal hoard of the period 395–410 and a strap-end associated with a narrow belt from *Maiden Castle* (Hobbs 2006, no. 1536; Sparey-Green 1984b). Late and post-Roman burial grounds in this *civitas* and that of the Durotriges Lendenienses are discussed in Paper 9 (and see also the Introduction). A coin hoard, also datable to 395–410, is recorded from *Melcombe Horsey* (Hobbs 2006, no. 1539). In general, there appears to have been a greater degree of late Roman coin usage in West, compared to East, Dorset (Henry and Schön 2017, who, however, note the significant number of late Roman coins at the shrine site at *Badbury Rings* and the variation in late coin assemblages between rural settlement sites in this area; also, Sam Moorhead, pers. comm.).
- 132 It is in the Durden Collection in the British Museum. It was found in the nineteenth century. For some comment on its dating, see the Site Gazetteer appended to this paper.
- 133 Christopher Webster, pers. comm., has expressed reservations as to the Ilchester provenance of two Anglo-Saxon ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches (Evison 1968a, 238) and a small-long brooch (Leeds 1945, 102); see entry 53009 in the Somerset Historic Environment Record. Morrisson 2014 (see Paper 3, n. 6), no. 7: a bronze *folliis*, pierced, of Anastasius I (492–518), from a garden in Ilchester; and no. 49: a bronze *folliis* of Justinian I (pre-538), a casual find from Ilchester.
- 134 The Roman ‘small town’ of Shepton Mallet is included in the discussion, above, of the *civitas Belgarum*, although its location in the *civitas Lendeniensium* is equally possible.
- 135 Costen (2011, 114) suggests that its name may mean ‘the tun which controls the summer grazing’.
- 136 It has been suggested (Aston and Gerrard 1999; Gerrard with Aston 2007; Gilchrist and Green 2015, 254) that after this pottery was no longer imported the area was aceramic until the tenth century.
- 137 J. Allan in Gilchrist and Green 2015, 252–3 for the pottery; pp. 384–5 for the structure – similar sherds elsewhere are probably residual.
- 138 Gilchrist and Green (2015, 415–6), following Aston (2003, 38), note that Glastonbury may have been part of a local network of eremitic sites. The separation of secular and monastic is, however, not at all clear (Blair 2011, 727).
- 139 Other examples of villas located within a hill-fort in Wessex are Tidbury Ring, Bullington, Hampshire (PastScape) and Forest Hill, Wiltshire (Corney 2001, 14).
- 140 Suzuki 2008 for a corpus and discussion of all the button brooches known at that date; Suzuki (2009) analyses more recent finds from the Isle of Wight.
- 141 The Wiltshire county boundary with Somerset between Maiden Bradley, 5 km north of Penselwood, and Dilton Marsh looks suspiciously straight and may be of relatively late origin (for Domesday woodland, *VCH, Wiltshire*, IV (1959), 391, 414). In its southern part Selwood appears to have corresponded to the belt of Upper Greensand and Oxford Clay.
- 142 ‘Not perhaps a Welsh name (though it might have been), but certainly a description in Welsh’: R. Coates, pers. comm.
- 143 Aldhelm’s bishopric was the *provincia quae vulgo Sealudscire dicitur: Chronicon Æthelweardi* (Campbell 1962), s. a. 709
- 144 *VCH, Wiltshire*, IV (1959), 414–17, map on p. 449; *VCH, Somerset*, II (1911), 555–8; Stenton 1971, 65, and map following p. 730, depicts Selwood as extending northwards

- to include the forests of Braydon and Chippenham but, as far as this writer is aware, the name 'Selwood' was never applied to these more northerly woodlands.
- 145 There may have been a prehistoric precursor, if intermittent, on the line of the Dyke (Erskine 2007). References to 'Woden's Ditch' coincident with the Roman road between the two dykes date only to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Whittock and Whittcock 2014, 48).
- 146 Also *Downton* in the valley of the Salisbury Avon, south of Salisbury. The coin sequence at that villa ends *c.* 330–335 (Rahtz 1961–63). Moorhead (2001, 95) also notes the lack of very late coins at West Dean and East Grimstead – though late Roman belt-buckles may have been found at the former (above).
- 147 A link should perhaps not automatically be made between the lack of sophistication of villas and the intellectual culture and aspirations of their owners, when one considers the high standard of Latin still maintained in Britain in the time of Gildas (see the Introduction). It may perhaps also be the case, however, that absentee owners or others, newly arrived, of a different background, had little concern for the social implications of lavishly decorated living rooms.
- 148 This section benefits from comment from Barry Ager.
- 149 *Codex Justinianus* Connolly *et al.* (2016, 12.8.2), refers to belts worn by officials of varying grades of *illustris* rank.
- 150 It might be thought, on the grounds of the large numbers of these items, and the range of site-types on which they occur, that they were also copied and worn by civilians, but here they are taken to be official issue. Nicolay (2007, chap. 5) has argued that the retired military appear to have been allowed to retain some items, including belts, which became their personal property and could be inherited. It is possible that in the early fifth century some landowners maintained armed retinues, as in northern Gaul (see above).
- 151 By Hawkes (1972; 1974), Evison (1981), Young (1981), Leahy (1984; 2007) and Ager (1987; 2010).
- 152 An apparently unfinished belt stiffener has been found at what may have been an official workshop at Ickham in Kent, where buckles of Types IA, II and IIIA, and other types, including two with openwork plates of triangular form with dome-headed rivets, strap-ends, crossbow brooches and spurs have also been recovered. The workshop arguably served the needs of the Saxon Shore forts on the Kent coast (Young 1981; Ager 2010). There is an unfinished, probably miscast, IIA buckle from Cirencester (Paddock 1998, 306, fig. 195, 63) and a miscast crossbow brooch from Wroxeter (White 2007, 154).
- 153 Barry Ager (pers. comm.) makes the interesting suggestion that the narrow belts might have been worn by civil servants.
- 154 Kirk and Leeds 1954, fig. 27, 14–16; Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig. 1, 14–16.
- 155 Kirk and Leeds 1954, fig. 27, 1–13; Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig. 1, 1–13: buckle Type IIIA, p. 59; sword bead, Evison 1975, 309–10.
- 156 Site Gazetteer below, see the entry under 'Stourpaine, Dorset', p. 53; also Martin 2015, 20–1, 114, 175, 177.
- 157 There are exceptions. Hawkes (1974a, 393; see also Ager 1987, 29 and Swift 2000, 2) notes that even the *cingulum militiae* was very occasionally worn by women. The city goddess of Constantinople wears a jewelled belt on a medallion of 355–361 (von Rummel 2007, 314, n. 172). Ager also cites an example of narrow strap-ends in a Roman child's grave at Colchester.
- 158 Dr Sam Moorhead (pers. comm.) draws attention to an apparent concentration of Valentinianic and Theodosian bronze coins at Roman sites on the Thames (eg. Dorchester and the villa at Hambleden).
- 159 Grave 1846 – two, with a gilded crossbow brooch, silver strap-end and silver buckle – arguably that of a senior cavalry officer: Booth *et al.* 2010, 290.
- 160 My thanks are due to Sally Worrell for her kindness in extracting the information about both the belt-fittings and the spurs from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. In addition to the belt-fittings listed above, Stuart Laycock's website, www.laterromanbuckles.org.uk, includes buckles from Houghton, Sparsholt (a triangular openwork plate) and Winchester (including a triangular openwork plate), all in Hampshire, and Stratton-sub-Castle (a triangular openwork plate) in Wiltshire, in the *civitas Belgarum* and from near Barbury Castle, Baydon, Chippenham, Latton, Ogbourne Maizey and Wanborough in Wiltshire in the *civitas Dobunnorum*, but they are not classified according to the scheme introduced by Hawkes and Dunning.
- 161 *Civitas Atrebatum*: Compton Downs, Letcombe Regis, Pewsey; Reading, Silchester, Whitchurch. *Civitas Belgarum*: Bishops Cannings, Camerton, Edington, Otterbourne, Paulton. *Civitas Dobunnorum*: Manton Down, Preshute; Colerne. *Vectis*: Shanklin. *Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium*: Shapwick.
- 162 I am grateful to Richard Henry who very kindly extracted, in 2017, the information contained in this list from the Portable Antiquities Scheme Database: for individual coins, see <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/romannumismatics>
- 163 Burrow (1981) discusses the significant, but very varied, re-use of hill-forts in Somerset in the fourth century, a study which could usefully be extended across Wessex. On the Continent, in addition to the defended towns and regular forts, by the mid-fourth century, east of the Meuse, there were numerous defended sites on hilltops. Some of these, such as that at Furfooz, where women in the associated cemetery were buried with Germanic brooches, and Vireux-Molhain, with cremation burials, were probably held by Germanic soldiery on behalf of the Romans; others, more than likely, were the power centres of local warlords, who filled a vacuum where Roman power was weak (Esmonde Cleary 2013a, 60–96; see also Wood 2000b, 511; 2004, 439).
- 164 Handley (2011, 11) has pointed out that the main profit from these voyages lay in the transport of people, not goods.
- 165 Charles-Edwards (2013, 223) has raised the question as to whether these imports might coincide with the time of a British military revival.
- 166 For Christianity in western Wessex in the fifth century, see also the Introduction.

Appendix:

Entries are arranged by Roman *civitates*, as defined in Paper 1, geographically from west to east, each subdivided alphabetically by county and parish, and each further subdivided into: Settlements/Occupation sites, Findspots and Cemeteries/Burials, all again in the alphabetical order of their parishes. Individual site names and a brief topographical note are given in italics where these aid a site's identification. For Hampshire, the name of the Anglo-Saxon 'small shire'/*regio*, as defined in Paper 12, is, where apposite, given in addition. Roman sites where coin lists or other data indicate their continued use in the first quarter of the fifth century or beyond are not included here, but are discussed in the text above.

Devon

Exeter *Cathedral Green* SX 921924 (2):² *unaccompanied inhumations* aligned on the walls of the demolished *basilica* (Allan 1991, 30–1, discusses dating).

Burials

Findspot

Last quarter of the fifth century

Trading settlements

Holbeton *Mothecombe*, SX 611473 (Agate *et al.* 2012)

Sidmouth *High Peak*, SY 103859 (3)

Somerset

Hinkley Point *Stogursey*: ST 197455: imported B ware amphora, ?from ditch fill, 20 m to west of 330+ unaccompanied west–east inhumations, all within an enclosure, many in re-used grave-pits (R. Croft, pers. comm.).

Findspot

Athelney ST 3428 (6) Athelney is on the River Tone, a western tributary of the Parrett.

The above trading settlements and other sites have produced *pottery imported from the Mediterranean*.

Sites possibly of the fifth century**Devon***Hill-fort*

Stokeleigh Pomeroy *Raddon Hill*, SS 886032: *radiocarbon date*: 380– 610 (AA-29717), from charcoal from possible re-cut of hill-fort ditch (Gent and Quinnell 1999, 22, 70).

Occupation sites

Wembury *Wembury Bay*, SX 517485: *radiocarbon date*: 420– 600 (Wk-13086-8), from charcoal from ?hearth and gullies (?beam slots for building): Reed 2005.

Clyst Honiton *Hayes Farm*, SX 991943: *radiocarbon date*: 390–630 (HAR-8672), from charcoal from enclosure ditch (Simpson *et al.* 1989).

Langage SX 57405538: *radiocarbon dates*: 430–490 (11%) and 530–640 (84.4%) (SUERC-36234/GU-24925), from charred grain from fill of ?prehistoric enclosure ditch: ?occupation site (Salvatore and Quinnell 2011).

Cemetery

Kenn SX 93488554: *radiocarbon dates*: 420–660 (AA 19943) and 410–660 (AA 19944), from human bone (Weddell 2000).

CIVITAS DUROTRIGUM LENDENIENSIIUM*Cemeteries***Somerset**

Brean *Brean Down*, ST 296587: west–east burials three *radiocarbon dates spanning* 340–900, HAR-8548, 8549, Birm-246 (Bell 1990). ST 29335883: a Roman temple, in use from c. 340 – ?c. 390, and subsequent domestic building, demolished in the 5th century (ApSimon 1965). ?*on Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium/ Civitas Belgarum border*

Long Sutton ‘ST 4625’ (7): red enamelled *silver handpin*: Somerset Museum: Accession no. 52.A.135, reported to have been found in a surface quarry ‘in some kind of grave, & many interments found close to it’: Youngs 2016, with reference to correspondence in the Prehistoric and Europe archive in the British Museum.

Last quarter of the fifth century**Somerset***Hill-forts*

Congresbury *Cadbury-Congresbury*, ST 440649 (9) ?*Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium* in the fifth century; *formerly Civitas Belgarum*

South Cadbury *Cadbury Castle*, ST 627252 (12)

Stoke sub Hamdon *Ham Hill*, ST 478170 (8)

Other occupied sites

Glastonbury *Glastonbury Mount*, ST 488388 (10)

Glastonbury *Glastonbury Abbey*, ST 502387 (Gilchrist and Green 2015, 252–3)

Glastonbury *Glastonbury Tor*, ST 512387 (11)

The above sites have produced *pottery imported from the Mediterranean*.

Occupation site possibly of the fifth century**Somerset**

Shapwick *Sladwick*, ST 419390: *radiocarbon date*: 430–640 (SUERC-2938), from bone in a hearth inserted in a Roman building, following its previous abandonment and partial demolition (Webster 2008, 172, 188).

CIVITAS DUROTRIGUM

Dorset

Roman *civitas* capital, *Durnovaria*

Dorchester SY 693907: See Paper 9

Settlements/occupation sites

Dorchester *Poundbury*, on the east side of the hill-fort, SY 685911 (13): Sparey-Green 1987, 71–92, discusses dating; Sparey-Green 2004.

Roman ironworking, pottery production (black-burnished ware) and shale-working site

Wareham *Bestwall Quarry*, SY 936380: *pottery drying-kiln* (Z998), either associated with or later than sunken-floored Structure 9 and dated to the latest period within the site's 'Final Roman phase, c. 350/370–420+': Ladle 2012, 54, 71–2, 234; Gerrard 2014, 91–2.

Hill-forts

Shapwick *Badbury Rings*, hill-fort, ST 964030 (20): occupation with abraded late Roman wares and a shale bowl, *radiocarbon (charcoal) date*: 420–610 for one sample (SUERC-28323/GU-21050) and 400–570 for another (SUERC-28325): information from the excavator, Martin Papworth, National Trust. The Roman settlement of *Vindocladia* (?) and a major Roman road junction lay at its foot.

Stourpaine *Hod Hill*, within the defences, SU 856107: a *spearhead* (Swanton 1973, type H1, in use from the mid-fifth until the mid-sixth century; also, nearby, by a Roman building, SU 861102 (17): a 'Saxon' *equal-arm brooch*; and findspot, SU 863105 (18): a fragmentary *Åberg Group I cruciform brooch*,³ datable, following the analysis of the Spong Hill cemetery, to c. 425–440/450: Hills and Lucy 2013, 31 – this brooch type is a development of the Continental *Nydamfibel*, variant 6, which has been dated to c. 405/415, but continuing in use to the mid-fifth century; the Group I brooches fall within Hills and Lucy Spong Hill Phase A, which they date to c. 400/425–c.450: *ibid.*, 249, fig. 3.30) – see also fn. 3 below: for these three artefacts, Eagles and Mortimer 1993.⁴

Cemetery

Tolpuddle SY 812948 A cemetery of west–east inhumations in north–south rows; one radiocarbon date is of 250–450 and the excavators considered that burial probably began here in the fifth century (Hearne and Birbeck 1999, 55–63, 161–72, 226–31).

Wareham *Church of Lady St Mary*, SY 924872 (21): four *uninscribed* stones and five memorial stones, inscribed on fragments of Roman limestone masonry, all probably grave-markers. The series has been considered to begin in the fifth century: Cramp 2006, 31, 116–18.

Findspot

Puddletown On the Roman road from *Vindocladia*(?) to *Durnovaria*, SY 773956 (19): an *applied saucer brooch with floriate cross motif*/PAS,⁵ SOMDOR EB4897; dating, Welch 1975; Böhme 1986, 545–7; Welch 1999, 35, last third of the fifth century.

Wiltshire*Roman villa*

Brixton Deverill ST 862388: a sherd of a *hand-made biconical pot with ?imitation slashed decoration of Saxon type on its sharp carination, from a late occupation layer; other hand-made sherds*. Seen by BNE, May, 2015; exploratory excavations by Dr David Roberts. *Near boundary with Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium*

CIVITAS ATREBATUM**Berkshire***Roman villa*

Abingdon *Barton Court Farm*, SU 510978 (85): Roman coin series to Arcadius; a sherd of a *Germanic faceted carinated bowl* of the mid-fifth century from a Roman field ditch (Miles 1986, 18): dating, Schmid 2006, 80, Tafel 75.

Roman settlement/religious complex/late Roman inhumation cemetery and Anglo-Saxon cremation and inhumation cemetery

- Frilford SU 438964 (39): Two *Åberg Group I cruciform brooches* in Grave 138 (Dickinson 1976, II, 126). Martin (2015, 245, nos 126–7) places these brooches in his Group 1.2.2, from an ‘unnumbered grave’.⁶ The Roman site was in use into the early fifth century: PastScape, monument nos. 234028, 234031. The relationship between the late Roman and the Anglo-Saxon burials was not recorded (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 183), but a period of overlap between them is possible.
- Sutton Courtenay SU 488939 (86): a silver-gilt *Dösemoor type equal-arm brooch*; second half of the fifth century: dating, Böhme 1986, Liste 9. See also Evison 1977.

Cemeteries

- Abingdon SU 490963 (41): a *cruciform brooch of Group 1.1.1*: Martin 2015, 241, no. 1, together with another of his *Group 2.2*: Martin 2015, 261, no. 523, in Grave 122 (Dickinson 1976, II, 20).
- East Shefford SU 389749 (45): *cruciform brooches of Groups 1.2.2* (Martin 2015, 245, no. 120) and 2.1.4 (Martin 2015, 254, no. 339); a *Quoit Brooch Style* (datable between c. 425 and the beginning of Style I, c. 475, or a little earlier - the start date of Style I is currently under discussion) *bracelet* (Grave 5, with two spindle-whorls, BM 1891, 0323.14; Dickinson 1976, II, 94), B. Ager, pers. comm.; *applied saucer brooches with backward-facing animals*, *Typ Muids*, Böhme 1986, 548, 572, Abb. 66.2, second half of fifth century (Grave 24, with *Kempston glass cone beaker* of Harden 1956 ‘Roman survivals’ group: Evison 1965, 65, 70, pl. 17b).
- Harwell SU 489882 (87): a *Buckelurne* in Grave 3; Myres 1977, vol. 2, fig. 187, no. 393.
- West Hendred SU 440880 (88): an *applied saucer brooch with mask motifs* (dating, Böhme 1986, Abb. 65.3, second half of fifth century: Welch 1999, 33: ‘[dating] a guess on [Böhme’s] part, in the acknowledged absence of any clear evidence from grave assemblages’); *cast and applied saucer brooches with five-spiral decoration* (Dickinson 1993); a *disc brooch with punched dots* (Dickinson 1979, 47–8).
- Long Wittenham SU 545936 (42): Grave 108, an *applied saucer brooch with floriate cross motif* and two glass beads; Grave 186, a *saucer brooch with a variety of the floriate cross motif* and an *applied saucer brooch with five-pointed star design* (Dickinson 1976, I, 66; II, 221: ‘The floriate cross brooch is broken and the rim badly worn; its owner died an old woman’; Welch 1976, 208, Grave 186 probably late 5th or early 6th century)
- Reading (Earley) SU 741739 (54): Grave 13, a *tubular/D-section belt-slide* (associated with the Quoit Brooch Style), a narrow decorated strap-end, buckle (minus tongue), Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 45 and fig. 14b, Type IA, copper-alloy finger-rings, iron rings, a pot with chevron and stamped decoration and pedestal and a pierced and worn Roman radiate coin; Grave 4, an *applied saucer brooch with mask motifs*, with iron buckle, probably inlaid, and plain hand-made pot. See also Evison 1965, *passim*.
- Wallingford SU 604890 (43): Grave 8, includes two *kidney-shaped copper-alloy buckles*, strike-a-light and knife (Dickinson 1976, II, 220); Grave 15, includes two *applied saucer brooches with floriate cross motif*, two Type E1 annular brooches (Ager 1985, 18, 24, 35, 47), two copper-alloy pins, two ring-and-dot decorated pyramidal bone pendants, glass beads and one of jet. Welch (1975, 92) dated Grave 15 to the end of the fifth century.

Findspots

- Abingdon SU 492970 (40): a *large zoomorphic penannular copper-alloy brooch*: BM 1862.0717.1, ‘found under the foundations of an old house, High St., Abingdon’; dating, Youngs 2010, 39 and Paper 7. There is a Roman settlement at SU 498969: PastScape, monument no. 233902.
- East Ilsley ‘SU 4981’ (44): (a pin from) a *large zoomorphic penannular brooch*: PAS, BUC-7A87F1. See also Paper 3 for the cemetery at Cross Barrows (SU 506810).
- Maidenhead ‘SU 8881’ (55): a fragmentary *chip-carved equal-arm brooch, probably of the Nesse type*/PAS, FASW-948D00. For the dating see the entries under Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire, above, and Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire, below.

*Hampshire*Roman civitas capital, *Calleva Atrebatum*

- Silchester ‘SU 640625’ (47): (a pin from) a *large zoomorphic penannular brooch*: Boon 1959, 82, item B1. Some stratified sequences in *Insula IX* appear to point to occupation continuing into the fifth century. There is a small hoard, which includes gold finger-rings and clipped silver *siliquae* of Arcadius.

Roman villa

Wherwell *Fullerton*, SU 375401 (37): a *supporting-arm brooch*, variety with a third lug and a slightly trapezoidal foot, in an occupation layer in a 'hall' together with hand-made pottery: Cunliffe and Poole 2008, 115–6, fig. 3.86: 1.5. For all forms of supporting-arm brooches in Britain, Böhme 1974, *passim*, and their dating to the middle third of the fifth century, 1987; 1999, 69; Brieske 2001. 'Andovers' regio

Findspots

Cliddesden 'SU 6348' (48): the lower part of a *Group 1.2.1 cruciform brooch* (Martin 2015, 244, no. 85)/PAS, BERK-F0E3B7. *Scīr of the Basingas*

St. Mary Bourne 'SU 4250': a *large roundel* (79.9 mm diam; to decorate a box or a piece of furniture?), with a combination of a *Romano-British central marigold and use of red enamel, and late Roman military frontier style backward-glancing animals*: PAS, HAMP-FFCDF4. I have benefited greatly from the very interesting comments of both B. Ager and S. Youngs on this exceptional piece. *Possible regio in the Upper Test and Upper Bourne*

Cemetery

Andover *Portway*, SU 344463 (36): *five-spiral saucer brooches* (Grave 41), *ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches* (graves 1, 2a, 16, 22, 32, 38, 42, 52: dating: Dickinson 1979, 47–8) and, Grave 67, D1 *quoit brooch* (Ager 1985, no. 5). *Regio of 'the Andovers'*

Wiltshire*Cemeteries*

Collingbourne Ducis SU 246542 (35): *applied saucer brooches with mask motif*, Grave 23; a *repaired equal-arm brooch of Nesse type*, Grave 6, with an iron buckle: Bruns 2003, 21–2, 32, assigns this example to her type 'Nesse 2', datable from 475 onwards. NB. one sunken-featured building in the adjacent settlement has a *radiocarbon date*: 430–670 (BM-3165: Webster 2008, 187; other radiocarbon dates for the site indicate continuing occupation).

Pewsey *Blacknall Field*, SU 153580 (33): Annable and Eagles 2010

Findspot

Collingbourne Kingston SU 21745738 (34): a *supporting-arm brooch*/PAS, WILT-E2AE41, *Perlberg type*. Possibly close to the course of the largely lost Roman road from *Cunetio* (Mildenhall) to *Sorviodunum* (Old Sarum).

'Marlborough' 'SU 1869': a *Mahndorf type supporting-arm brooch*/PAS, WILT-D50E12. Close to the border with the *civitas Dobunnorum*.

Pewsey 'SU 1660' (32): a *Quoit Brooch Style strap-end* (Suzuki 2000, 143).

Ramsbury SU 301757 (approximately): a *saucer brooch with a five-pointed star design* from immediately north-west of *Membury* hill-fort. For dating see Portchester (*Civitas Regnorum*) below.

CIVITAS BELGARUM**Somerset***Roman town and cult centre, Aquae Sulis*

Bath ST 749643 (14): a *large enamelled brass penannular brooch* from the sacred spring (Youngs 2010). Temple itself dismantled piecemeal during the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 68, 71; La Trobe-Bateman and Niblett 2016, 58, 102, 108).

Small Roman town: occupation and burials

Shepton Mallet ST 630425 (15): hearths in demolished Roman buildings, with *archaeomagnetic dates* of 285±80, 400±90, 515±45 and 515±65: Webster 2008, 173; burials, including one with hobnails, with a *radiocarbon date* of 430–680: GU-5293: Leach and Evans 2001, 45.

Hampshire*Roman civitas capital, Venta Belgarum/Possible regio of Chilcomb*

Winchester	The dating of post-Roman phases within the city is difficult. The road between the south and north gates remained open, street surface 7 sealing coins to Gratian; Street 8 was in use until the south gate collapsed onto it. Heavy traffic continued across the rubble, which became worn and patched and was twice resurfaced. A curving ditch then blocked the gateway, 'probably between the late 6th and the late 7th century'. Fig. 4 shows that gate open in the '5th–6th century'. There was some natural silting in the ditch before a wall was built across the gateway, 7th century. Topographical considerations suggest that the north gate was also blocked. Internally, the road northwards from King's Gate (possibly a Roman gate), past the forum, was also kept open, with 'rough late resurfacing'. The main west–east road also survived 'into the 11th century' (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007).
Winchester	'SU 4831' (63): a <i>cruciform brooch of Group 1.1</i> : Martin 2015, 242, no. 77/PAS, HAMP3678.
Winchester	'SU 4831' (60): South side of forum, 'two early Anglo- Saxon sherds' from a layer above the latest cobbled surface of the Roman street. A <i>steeply angled and three-layered decorated bone comb</i> of the second third of the fifth century (dating, Böhme 1987) from a pit cut into the rubble from the forum wall on the north side of the street. North-east part of city, Lower Brook Street, residual contexts, a <i>faceted carinated pottery bowl</i> of the mid-fifth century: for dating, see Barton Court Farm, above (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007).

The above data are interpreted by Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle as evidence for 'continuous activity of various sorts [in the city] from the end of the 4th through the 5th and 6th centuries' (some of the undecorated hand-made pottery from Lower Brook Street, all residual, is considered sixth century, and there are also a fragment of a Frankish biconical urn and a few sherds of stamped or rouletted pottery of Frankish type).

Findspots in Winchester area

See Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007 for the finds from Compton, Twyford and Weeke (*Chilcomb regio*) immediately below:

Compton	'SU 475255' (64): Close to the Roman road from <i>Venta Belgarum</i> to <i>Clausentum</i> , a <i>supporting-arm brooch, Mahndorf type</i> /PAS, HAMP 446: Stedman 2004.
Headbourne Worthy	'SU 4832' (59): between the Roman roads from <i>Venta Belgarum</i> to <i>Corinium Dobunorum</i> and <i>Calleva Atrebatum</i> , two <i>cruciform brooches of Martin Group 1.1</i> , PAS, HAMP1382: Martin 2015, 243, no. 59; and HAMP-16ECF4: Martin 2015, 243, no. 58, and another of <i>Åberg Type I</i> , PAS, HAMP-F31153; a <i>supporting-arm brooch, variety (?local) with a third, central, lug and a rectangular foot</i> /HAMP-118BD1, a very worn example – so identified by Hills and Lucy 2013, 38. <i>Micheldever regio</i>
Twyford	E of the Roman road from <i>Venta Belgarum</i> to <i>Clausentum</i> , 'SU 477255' (65): two <i>Åberg Group II cruciform brooches</i> /PAS, HAMP-1B4A36 (a knob only) and HAMP-1B3427; HAMP-1B4371, the lower part of a Group I or II cruciform brooch.
Weeke	<i>Barton Farm</i> , E side of Roman road from <i>Venta Belgarum</i> to <i>Corinium Dobunorum</i> , 'SU 474313' (58): a <i>supporting-arm brooch, variety (?local) with third lug and rectangular foot</i> /PAS, FASW-3D2EE0.
Winchester	E side of the Roman road from <i>Venta Belgarum</i> to <i>Calleva Atrebatum</i> , 'SU 487312' (62): two <i>supporting-arm brooches</i> /PAS, HAMP-AB82B3, <i>Perlberg type</i> , and HAMP-7E37B1, <i>variety (? local) with third lug and rectangular foot</i> .

NB. NGRs for PAS finds from around Winchester are estimated from the site descriptions in Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007.

Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement? Cemetery?

Micheldever	<i>Northbrook</i> , SU 515396 (57): the lower part of an <i>Åberg Group I or II cruciform brooch</i> ; a fragment of a <i>chip-carved equal-arm brooch</i> , datable to the middle or second half of the fifth century, Hills and Lucy 2013, 40, with reference to Brieske 2001: Johnston 1998. <i>Micheldever regio</i>
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Cemeteries

Alton	SU 718388 (49): Cremation 1, <i>five-spiral saucer brooches</i> . ? <i>Civitas Belgarum</i>
Droxford	SU 612184 (51): Grave 35, an <i>inlaid purse mount</i> (Pirling 1966, 2. Teil, 19–20, 209, Taf. 10); Grave 36, <i>ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches</i> ; unassociated finds, a <i>pot with faceted carination</i> , a <i>glass cone beaker</i> , a <i>plain disc brooch</i> , a <i>five-spiral saucer brooch</i> , <i>Style I saucer brooches</i> and a <i>strap-pendant</i> (Aldsworth 1978). <i>Hamtunscīr</i>

Itchen Abbas	SU 537329 (67): a damaged south–north inhumation grave with <i>late Roman belt-fittings</i> , comprising a tubular-sided attachment-plate, a <i>strap-end of distinctive shape</i> (cf. Hermes, Dép. Oise, Kriegergrab of early fifth century; Böhme 1974, 318, Tafel 125), a Roman <i>spatha</i> and a knife with, very exceptionally, a copper-alloy chape (not of a diagnostic type) from its sheath. (NB. a socketed spearhead of Swanton 1973, Type K2, of the later fifth or earlier sixth century, is also reported to have been in this grave. All of these grave goods, apart from the chape, however, were recovered from adjacent spoil and this particular association should be treated with caution.) In the same cemetery there are a north–south burial with hob-nails and a purse, with a Roman coin, at the waist, in a coffin, some sixty unexcavated inhumations, apparently unaccompanied, and possible cremations within a penannular ring-ditch. A hand-made Anglo-Saxon pot with prominent long, defined, bosses and linear decoration accompanied another inhumation. The above is taken from brief interim, published, reports, Whinney 1986 and McCulloch 1992; unpublished drawings of grave goods were kindly supplied by R. Whinney and further information by P. McCulloch and H. Rees. See also: Hampshire Council, Historic Environment Record, SU53SW62A; Winchester City Council HER MWC2564, 2566. <i>Micheldever regio</i>
Kings Worthy	<i>Worthy Park</i> , SU 500329 (66): Grave 50, a <i>Quoit Brooch Style decorated mount</i> , a Swanton type I.1 spearhead, a knife, an iron buckle-plate and tweezers (Hawkes and Grainger 2003).
Worthy Park is placed in this section rather than the previous one as so few of its graves appear to pre-date 475/525: another possibility of an earlier date is Grave 41, with an <i>inlaid kidney-shaped buckle</i> and <i>?re-used Roman plate</i> . <i>Regio of Micheldever</i>	
Micheldever	<i>Weston Colley</i> , SU 505396 (56): a grave with a <i>supporting- arm brooch</i> , <i>Perlberg type</i> , an applied brooch (its design unrecognisable), a dress pin, a knife and an iron buckle; a re-shaped rock crystal bead was in the grave fill. There was also an unstratified <i>D-sectioned belt-slide</i> (Fern and Stoodley 2004; 2005). <i>Micheldever regio</i>
<i>Findspots</i>	
Cheriton	SU 579290 (68): a <i>scabbard mount decorated in the Quoit Brooch Style/PAS</i> , SUR-029B13. Tesserae from a Roman mosaic were found at SU 5829 (Hughes 1986, 43).
NB. there is a copper-alloy terminal, originally enamelled, cut from the hoop of a <i>large zoomorphic penannular brooch</i> from a disturbed Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cheriton (Youngs 2009, 48, 52, fig. 8). <i>Regio of Chilcomb</i>	
Cheriton	SU 589285 (69): a <i>Class A1 button brooch/PAS</i> , HAMP-7032D7 (Suzuki 2008). <i>Regio of Chilcomb</i>
Wiltshire	
<i>Settlement and associated cemetery</i>	
Market Lavington	SU 014542 (23, 24): the pottery from the settlement can be dated no more closely than to the ‘fifth–seventh centuries’. Burial ground: Grave 4, <i>6-pointed star brooches</i> (Welch 1976, Evison (1978, 261) and Hirst and Clark (2009, ii, 481, 699, 708, with reference to Grave 970), mid/late fifth century. The design continued into the sixth century (Welch 1976; Dickinson 1976, i, 107); Grave 26, <i>ring-and-dot disc brooches</i> and glass beads.
The settlement and cemetery are only 20 m apart and are therefore considered contemporary (Williams and Newman 2006 for both).	
<i>Roman settlement</i>	
Durnford	<i>High Post</i> , SU 144371: the <i>pedestal base of a hand-made sandy ware pot (?Saxon)</i> (Powell 2011, 33, 59, 61, fig. 27.34, and A. Powell, pers. comm.) together with two Oxfordshire colour-coated ware foot-ring bases shaped into discs and other Roman pottery in the ash ?of the last firing (layer 2616) of a corn-drying oven, in association with a burnt ?imitation of Black Burnished ware Type 18 bowl (Powell 2011, fig. 27.33 (not 27.31 as in the publication); for discussion, and dating of this type, Gerrard 2014. Charred grain from the same deposit produced a <i>radiocarbon date</i> : 335–535 (SUERC-32322: A. Barclay and C. Stevens in Powell 2011).
<i>Probable Roman villa</i>	
Durnford	<i>Salterton</i> , SU 122361 (25): a <i>large zoomorphic penannular brooch</i> ; coins to the mid-fourth century: Gifford 2002.
<i>Cemeteries</i>	
Charlton	SU 167249 (29): <i>tubular belt-slides</i> with Burials 9 (no other grave goods) and 24 (with amber beads etc); 12, a D1 <i>quoit brooch</i> , decorated with fine dot-punching, hatched inner and outer borders and a ring of ‘Chad’ mask stamps round inner border, all connected with geometric elements of the <i>Quoit Brooch Style</i> (cf. Mucking, Grave 117, buckle set; B. Ager, pers. comm.).

Clarendon Park	<i>Petersfinger</i> , SU 163293 (28): a <i>Style I</i> mount on a sword pommel, Grave 21 (Evison 1965). Also <i>ring- and-dot decorated disc brooches</i> , Grave 10.
Harnham	SU 137287 (27): Grave 42, <i>5-pointed star applied saucer brooches with blue glass settings</i> , with a dress pin (dating: with a very worn penannular quoit brooch, Lyminge Grave 10; Evison 1978, pl. 54c; Böhme 1986, Liste 9, 22; the 5-point design continued into the early sixth century (see also above), Hines 1997, 241-2).
Winterbourne Gunner	SU 182352 (26): an unaccompanied burial, with a <i>radiocarbon date</i> : 380–545, but with two peaks in the curve, indicating a slightly higher probability of 400–460 (OxA-8036); burial (6): a <i>late Roman decorated Tortworth type strap-end</i> , exhibiting no signs of wear, and a <i>francisca</i> : dating discussed, Paper 6.
<i>Burial</i>	
Wilsford cum Lake	SU 137388, <i>Lake</i> : a <i>radiocarbon date</i> : 450–610, and probably of c. 500 (GU-4921): McKinley 2003.
<i>Findspot</i>	
Kingston Deverill	ST 8436 (16): a half hoop of a <i>large penannular brooch</i> with a plain terminal, Graham-Campbell Group 1: S. Youngs, pers. comm. <i>Near boundary with Civitas Durotrigum and Civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium</i>

CIVITAS DOBUNNORUM**Berkshire***Cemetery*

Watchfield SU 249908: *disc brooches with ring-and-dot decoration* (Graves 14, 77, 105, 131 and 309).

Berkshire*Findspot*

Kingston Bagpuize SU 40389577 (38): an apparently unique *ring-and-dot decorated bow brooch with an upturned foot* (cf. the Glaston type: Evison 1965, 23-5; Böhme 1986, 519, 522, 565, Liste 2; and see also *Medieval Archaeology* 57 (2013), 267), the top of the bow embellished with a longitudinal row of triangular raised ‘dragon’s scales’/PAS, SUR-D8E807.

Wiltshire*Hill-fort/probable settlement*

Cherhill Oldbury, within a late enclosure within the hill-fort, SU049693 (22): *large zoomorphic penannular brooch/es*, dating as above. Also coins to Magnus Maximus from within the defences, and small finds, including a fourth-century silver penannular brooch and coins to Gratian from a site at the foot of the hill: PAS, WILT-809E32; Paper 7. *Near boundary with Civitas Belgarum*

Findspot

Ogbourne St Andrew SU 15047187 (31): a *supporting-arm brooch*, *Mahndorf type*/PAS, WILTD50E12.

VECTIS (Isle of Wight)*Cemeteries*

Bowcombe *Bowcombe Down*, SZ 462872 (81): Grave 13 (‘15’ in Arnold 1982), a *Quoit Brooch Style disc* (in a very worn condition: Evison 1965, 62–4, 73, fig. 28), with *kite-shaped belt rivets*. Evison, but not Arnold, also includes a shield-on tongue buckle in this grave; Legoux, Périn and Vallet 2006: rivets, Phase Protomérovingien (PM), c. 440/450–c. 470/480, buckle, Phase Mérovingien ancien (MA) I, c. 470–c. 480 and later.

*Findspots**Environs of a Romano-British settlement*

Brading SZ 58028753 (84): a worn *Åberg Group II cruciform brooch*/PAS, IOW-4ECE24: Stedman 1998.

Environs of Roman villa

Newport *Clatterford*, SZ 483875 (82): a *quoit brooch* (Ulmschneider 1999, 24, fig. 6a; a *Quoit Brooch Style buckle plate*/PAS, IOW-0CB093; and a *ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch* (Stedman 1998).

Other findspots

Calbourne SZ 418855 (78): PAS, IOW8BD381 (Suzuki 2009): a *Class A1 button brooch*.

Freshwater	<i>Totland</i> , SZ 330865 (70): a <i>Group 1.2 cruciform brooch</i> : Martin 2015, p. 248, no. 187/PAS, IOW-5E8C03. SZ 33278658, an inhumation with a locally made twin-handled pottery jar, datable to c. 270–350, in a stone cist: Isle of Wight Historic Environment Record (IWHER), 49; information from R. Loader.
Godshill	‘SZ 5281’ (83): the upper part of an <i>Åberg Group II cruciform brooch</i> /PAS, IOW-10F3B3.
Newport	‘SZ 4587’ (80): a <i>D-section tubular belt-slide</i> /PAS, IOW-D23CA3.
Ryde	SZ 590920 (89): an <i>Åberg Group I cruciform brooch</i> : Stedman 1998.
Shalfleet	SZ 386860 (71): a fragment of a silver <i>quoit brooch</i> (either annular or penannular), <i>probably in the Quoit Brooch Style</i> (B. Ager, pers. comm.)/PAS, IOW-OF3813, <i>Portable Antiquities and Treasure Annual Report 2008</i> , no. 161, fig. 161. Also Roman coins in the PAS Database.
Shalfleet	SZ 395871 (72): PAS, IOW-CFC6C1 (Suzuki 2008), IOW- 931045 (Barry Ager has recorded this one as Aii), IOW-7F2C72 and IOW-B30872 and IOW-A35703 (all Suzuki 2009), ie four <i>button brooches of Class A1</i> .
Shalfleet	SZ 397869 (73): <i>tubular/D-section belt-slides</i> /PAS, IOW-7D31F1, IOW-39F248. Also Roman coins in the PAS Database.
Shalfleet	SZ 39718556 (76): <i>Åberg Group II cruciform brooch</i> /PAS, IOW-CC9A38. SZ 397857: IOW-4AC604 (Suzuki 2008): <i>Class A1 button brooch</i> . SZ 39718571, ‘Chessell’ (a name often given to significant Roman sites), three coins of the family of Constantine: IWHER130, with reference to G. Hillier, c. 1856, <i>The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight</i> , 18 (not consulted by BNE); also SZ 398858, an Anglo-Saxon weapon burial, IWHER 405, with reference to Skinner ms.: information from R. Loader.
Shalfleet	‘SZ 4086’ (74): a <i>mount related to D-section tubes</i> /PAS, IOW-6B9271 (B. Ager, pers. comm.).
Shorwell	‘SZ 4582’ (79): <i>Group 1.1 and 1.2 cruciform brooches</i> : respectively, Martin 2015, 243, no. 67 and 248, no. 182/BM 2006.0305.81 and BM 2006.0305.80.
Shorwell	‘West Wight’, ‘SZ 4582’ (79): fragment of a <i>punch-decorated copper-alloy mount or belt-fitting, inlaid with silver wire</i> , in the <i>Quoit Brooch Style</i> : BM 2006.0305.55; <i>Treasure Annual Report 2004</i> , no. 88iii, fig. 88.13.

CIVITAS REGNORUM

Roman Saxon Shore fort

Portchester	SU 625045 (53): a <i>Schalenurne</i> from sunken-featured building S1, layer 30: Cunliffe 1976, 183, fig. 111; dating, discussed by Myres, as for faceted carinated bowl from Winchester (above). A <i>six-pointed star applied disc brooch</i> , also from S1, layer 29. The design continued into the sixth century (Welch 1976 and Dickinson 1976, i, 107). Occupation within the late Roman Saxon Shore fort at Portchester is considered to date to the second half of the fifth century (Cunliffe 1976, 301). <i>Meonwara</i>
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Roman building environs

Meonstoke	<i>Shavard’s Farm</i> , SU 618208 (50): a <i>Stützarmfibel mit stabförmigem Bügel und Rechteckfuß</i> , with a central lug and a hole for a ring-attachment (Böhme 1974, 51–2; submitted to the British Museum in 1990 for identification). For a parallel, Spong Hill 3091/1 (Hills and Lucy 2013, 38). This type belongs to the heavier group (at least 4.5 cm in length) of supporting-arm brooches, which, if worn singly, were a part of male dress, in the tradition of the crossbow brooches. (These two brooches appear to be the first examples found in England. The other parallels with the third lug (see examples above) quoted by Hills, are less than 4.5 cms in length and therefore fall outside Böhme’s definition for this group.) A <i>belt-plate in the Quoit Brooch Style</i> has been found to the east of the Roman building (Ager 1996).
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There is also a *strap-end in the Quoit Brooch Style* from ‘Corhampton and Meonstoke’ (PAS, HAMP 1966). *Meonwara*

Findspot

Soberton	‘SU 6016’ (52): the upper part of an <i>Åberg Group II cruciform brooch</i> /PAS, HAMP-F23424. <i>Meonwara</i>
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Acknowledgements

I have benefited greatly from the advice of Barry Ager in the compilation of a significant number of the entries in this list, and also from discussion with, and additional information kindly provided by, Dr Jörn Schuster and Susan Youngs.

Notes

- 1 The sites for this *civitas* listed here and mapped on Figs 5 and 6 are not further considered in this paper.
- 2 The number in brackets and in italics immediately after the NGR in this list refers to the mapping on Figs 5–8.

- 3 This brooch is not included in Martin 2015.
- 4 The spearhead has been dated by Härke to between *c.* 450 and *c.* 550, but in a recent study it has been reclassified, on the basis of its proportions, as type Sp2-b1b (Høilund-Nielsen in Bayliss *et al.* 2013, 178) and its date reassessed as mid-sixth century, without, however, re-evaluating the arguments for a possibly earlier date (Austin 2014). See also fn. 5 in Paper 9.
- 5 Portable Antiquities Scheme database: <http://www.finds.org.uk>
- 6 Martin (2015, 121) considers that his Group 1.2.1 probably began *c.* 450, followed by his Group 1.2.2, and that, p. 123, his Group 2 (Åberg 1926, Group II) started *c.* 475 or a little earlier, though he also points out that there is almost no sign of any Style I decoration on the Group 2 brooches.

The archaeological evidence for settlement in ‘Berkshire’ and ‘Hampshire’ in the sixth and seventh centuries¹

Anglo-Saxon consolidation c. 500–c. 570

Introduction

This period is virtually a historical blank (Wood 2000b, 523). After the battle of Mount Badon (?c. 490) a division of the country was agreed between the Britons and the Saxons, which, Gildas says, led to a generation of peace in his own time. Gildas provides us with no clues as to the whereabouts of this line of demarcation, but suggestions are made as to its possible line in Wessex in an Appendix to Paper 9. Gildas also addresses several kings in western Britain, including one in Dumnonia (Paper 1).

The great majority of sites of this period in Wessex are cemeteries or findspots, but some settlements have also been investigated. Only a very small number of the burial grounds have been the subject of extensive modern excavation. In most cases fewer than a dozen graves have been recorded and it is not clear whether they are parts of large burial grounds or are small ones which served only the needs of a few families. Those so interred will have included acculturated Britons as well as immigrants, some of whom may have been new arrivals from the Continent, but others will have been moving into Wessex from other parts of England (see further in the Introduction).

A chronology from archaeology

The notable insular development from the sixth century of a wide range of ‘Germanic’ artefacts may well reflect the increasing acculturation of the British population. Such items are now found on a very large number of sites, often at only a short distance one from another. In Wessex, the first half of the sixth century is typified by button brooches of Classes A2 to L2 (Suzuki 2008) and, as noticed in Paper 2, ring-and-dot decorated disc and saucer brooches and five-spiral ornamented saucer brooches. Round forms

of brooch are generally considered to be indicative of a ‘Saxon’ cultural milieu, the earliest types being found on the Continent in Saxony. Small-long brooches, often regarded as ‘Anglian’, are also very widely distributed in the south (Lucy 2000, fig. 5.5). More clearly ‘Anglian’ brooch types are exceptional in Wessex, best represented by the annular form, which continued in use throughout the whole of the sixth century. The *Portway, Andover* (‘Hampshire’) cemetery presents mixed cultural traditions. Disc and saucer brooch forms are dominant (52%), but small-long are also well represented (17.5%) and annular brooches make up 10% of the total (Cook and Dacre 1985, 72). Other types of ‘Anglian’ artefact generally appear only as singletons and are referred to below. There is some discussion of the chronology of ‘Frankish/Kentish’ brooches in Paper 8. Shield types have been discussed by Dickinson and Härke (1992). The classification and dating of spearheads developed by Swanton (1973) are followed here (but see Paper 2, Site Gazetteer, n. 4).

The nature and distribution of the archaeological evidence (Fig. 10)

‘Berkshire’²

The fifth-century burial sites by the Thames at *Abingdon*, *Long Wittenham*, *Reading* and *Wallingford* (Paper 2) continued in use in the sixth century. There is a settlement at *The Vineyard, Abingdon* (Chambers and McAdam 2007, 7, 68). Three other burial grounds at *Reading*, one of them with a cremation burial and the others with inhumations, belong to the sixth century. There are other cemeteries, and also findspots, of sixth-century date beside the river or within its wide valley at – from the north and moving southwards: *Hinton Waldrist*: an I2 button brooch; *Wytham*: an inhumation cemetery; *Radley*: an E1 button brooch; *Milton* (Milton I): burials (Dickinson 1976, II, 181); *Sutton Courtenay*, Meaney (1964) cemetery I – for the

settlement excavated by E. T. Leeds see below; *Streatley*: a burial with a spearhead, knife and buckle; *Pangbourne*: finds include a Type B2 spearhead (Swanton 1974, 72); *Purley*: a burial; *Sonning*: a saucer brooch (Cook and Dacre 1985, 79) and two I2 spearheads (Swanton 1974, 84) from the river itself, apparently pointing either to a crossing-point there, or to ritual deposition (for the latter, Poulton and Scott 1993, 125–7); *Wargrave*: ring-and-dot disc brooches (PAS, HAMP3423/3424); a florid cruciform brooch (PAS, BERK-F75D61); *Aston* (by Remenham): an inhumation cemetery; *Hurley*: a D2 spearhead from the river (Swanton 1974, 87); *Bisham*: a C button brooch (PAS, BUC-58AFA4), a small, copper-alloy, square-headed brooch (PAS, BUC-978BB8) and two saucer brooches (PAS, BUC-677CC1 and BUC-F2C7A6); *Cookham*: an inhumation cemetery; *Maidenhead*: a spearhead; *Windsor*: B2, E1 and F2 spearheads from the river (Swanton 1974, 88); and *Surly Hall Point, Windsor*: A2 and H2 spearheads, also from the river (Swanton 1974, 86). Sites in the Reading area were in the *regio* of the *Readingas*, but it is unknown how far their territory extended at the west (Paper 12). Sonning, Wargrave, Aston, Hurley, Bisham, Cookham and Windsor were in the *regio* of the *Sunningas*.

Away from the river, north of the Vale of the White Horse, a grave with a C2 spearhead is known at *Wootton* (Swanton 1974, 89)³ and a cemetery in the valley of the Cole at *Coleshill* (Passmore 1933). In the Vale itself, there is a burial ground at *Watchfield* (Scull 1992b; the site has produced a balance with a runic inscription, a shield-on-tongue buckle and shoe-shaped studs) and a great square-headed brooch (Hines 1997, 63: Group VI) from *Cherbury Camp*, *Charney Bassett*, and two small-long brooches are recorded from *Frilford* (Leeds 1945, 102; see below for the other). There is a gilded copper-alloy harness mount with Style I decoration from ‘*Frilford and Tubney*’ (PAS, SUR-B349F55) and a small-long brooch and a gilded copper-alloy saucer brooch with Style I decoration from *Kingston Bagpuize* (respectively, PAS, BERK-20E8A4 and BERK-D4C6D2). At *Didcot*, on the gravels edging the Vale at the south, excavation uncovered two Early Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings.⁴ The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at *Harwell* and *West Hendred*, on the Upper Greensand, continued and there are burials at *Lockinge*. On the Chalk downs, further south, there are a small-long brooch from *Letcombe Bassett* (PAS, BERK-85BEB2); burials at *Upton*; a cremation and inhumation cemetery at *Blewburton Hill*; an E2 button brooch and a sixth-century equal-arm brooch (PAS, HAMP-2BABCB7) from *Blewbury*; and spearheads and beads at *Aston Tirrold* and burials at *East Ilsley* (Cross Barrows), a gilded saucer brooch decorated with five spirals from *Hampstead Norreys* (PAS, BERK-E94302), and a saucer brooch from *Chieveley* (PAS, BERK-85C930). In the valley of the Lambourn, a tributary of the Kennet, there is a lead model for the manufacture of a button brooch from

East Garston (PAS, BERK-C32863) and burial continued at *East Shefford* (PAS, BERK-330BBE, a shield-on-tongue buckle pin, is also from ‘East Shefford’). A further cemetery is indicated by numerous finds at *Welford* (a button brooch (PAS, BERK-9B8C0D), small square-headed brooches (PAS, BERK-056093, BERK-051CDB) and a great square-headed brooch (PAS, BERK-EF2371), and probably another by the spearhead of Type L (Swanton 1974, 36) from *Boxford Farm*, and ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches (PAS, BERK-9E9A67, BERK-725B84), a Frankish radiate-headed brooch (PAS, D36287) and a gilded copper-alloy saucer brooch with a five-pointed star, which had been converted into a pendant (PAS, 72DAE0). By the *Winterbourne*, tributary to the Lambourn, the Portable Antiquities Scheme records a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch (PAS, BERK-81F455) and an imitation Kentish keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooch of Class 2.1 (PAS, BERK-6DD561: for its dating, see Paper 8).

In the south of the county, in or close to the Kennet valley, a tributary of the Thames, saucer brooches are on record from *Newbury* (PAS, WILT-BO2833, NMGW-4B6573: Dickinson 2002, figs 4e, 4f), and there is a sunken-featured building at *Ufton Nervet*, a fragmentary small-long brooch (PAS, BERK-773D81) and a saucer brooch (PAS, BERK-38B2A8) from *Englefield*, and stamped pottery and loom-weights from *Theale*.

‘Hampshire’5

Winchester and Chilcomb

It has been argued (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007) that *Winchester* continued to be occupied through the sixth century, but there is very little evidence of that date. A Class B3 button brooch (PAS, HAMP 462) is a stray find. Attention has been drawn in particular to the presence at a variety of locations within and without the walls of vegetable-tempered pottery, some of which is said to be of sixth or seventh-century date (see also Paper 2). Three Byzantine bronze coins are said to have been found in Winchester in the late nineteenth century: respectively, Morrisson (2014), nos 51 (Justin II: 565–574), 84 (Heraclius: 610–641) and 90 (Constans II: 641–668), with further references; a *folles* of Justinian is a recent addition (PAS, BH-C0E794).⁶ Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were established on high ground overlooking the city at *St Giles* and on *West Hill* (cf. the siting of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials around Dorchester, Dorset (Paper 9: Yorke (1982, 79) relates these sites to settlement along the Itchen valley). Another on the east bank of the Itchen at *Winnall* (I) relates to settlement in the valley itself, as does that at *Kings Worthy*, which remained in use after the fifth century. A cemetery at *Twyford*, to the south of the city, began in c. 500 (a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch and another with concentric lines and punched triangles, both very worn, in Grave 1049) and may have continued in use until the

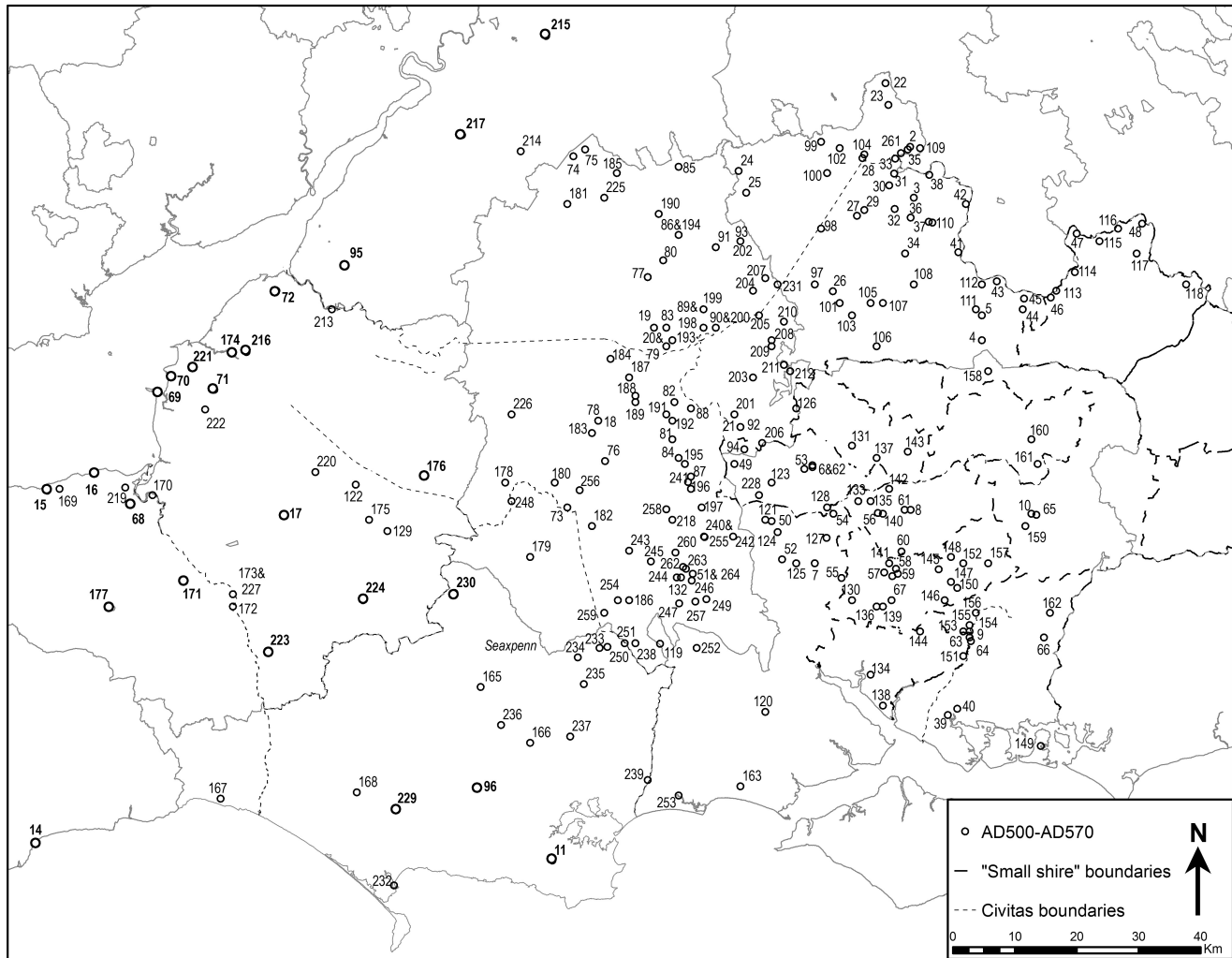


Figure 10 The south-western limit of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture AD 500–570. Bold signifies 'British' site (Harry Manley)

1. By site ID

Location	ID	Location	ID
Winchester	1	Carhampton	15
Barrow Hills, Radley	2	Hinkley Point	16
Didcot	3	Glastonbury	17
Ufton Nervet	4	Market Lavington	18
Theale	5	Avebury	19
Old Down Farm, Andover	6	East Kennett	20
Kings Somborne	7	Collingbourne Ducis	21
Northbrook	8	Wytham	22
Shavards Farm, Meonstoke	9	Wootton	23
Neatham	10	Coleshill	24
Bestwall Quarry, Wareham	11	Watchfield	25
Mothecombe	12	East Shefford	26
Bantham	13	Lockinge	27
High Peak	14	Frilford	28

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
West Hendred	29	Ashton Valley, Codford St Peter	73
Milton I	30	Kemble II [in Gloucestershire since 1897]	74
Sutton Courtenay	31	Kemble I	75
Harwell	32	Tilshead	76
Abingdon	33	Clyffe Pypard	77
East Ilsley	34	Market Lavington	78
Barton Court Farm	35	East Kennett	79
Upton	36	Basset Down	80
Blewbury	37	Enford	81
Long Wittenham	38	North Newnton	82
Fareham	39	West Overton	83
Fareham	40	Netheravon	84
Streatley	41	Castle Eaton	85
Wallingford	42	Swindon	86
Purley	43	Milston	87
Reading	44	Pewsey	88
Reading	45	Marlborough	89
Earley, Reading	46	Mildenhall	90
Aston by Remenham	47	Wanborough	91
Cookham	48	Collingbourne Ducis	92
South Tedworth	49	Bishopstone	93
Middle Wallop	50	North Tidworth	94
Petersfinger	51	Filton	95
Broughton	52	Tolpuddle	96
Portway, Andover	53	East Garston	97
Chilbolton	54	Letcombe Bassett	98
Hursley ('Farley Chamberlayne')	55	Hinton Waldrist	99
Sutton Scotney	56	Charney Bassett	100
West Hill, Winchester	57	Welford	101
Winnall I	58	Kingston Bagpuize	102
St Giles, Winchester	59	Boxford	103
Worthy Park, Kings Worthy	60	Frilford	104
Micheldever	61	Winterbourne	105
Charlton	62	Newbury	106
Shavards Farm, Meonstoke	63	Chieveley	107
Droxford	64	Hampstead Norreys	108
Alton	65	Radley	109
Buriton	66	Aston Tirrold	110
Twyford	67	Englefield	111
Cannington	68	Pangbourne	112
Brean Down	69	Sonning	113
Weston-super-Mare	70	Wargrave	114
Banwell	71	Hurley	115
Portbury	72	Bisham	116

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Maidenhead	117	South Warnborough	161
Windsor	118	Petersfield	162
Rockbourne	119	New Milton	163
Lyndhurst	120	Denbury	164
Over Wallop	121	Shillingstone	165
Shepton Mallet	122	Spetisbury	166
Amport	123	Hardown Hill	167
Nether Wallop	124	Frampton	168
Houghton	125	Kilve	169
Vernhams Dean	126	Pawlett	170
Stockbridge	127	Athelney	171
Wherwell	128	Muchelney	172
Lamyatt Beacon	129	Langport	173
Hursley	130	Yatton	174
St Mary Bourne	131	Evercreech	175
East Harnham	132	Nunney	176
Barton Stacey	133	Bishop's Hull	177
Bitterne	134	Warminster	178
Bullington	135	Hindon	179
Compton	136	Upton Lovell	180
Whitchurch	137	Charlton	181
Hound	138	Wylve	182
Twyford	139	West Lavington	183
Wonston	140	Bishop's Cannings	184
Headbourne Worthy	141	Ashton Keynes	185
Sutton Scotney	142	Bishopstone	186
Overton	143	All Cannings	187
Upham	144	Patney	188
Tichborne	145	Chirton	189
Beauworth	146	Purton	190
Cheriton	147	Rushall	191
Alresford	148	Upavon	192
Hayling Island	149	West Overton	193
Bramdean	150	Swindon	194
Soberton	151	Figcheldean	195
Bishop's Sutton	152	Bulford	196
Meonstoke	153	Amesbury	197
Corhampton	154	Marlborough	198
Exton	155	Ogbourne St Andrew	199
Warnford	156	Mildenhall	200
Ropley	157	Collingbourne Kingston	201
Silchester	158	Bishopstone	202
Chawton	159	Wilton (North)	203
Greywell	160	Aldbourn	204

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Ramsbury	205	Gussage St Michael	235
Faberstown, Ludgershall	206	Blandford St Mary	236
Baydon	207	Badbury Rings	237
Froxfield	208	Martin	238
Little Bedwyn	209	Redhill	239
Chilton Foliat	210	Winterbourne Gunner	240
Shalbourne	211	Amesbury	241
Ham	212	Idmiston	242
Bristol	213	Barford St Martin	243
Avening	214	Harnham	244
Crickley Hill	215	Wilton	245
Cadbury-Congresbury	216	Britford	246
Uley	217	Odstock	247
Durnford	218	Longbridge Deverill	248
Otterhampton	219	Witherington	249
Wells	220	Oakley Down	250
Worle	221	Pentridge	251
Loxton	222	Breamore	252
Ham Hill	223	Iford	253
South Cadbury	224	Broadchalke	254
Minety*	225	Winterbourne Gunner	255
West Ashton	226	Codford	256
Huish Episcopi	227	Charlton	257
Grateley	228	Lake	258
Poundbury	229	Bowerchalke	259
Langham	230	Old Sarum	260
Membury	231	Vineyard, Abingdon	261
Weymouth	232	Salisbury (St Edmunds)	262
Wor Barrow	233	Salisbury (Kelsey Rd)	263
Dean	234	Petersfinger	264

2. Alphabetical

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Abingdon	33	Aston Tirrold	110
Aldbourne	204	Athelney	171
All Cannings	187	Avebury	19
Alresford	148	Avening	214
Alton	65	Badbury Rings	237
Amesbury	197	Bantham	13
Amesbury	241	Banwell	71
Amport	123	Barford St Martin	243
Ashton Keynes	185	Barrow Hills, Radley	2
Ashton Valley, Codford St Peter	73	Barton Court Farm	35
Aston by Remenham	47	Barton Stacey	133

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Basset Down	80	Collingbourne Ducis	92
Baydon	207	Collingbourne Kingston	201
Beauworth	146	Compton	136
Bestwall Quarry, Wareham	11	Cookham	48
Bisham	116	Corhampton	154
Bishop's Cannings	184	Crickley Hill	215
Bishop's Hull	177	Dean	234
Bishop's Sutton	152	Denbury	164
Bishopstone	93	Didcot	3
Bishopstone	186	Droxford	64
Bishopstone	202	Durnford	218
Bitterne	134	Earley, Reading	46
Blandford St Mary	236	East Garston	97
Blewbury	37	East Harnham	132
Bowerchalke	259	East Ilsley	34
Boxford	103	East Kennett	20
Bramdean	150	East Kennett	79
Breamore	252	East Shefford	26
Brean Down	69	Enford	81
Bristol	213	Englefield	111
Britford	246	Evercreech	175
Broadchalke	254	Exton	155
Broughton	52	Faberstown, Ludgershall	206
Bulford	196	Fareham	39
Bullington	135	Fareham	40
Buriton	66	Figheledean	195
Cadbury-Congresbury	216	Filton	95
Cannington	68	Frampton	168
Carhampton	15	Frilford	28
Castle Eaton	85	Frilford	104
Charlton	62	Froxfield	208
Charlton	257	Glastonbury	17
Charlton	181	Grateley	228
Charney Bassett	100	Greywell	160
Chawton	159	Gussage St Michael	235
Cheriton	147	Ham	212
Chieveley	107	Ham Hill	223
Chilbolton	54	Hampstead Norreys	108
Chilton Foliat	210	Hardown Hill	167
Chirton	189	Harnham	244
Clyffe Pypard	77	Harwell	32
Codford	256	Hayling Island	149
Coleshill	24	Headbourne Worthy	141
Collingbourne Ducis	21	High Peak	14

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Hindon	179	Neatham	10
Hinkley Point	16	Nether Wallop	124
Hinton Waldrist	99	Netheravon	84
Houghton	125	New Milton	163
Hound	138	Newbury	106
Huish Episcopi	227	North Newton	82
Hurley	115	North Tidworth	94
Hursley	130	Northbrook	8
Hursley ('Farley Chamberlayne')	55	Nunney	176
Idmiston	242	Oakley Down	250
Iford	253	Odstock	247
Kemble I	75	Ogbourne St Andrew	199
Kemble II [in Gloucestershire since 1897]	74	Old Down Farm, Andover	6
Kilve	169	Old Sarum	260
Kings Somborne	7	Otterhampton	219
Kingston Bagpuize	102	Over Wallop	121
Lake	258	Overton	143
Lamyatt Beacon	129	Pangbourne	112
Langham	230	Patney	188
Langport	173	Pawlett	170
Letcombe Bassett	98	Pentridge	251
Little Bedwyn	209	Petersfield	162
Lockinge	27	Petersfinger	51
Long Wittenham	38	Petersfinger	264
Longbridge Deverill	248	Pewsey	88
Loxton	222	Portbury	72
Lyndhurst	120	Portway, Andover	53
Maidenhead	117	Poundbury	229
Market Lavington	78	Purley	43
Market Lavington	18	Purton	190
Marlborough	89	Radley	109
Marlborough	198	Ramsbury	205
Martin	238	Reading	44
Membury	231	Reading	45
Meonstoke	153	Redhill	239
Micheldever	61	Rockbourne	119
Middle Wallop	50	Ropley	157
Mildenhall	90	Rushall	191
Mildenhall	200	Salisbury (Kelsey Rd)	263
Milston	87	Salisbury (St Edmunds)	262
Milton I	30	Shalbourne	211
Minety*	225	Shavards Farm, Meonstoke	9
Mothecombe	12	Shavards Farm, Meonstoke	63
Muchelney	172	Shepton Mallet	122

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Shillingstone	165	Wargrave	114
Silchester	158	Warminster	178
Soberton	151	Warnford	156
Sonning	113	Watchfield	25
South Tedworth	49	Welford	101
South Warnborough	161	Wells	220
South Cadbury	224	West Hendred	29
Spetisbury	166	West Hill, Winchester	57
St Giles, Winchester	59	West Lavington	183
St Mary Bourne	131	West Overton	83
Stockbridge	127	West Overton	193
Streatley	41	West Ashton	226
Sutton Courtenay	31	Weston-super-Mare	70
Sutton Scotney	56	Weymouth	232
Sutton Scotney	142	Wherwell	128
Swindon	86	Whitchurch	137
Swindon	194	Wilton	245
Theale	5	Wilton (North)	203
Tichborne	145	Winchester	1
Tilshead	76	Windsor	118
Tolpuddle	96	Winnall I	58
Twyford	67	Winterbourne	105
Twyford	139	Winterbourne Gunner	240
Ufton Nervet	4	Winterbourne Gunner	255
Uley	217	Witherington	249
Upavon	192	Wonston	140
Upham	144	Wootton	23
Upton	36	Wor Barrow	233
Upton Lovell	180	Worle	221
Vernhams Dean	126	Worthy Park, Kings Worthy	60
Vineyard, Abingdon	261	Wylve	182
Wallingford	42	Wytham	22
Wanborough	91	Yatton	174

*Minety should be omitted from this list and also from that accompanying Fig. 24 (no. 22; Brown 1976, 32, no. 28), where the provenance has been corrected to Cirencester

early eighth. Eight of the 18 graves excavated lacked grave goods. There were indications of some cremation burials (Dinwiddy 2011). Casual finds from *Twyford* comprise a small-long brooch (PAS, HAMP-C5BF18), a sixth-century equal-arm brooch (PAS, HAMP-5F30D6), a gilded small square-headed brooch (PAS, HAMP-9F9DA2), and a Class F button brooch.

Metal-detected or other loose finds are from: *Alresford*, a gilded copper-alloy small square-headed brooch (PAS, HAMP-08B0DE); *Beauworth*, a probable applied disc

brooch (PAS, HAMP-1907E8); *Bishop's Sutton*, a small-long brooch (PAS, HAMP-386B77), a cocked-hat pommel (PAS, HAMP-6B4136); *Bramdean and Hinton Ampner*; a Style I-decorated mount (PAS, HAMP-F40EEF) and a small square-headed brooch (PAS, HAMP-F18097); *Cheriton*, a saucer brooch with five spirals (PAS, HAMP-6667BE), ring-and-dot ornamented disc brooches (PAS, HAMP-7036F5, HAMP-F5D5CA and HAMP3530) and two cocked-hat pommels (PAS, HAMP-B836B5 and HAMP-FA0ADC); *Ropley*, a shield-on-tongue buckle pin (PAS,

HAMP-8E0320); *Hursley*, a weapon burial on Mount Down (Meaney 1964, 97: '*Farley Chamberlayne*'); a spearhead from Pitt Down (Hampshire Council Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record 53628/53650) and a small-long brooch (PAS, HAMP-A1E871); and *Tichborne*, a small-long brooch (PAS, SUR-E8F160). A 'Frankish' copper-alloy brooch from *Compton and Shawford* parish (PAS, HAMP 445) is apparently a simple version of miniature radiate brooches from north Germany and the Rhineland (eg. Krefeld-Gellep), and cf. the brooch in High Down, Sussex, Grave 26 (comment by Leslie Webster). There is also a small-long brooch from this parish (HC AHBR 55837).

*The regio of the Cleres ('Cleras')*⁷

No sites or finds of this period have yet been identified.

A possible regio in the valleys of the Upper Test and Upper Bourne

There are the following finds: a button brooch from *Overton* (PAS, HAMP-14F866); small-long brooches (HAMP484 and HAMP-BE3786) and a seven-spiral saucer brooch (HAMP-005BE3) from *St Mary Bourne*; a small square-headed brooch (WILT-847B26) from *Vernham Dean*; and a small-long brooch from *Whitchurch* (HAMP-4EEF66, for which see also below).

The regio of 'the Andovers' (Andeferas)

Settlements are known at *Goch Way*, *Charlton* (Wright 2004) and *Old Down Farm*, *Andover*, the two being on opposing sides of the River Anton, the first on the north bank, the other on the south. At *Old Down Farm* the excavators uncovered, with little doubt, the whole settlement, which comprised only six sunken-featured structures. They were thought to have been used for only a short period (Davies 1979). The mixed cremation and inhumation rite cemetery on the *Portway*, *Andover*, continued in use. A small-long brooch (PAS, HAMP-EF0461) and a fragmentary gilded copper-alloy small square-headed brooch (PAS, HAMP1388; cf. one from Chessell Down, Isle of Wight (Åberg 1926, fig. 133; Barry Ager, pers. comm.) are recorded from *Amport*, a ring-and-dot disc brooch from *Wherwell* (PAS, HAMP776) and a Kentish keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooch from *Grateley* (Nick Griffiths, pers. comm.). A sixth-century grave at *South Tedworth*, with four male adults, each with weapons, is altogether exceptional (Härke and Entwistle 2002).

The 'small shire' of the Basingas

A range of finds is known from the parish of *Greywell*, including a cruciform brooch (PAS, BERK-FOE3B7), a small-long brooch (SUR-59C217), a 'Frankish' scabbard chape (SUR-72CF23), and a brooch whose origins lie in

northern France (SUR-450DB3). There is a saucer brooch from the bed of the *River Whitewater* (Hampshire Council Historic Environment Record (HC HER) SU75SW 153) and a Style I-decorated gilded copper-alloy mount from *South Warnborough* (PAS, HAMP-F52868).

The regio of Micheldever

Sunken-featured buildings of the sixth century have been reported at *Northbrook*; finds include a sieve spoon, probably of Kentish origin (Johnston 1998). The cemetery at *Kings Worthy* continued in use. The burials excavated at *Weston Colley* (Paper 2) may belong to the cemetery at *Micheldever*.⁸ Numerous metal-detected and other stray finds have been recorded from: *Barton Stacey*, a saucer brooch (Suzuki 2008, 316); *Bullington*: a small-long brooch (PAS, HAMP-8A1A56); *Headbourne Worthy*: a Class H button brooch, a saucer brooch (HC HER SU43SE45) and a Salin Style I decorated copper-alloy mount (PAS, HAMP-C19AA2); *Sutton Scotney*, a burial with a spearhead (Type F2: Swanton 1974, 86) and a saucer brooch (*Archaeology in Hampshire, Report for 1996*, 47; *Wonston*: a burial with a spearhead (HC AHBR 22691) and unassociated saucer brooches (PAS, HAMP-91D208 and HAMP-67A485), disc brooches (PAS, HAMP-D7C7B3 (concentric circles decoration) and HC HER SU44SE 108), small-long brooches (PAS, HAMP-3929B2; HAMP-7D5A55; HAMP-69D554) and an imitation keystone garnet disc brooch (PAS, HAMP-9B6151).

The 'small shire' of the Hyltingas

The cemetery at *Droxford* continued in use. There is a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch from *Bitterne* (Cotton and Gathercole 1958, 11, 29, 45 and fig. 12, 5), a great square-headed brooch fragment from *Hound* (PAS, HAMP-232965), and a Class C button brooch from *Upham*.

The Meonwara

The remains of the Roman villa at *Shavards Farm*, *Meonstoke* (Paper 2), were cut through by post-holes of early Saxon date, and there was a possible sunken-featured building close by. Evidence for iron- and bronze-working was also recovered. A disc brooch with ring-and-dot decoration, button brooches of Classes F and I2, a fragment of a Kentish small square-headed brooch and a small-long brooch are also recorded (Stedman and Stoodley 2000). Fifteen burials, of the sixth and probably the seventh centuries, are likely to mark a part of its associated cemetery. A further, mid- to late Anglo-Saxon, settlement 400 m to the south has also been partially excavated. Another site in the parish has produced small-long brooches. From elsewhere in the Meon valley there is a Class BI button brooch from *Warnford* (Stedman and Stoodley 2000); a ring-and-dot ornamented disc brooch (PAS, HAMP-8D1103, also with stamped decoration), a

cruciform brooch (PAS, HAMP-F23424), a button brooch (PAS, HAMP-914D62) and a saucer brooch with seven-spiral design from *Soberton* (Stedman and Stoodley 2000); a ring-and-dot disc brooch (PAS, HAMP3531), two button brooches and two small square-headed brooches from *Exton*; and a radiate-headed brooch (PAS, HAMP-76C2E9) and an 'Anglian' openwork disc brooch (PAS, HAMP1963) from *Corhampton and Meonstoke* and a sixth-century harness-mount from *Corhampton*.⁹ There is a Class C button brooch from *Petersfield*. Both inhumation and cremation burials are recorded from *Fareham* (Hawkes 1968; Valerie Cooper in Evison 1988, 48), and an inhumation and a spearhead from a Bronze Age round barrow on *War Down, Buriton* (Cunliffe 1975b). A decorated vessel is represented among potsherds in Portsmouth City Museum which are said to be from the northern part of *Hayling Island* (Hawkes 1968, 55).

Other parts of Hampshire

Sites along the southern stretches of the Salisbury Avon are discussed in Paper 4.

On the Chalk to the west of the River Test there are, at *Broughton*, a weapon burial and a Class B2 button brooch (PAS, WILT-78ADA7); at *Houghton*, an Anglian wrist-clasp (PAS, ESS-FD2979); and from the environs of *Woolbury Ring* hill-fort, *Stockbridge*, a hybrid small-long/cruciform brooch (Åberg 1926, 58, fig. 96, classified as a small-long type; Reichstein 1975, 152, no. 806: his Barrington cruciform type), which was found with a copper-alloy bracelet (both artefacts are in the British Museum: I am grateful to Barry Ager for his comments on the brooch). There is a burial with a spearhead and a knife from *Middle Wallop* (*Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Annual Report 1956–57*, 14–15: my thanks to Peter Saunders for this reference) and a Style I decorated bell-shaped pendant from *Nether Wallop* (PAS, HAMP-71F1C4) and an imitation keystone garnet disc brooch from *Over Wallop* (PAS, WILT-6F2B84). All of these finds lack association. From the east side of the valley, there is a sunken-featured building at *Kings Somborne* (Scott 1991) and there are also records of a Class G button brooch, a fragmentary small-long one (PAS, HAMP-4CD306) and a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch (PAS, HAMP-1D2075); and a Type L spearhead (Swanton 1974, 41) and a shield-boss from *Chilbolton*.

At the Roman town of *Neatham* (Paper 2) two early Saxon sunken-featured buildings of the sixth to seventh centuries have been recorded (Millet and Graham 1986, 33). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery, a few kilometres to the west, at *Alton* continued in use. Further inhumations were excavated and identified there in 1991 (N. Riall in the *Farnham and District Museum Society Newsletter* 9(11) (September 1992), 211–2). There is a button brooch from *Chawton* (SUR-0E6213).

In the south of the county, the fertile brickearths have been farmed since at least the Middle Bronze Age and they were worked extensively in the Roman period; in recent times they have been used intensively for horticulture and it may be noted that this activity appears to have destroyed any evidence for post-Roman farming. Certainly, a programme of watching briefs carried out by the Test Valley Archaeological Trust in this area over some twenty years produced little indication of early Anglo-Saxon settlement. There is a spearhead from *Lyndhurst* in the New Forest and a sixth-century Byzantine coin from *New Milton* (Paper 8). The exceptionally large size of the minster *parochia* of Christchurch may reflect the small Saxon population on these Gravels (Hase 1988, fig. 9).¹⁰

Inter-site, regional and wider contact in 'Berkshire', 'Wiltshire' and 'Hampshire' in the first half of the sixth century, as seen through material culture¹¹

This section provides an introduction to inter-site and wider connections in eastern Wessex, but is limited to some readily available published data. There is considerable scope for further research in this area, as Dr Tania Dickinson's studies of saucer brooches make abundantly clear. Brooches, through the variety of their forms and decoration and their demonstrable chronology, are particularly helpful in any analysis which attempts to investigate links between places and regions in this period. Although the 'Saxon' element in material culture is widespread throughout Wessex, it has long been known that there were significant influences from other sources. A study by Dr Andrew Richardson (2011), which takes account of the numerous new finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, has noted that the significant differences between Sussex, Surrey and the Upper Thames, where disc and saucer brooches predominated, and Kent, the Isle of Wight and Hampshire and its margins, where small-long and Continental brooch types, particularly those of 'Frankish'/Kentish origin (see Paper 8), are especially prominent, have been emphasised by recent finds. Inter-site links are complex and imply ongoing contact, and probably the movement of people, between places throughout the area. A lead mould for the manufacture of a button brooch from *East Garston, Berkshire*, has been noted above and there is another for a five-spiral saucer brooch from *Ramsbury, Wiltshire* (Mortimer 1994).

Button brooches and small-long brooches

Inter-site relationships at this time are readily seen through button brooches, for which there is a full corpus with accompanying discussion (Suzuki 2008), and small-long brooches (Table 1), Leeds's survey of 1945 of the latter

Table 1 The distribution of button (A2–J2) and small-long brooches with a square head and a crescent foot (SL1), a square head and a lozenge foot (SL2), and a square-head and a triangular foot (SL3), all of the first half of the sixth century, in Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire

Place	A2	A3	B1	B2	B3	C	D1	E1	E2	F	G	H	I1	I2	J1	J2	SL1	SL2	SL3
Berkshire																			
Abingdon							x							x			x		
Bisham						x													
Blewbury									x										
East Shefford		x															x		
Frilford																		x	
Hinton Waldrist														x					
L Wittenham													x	x		x	x	x	x
Radley								x											
Watchfield					x			x						x					
Dorset																			
Blandford										x									
Oakley Down			x																
Hampshire																			
Alton					x				x						x		x		
Andover																	x	x	x
Breamore	x		x																
Cheriton					x														
Droxford			x		x														
E Meon			x																
Exton			x							x									
Headbourne Worthy												x							
Kings Somborne											x								
Meonstoke										x				x					
Petersfield						x													
Silchester															x				
Twyford										x									
Upham						x													
Whitchurch																	x		
Winchester					x						x								
Worthy Park				x						x									
Somerset																			
S Cadbury			x																
Wiltshire																			
Collingbourne Ducis											x						x	x	
Durnford															x				
Harnham					x	x													x
Petersfinger			x																
Pewsey		x												x			x	x	x
Ramsbury														x					
Upavon															x				

here augmented by parallels from the Hampshire cemeteries of Alton and Andover, and from Collingbourne Ducis and Blacknall Field, Pewsey in Wiltshire.

'Berkshire'

By the early sixth century manufacture of button brooches was well under way in areas outside Kent (Suzuki 2008, fig. 3.13, 372–3). Links for those of Class A3 from *East Shefford* in the south of Berkshire, are with *Pewsey*, Wiltshire, and East Sussex. *East Shefford*, in addition, produced examples of two types of square-headed small-long brooches. The first is the 'long type, with crescentic [or shovel-shaped] foot', which is also known from *Abingdon* and *Long Wittenham* (Leeds 1945, 97–8), on the Thames in north Berkshire, *Pewsey*, Graves 74 and 93 (Annable and Eagles 2010, 27) and *Collingbourne Ducis*, Graves 14 and 19 (Gingell 1975/1976), in Wiltshire, and *Portway, Andover* (Cook and Dacre 1985, 80: Graves 19 (a pair, one with ring-and-dot decoration) and 50), the *Whitchurch* area (PAS, HAMP-4EEF66) and *Alton*, Grave 43 (Evison 1988) in Hampshire. The type also occurs in Oxfordshire, the West and East Midlands, and East Anglia, where examples, one square-headed, the other trefoil-headed, in *Spong Hill* inhumation Grave 2 were accompanied by a pair of florid cruciform brooches, amongst other items (Hills *et al.* 1984, 50–2, figs 70–1). The other type of square-headed small-long brooch at *East Shefford* has a simple lozenge-shaped foot (Leeds 1945, 100–1), with other examples at *Frilford* and *Long Wittenham* Graves 104, 142 and 164, in the north of Berkshire, *Pewsey*, Graves 15 and 27 (Annable and Eagles 2010, 27), *Collingbourne Ducis* (not with disc finial) and *Portway*, Graves 25 and 31; the type is also found in East Anglia, the East Midlands, Gloucestershire and Kent. *Long Wittenham*, Grave 63, has a square-headed small-long brooch of the long type with a triangular foot, also known from *Portway*, Grave 59, *Pewsey*, Grave 85, and *Harnham*, Wiltshire, Grave 36, the latter nielloed; the type is also found in the West and East Midlands, East Anglia, Essex, Gloucestershire, Kent, Sussex and Surrey (Leeds 1945, 96–8).¹² *Bisham*, in the east of Berkshire and on the Thames, has produced an outlier of button brooch Class C; the other examples are from *Petersfield*, in the territory of the *Meonwara*, and *Upham*, in *Ham-tunscir*; in south-east Hampshire, *Harnham*, and Sussex and Kent. The remaining button brooches are from the north of the county: from *Abingdon* a Class D1, also found in Essex and Kent; from *Watchfield*, and from *Radley*, by the Thames near Abingdon, Class E1, with links to *Pewsey*, Essex and Kent; from *Blewbury*, Class E2, also from *Alton*, Hampshire, and Sussex, with a further example from Kent; and from *Abingdon*, *Hinton Waldrist*, *Long Wittenham* and *Watchfield*, Class I2, also known from *Pewsey* and *Ramsbury* in Wiltshire. Five of the Class I2 brooches are from north Berkshire, with the three others from north Wiltshire,

suggesting a new centre of production in the former area. Class B3 button brooches, from *Cheriton* and *Winchester*, both in the *regio* of *Chilcomb*, *Droxford*, *Alton*, *Harnham*, and *Watchfield*, also occur in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Kent. Class I1 and J2 brooches are recorded from *Long Wittenham* and Essex.

'Hampshire'

With the exception of Classes B3, C and E2, all the button brooches from Hampshire belong to different Classes from those from Berkshire and three (A2, B1 and H) of these also occur on the Isle of Wight. Three of the 16 from the county are from the south-east: *Exton* (B1, F) and *East Meon* (B1). The Class B1 brooch, which is also known at *Droxford*, otherwise has a wide distribution, in Kent, at *Petersfinger*, near Old Sarum, *Breamore*, *Oakley Down*, east Dorset, *South Cadbury* in Somerset, Oxfordshire and Essex. Class F is otherwise known from *Twyford* and *Worthy Park* near Winchester and from *Blandford* in Dorset. Also from the Winchester area are a Class G and a B2 from *King's Worthy*, the first of which recurs at *Kings Somborne*, in the south-west of Hampshire, and at *Collingbourne Ducis*, and also in East Sussex, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and the second in Kent, but especially in Sussex; B2, and a Class H from *Headbourne Worthy*, known otherwise on the Isle of Wight and in Kent. There is a Class A2 from *Breamore*, on the Salisbury Avon, demonstrably a direct route into southern Wessex from the Isle of Wight, where this early type was particularly prominent. This Class is also found in Kent, West Sussex and Essex. The only button brooch from the north of the county, a Class J1, is from *Silchester*, with other related examples from *Alton*, and *Durnford* and *Upavon*, both on the Salisbury Avon, East Sussex and Bedfordshire.

Overview

The new, ultimately Germanic derived, material culture was widespread across eastern Wessex by around 570, though there are areas, such as the *regiones* of the *Cleras* and the *Hyltingas*, the southern brickearths and the New Forest in Hampshire which have so far yielded few signs of settlement of any sort at this date. Inter-site links are evident over long distances within this area and beyond. In the absence of any documented account, it is left to archaeology to try to determine how these marked changes came about. In the Introduction it has been suggested that a key element in the formation of a new English identity in this period was the adoption of the English language by large numbers of Britons, many of whom were Latin speaking, who after a couple of generations or so were thereby accepted by the dominant incomers, intermarried with them, took on their styles of dress and their burial and other customs and joined their armies. To accept such a scenario it seems reasonable

to consider that there must have been sufficient numbers of widely dispersed immigrants to bring about this situation in a relatively short space of time. We may note that the first half of the sixth century was a time when, as Gildas tells us, and here he records what he has known in his own lifetime, wars with the barbarians had ceased. The ideal time, one might think, for the establishment of a new order in areas now firmly under Saxon control; that new order may have included the re-division, to the benefit of the newcomers, of land into hides, with farmsteads on new sites, many of them with their own small, kin-based, community burial grounds. As noticed in the Introduction, in Wessex, and beyond, in the south, apart from Kent, this new identity may be identified as ‘Saxon’, as opposed to an ‘Anglian’ one to the north-east.

An increasingly stratified society and the display of power, c. 570–c. 700

A changing society

In ‘Berkshire’ and ‘Hampshire’ the second half of this period is marked by the conversion of the Gewisse c. 635 and the rise of Mercia as a formidable power on their northern border. Defeat to Wulfhere of Mercia in 661 led, with little doubt, to the payment of tribute by the Gewisse (Paper 6). The Gewissan see at Dorchester-on-Thames was lost and a new see established much further south at Winchester. A further consequence of the rise of Mercian power was the loss of the Jutish territory of the *Meonwara* in south Hampshire to the South Saxons, Mercian allies (Paper 8). It was not until the late 680s that Cædwalla was able to restore West Saxon influence in that area.

These years witness a new emphasis upon personal status, rank and wealth, for both men and women, at the expense of the earlier focus upon gender and kin. Large, lordly, fenced-off halls now make their appearance in settlements (Hamerow 2012, *passim*; Blair 2005, 53, n. 167).

Burial rites

The seventh century is a time which begins to witness the coming-together of an ‘English’ identity, at the expense of the largely distinct regional cultures so evident at an earlier date (see the Introduction). The age-related thresholds and the deceased’s gender that had been so conspicuous in the deposition of grave goods in the kin-based burial grounds weaken in the seventh century (Stoodley 1999b, 10; 1999c, 101; and see further below). These family-oriented cemeteries are succeeded by those of the so-called ‘Final phase’, on new sites, differently laid out, and many of them with rows of (roughly) aligned west–east graves and with a noticeable tailing off of grave goods (for the coining and use of the term ‘Final phase’, see eg. Leeds 1936; Hyslop 1963; Hawkes 1973; Geake 1992).¹³ Whereas, however, earlier research often emphasised the essential uniformity

of the new burial practices, recent investigations have concentrated upon the demonstrable diversity of the rites now in use (Stoodley 2010, 38). The new cemeteries also feature a greatly increased emphasis upon west to east-oriented graves and the use of posts and pen-/annular ditches to mark individual burials. There is a marked decline in the number of cremation burials, traditionally seen as linked with the advance of Christianity through the missions of Augustine and his successors (Boddington 1990, 179–82; see Paper 8 for their exceptionally late survival in Sussex). The weapon-burial rite also undergoes fundamental change. The decline in the burial deposition of shields is particularly apparent from the mid-sixth century and spears from the late sixth century (Härke 1992a, fig. 29). Between the late sixth and the early eighth centuries weapons occur in 30% of all male adult graves, but if the time span is moved to the seventh to the mid-eighth centuries, the figure is a little over 5% (Härke 1992a, fig. 30). Almost without exception by the earlier seventh century weapons were no longer buried with children and by the late seventh century they no longer accompanied adolescents too. There was no formal Church prohibition of grave goods. Churchyard burial only became widespread in the tenth century (Blair 2005, 59, 244).

It is also noticeable that ‘the symbols of masculinity are now reserved for a small number of individuals – a particular high status-group in society – who enjoy a degree of burial treatment not previously witnessed’ (Stoodley 1999c, 104). There are also a small, but notable, number of richly furnished, high-status burials, of both adult men and women. In some places, these appear to be isolated, marked by the erection of substantial mounds, or the re-use of Bronze Age round barrows. Stoodley (1999b, 13) has noted that ‘it is the emerging social elites who use the mortuary domain to signal their new-found authority. The breakup of the traditional community is seen very clearly in Wessex where the male elite emphasise their isolation from the rest of the community’ (Paper 6 for examples in Wiltshire). Attention may also be drawn to the upsurge in well-furnished female burials from the second quarter of the seventh century; from that time onwards females tend to dominate the furnished burial record. In the latter part of this period aristocratic women became prominent in the Church (the ‘abbess’ generation of the 660s onwards), and English noblewomen began to be sent to Frankish double monasteries, run by abbesses (Blair 2005, 230–2). These burials are perhaps best understood within the context of a newly prominent hereditary aristocracy establishing its position in the new, expanding, kingdoms.

Style of dress and the appearance of new types of artefact

The regional forms of female dress are now replaced by a ‘Roman’ style of costume, mediated through Francia, and

now adopted across England from the south-west to the north. The distinctive brooch types of the previous phase disappear. There was a switch to a limited use of single brooches, with the disappearance of the earlier types (Geake 1997, 33). For the elite there are new opportunities for the acquisition of gold jewellery,¹⁴ including pendants (gold and garnet, and gold disc) and some pin-suites, as opposed to the gilded items of earlier generations (C. Scull in Bayliss *et al.* 2013, 546). Beads of amethyst, shell and copper alloy, silver and gold also make their appearance, as do elaborate chatelaines worn at the waist, and cylindrical boxes of copper alloy, some of which bear the design of a cross and which may have been used for the safekeeping of precious Christian relics (Geake 1997, *passim*; 1999b).¹⁵

A chronology from archaeology

Artefact types which can be dated to this period have been comprehensively studied by Geake (1997), although the initial dates that she quotes should now be brought back from c. 600 to c. 570. It has also been noted that it is necessary to work with separate chronologies for male and female grave goods, the two showing little in the way of overlap (Bayliss *et al.* 2013).

The nature and distribution of the archaeological evidence (Fig. 11)

'Berkshire'

The Vale of the White Horse

An apparently isolated grave of a high status woman in her mid-20s has recently been excavated at *West Hanney*, in a prominent position on the Kimmeridge Clay, to the south of the River Ock. The burial was oriented south to north. The woman wore at the left shoulder a garnet-inlaid cloisonné composite disc brooch of the highest quality (PAS, BERK-545C74; Avent 1975, Class 4), but otherwise was accompanied by two plain pots and items of only minor significance. The closest parallels to the brooch are two others from the cemetery at *Milton*, about 8 km to the east and to the south of the Drayton/Sutton Courtenay complex, discussed below. Both the Hanney and Milton brooches have cloisons of copper alloy and not gold and are late in the series. All three had been repaired. There are combined radiocarbon dates of cal AD 622–665 from the West Hanney burial. It has been suggested that these brooches may well be of local manufacture (Hawkes 1974b, 254–5; Hamerow, with others, 2015). Their cruciform layout is perhaps of Christian significance.

Immediately to the east of Milton, on the gravels, seventeen inhumations, of men, women and children, datable to c. 650–700, have been excavated at *Didcot* (Boyle *et al.* 1995). In addition to a weapon burial (a male adult),

there is a work/relict-box, a silver ring, and beads etc with a child aged c. 3–5 years, and a silver 'pendant', a silver Roman coin and beads etc with a youth of 14–15 years, and a barrel-padlock, iron shears, gaming-pieces and other items in Grave 2. A burial with amethyst beads has been recorded at *Longcot*, at the western end of the Vale, and another with a knife and a *seax*, in an Iron Age pit, at *Frilford (II)*, to the north-west of Drayton.

The Thames valley

There is a settlement at the Adult Training Centre site, *Abingdon* (Chambers and McAdam 2007, 7). A short distance to the north of Milton, and close to the Thames, a complex of timber buildings, including the largest Anglo-Saxon 'great hall' yet identified (30.9 × 10.8 m),¹⁶ have been partially excavated at *Sutton Courtenay/Drayton*. Occupation layers were eroded and there were few finds, but these included high status seventh-century metalwork, and undated droplets of gold solder and fragments of cut gold sheet. Metal-detected finds indicate richly furnished late sixth/early seventh-century burials to their south, to the east of the great hall (Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Brennan and Hamerow 2015). In the 1920s, in the field to the north, E. T. Leeds had excavated 33 sunken-featured buildings and others which were timber-built, of the fifth (Paper 1) to the seventh centuries (Leeds 1923; 1927; 1947).

At *Long Wittenham*, only about 6 km to the east of Sutton Courtenay, another great hall has been identified on air photographs, and two burials in a cemetery there (*Long Wittenham II*) produced pin-suites. Seventh-century sites so far known along the river in Berkshire are otherwise limited to the recovery of an enamelled copper-alloy fitting with a male figure from *Streatley* (PAS, SUR-EC1C9E).

The Upper Greensand and the Berkshire Downs

A fragmentary gilded silver disc brooch with ?garnet inlay, datable to c. 650, has been found at *East Hendred* (PAS, BERK-83BECB). An elaborate burial close to the entrance of an Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure near the Ridgeway (here known as the Icknield Way) at *Lowbury Hill* was accompanied by a hanging bowl, sword, spear, shield with sugar-loaf boss, knife, buckle, distinctive tufted cloak (cf. Sutton Hoo), comb and shears (Härke 1994, 204–5; for its relationship to the enclosure cf. Oliver's Battery at Winchester, below). Two seventh-century copper-alloy die-stamps have been found at *Boxford* (PAS, BERK-8E4641 and BERK-8CE912).

The Kennet valley

A cemetery with some fifty inhumations, oriented both south–north and west–east, within and across a Bronze Age ring-ditch, have been excavated at *Field Farm, Burghfield*. Thirty-two per cent of the burials were unfurnished, and 16% were weapon-burials. Grave goods included sugar-

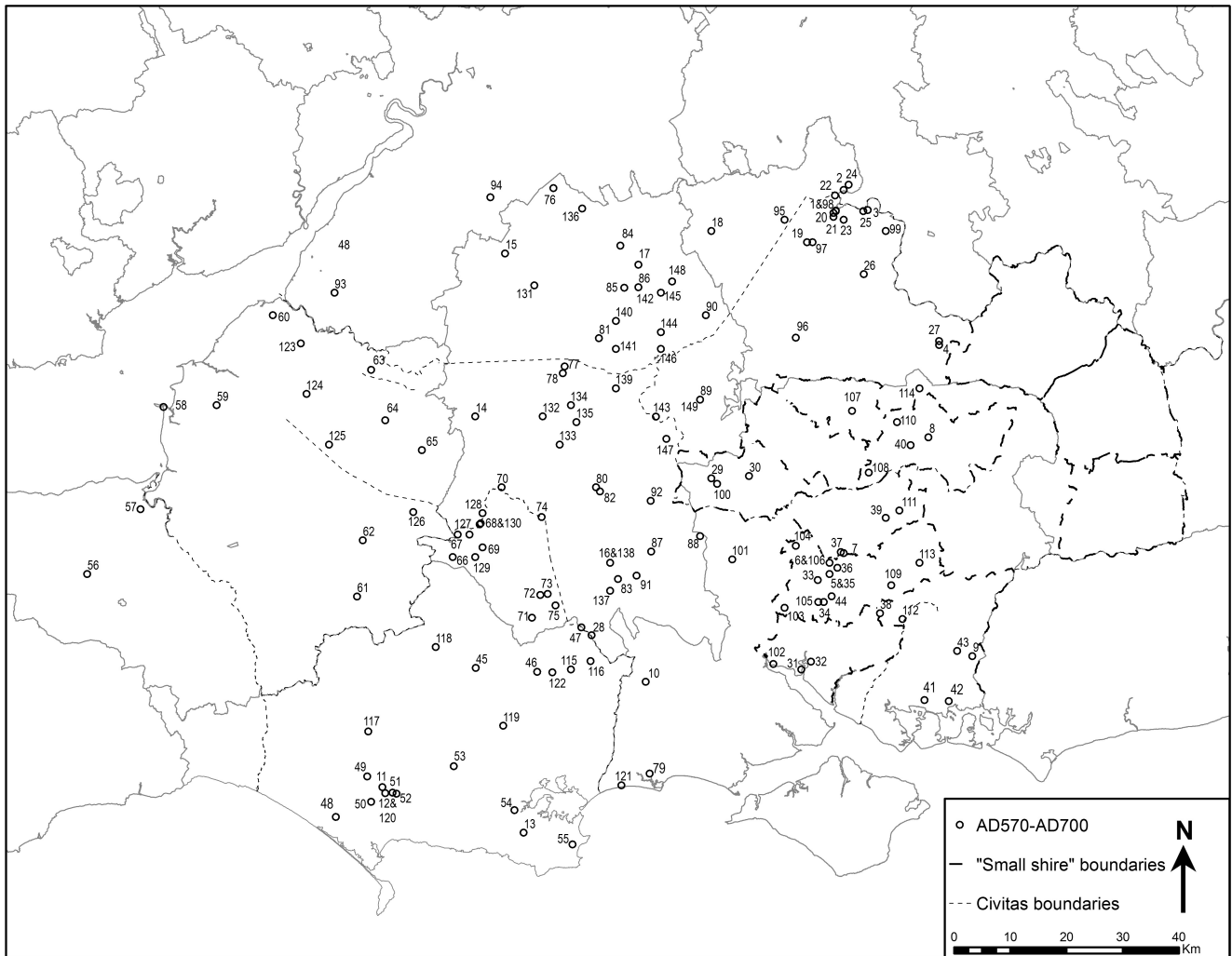


Figure 11 The south-western limit of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture AD 570–700 (Harry Manley)

1. By site ID

Location	ID	Location	ID
Sutton Courtenay/Drayton	1	Malmesbury	15
Abingdon (Adult Training Centre)	2	Wilton	16
Long Wittenham	3	Swindon	17
Burghfield (Wickham's Field)	4	Longcot	18
Winchester	5	West Hendred	19
Abbotts Barton	6	West Hanney	20
Abbots Worthy	7	Milton II	21
Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke	8	Abingdon	22
Chalton	9	Didcot	23
Ibsley	10	Barrow Hills, Radley	24
Poundbury	11	Long Wittenham II	25
Dorchester	12	Lowbury Hill	26
Bestwall Quarry, Wareham	13	Burghfield	27
Trowbridge	14	Martin	28

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Kimpton	29	Alvediston	73
Portway West, Andover	30	Sherrington	74
St Mary's, Southampton	31	Ebbesbourne Wake	75
Bitterne	32	Kemble (III)	76
Oliver's Battery, Winchester	33	Heddington	77
Twyford	34	Roundway Down	78
Winchester	35	Christchurch	79
Winnall II	36	44 Shrewton	80
Worthy Park, Kings Worthy	37	Yatesbury	81
Preshaw	38	67 Shrewton	82
Brown Candover	39	Salisbury Race Course	83
West Ham, Basingstoke	40	Purton	84
Ports Down	41	Basset Down	85
Bedhampton	42	Wroughton	86
Horn dean	43	Ford	87
Twyford	44	Roche Court Down	88
Hambledon Hill	45	Grafton	89
Long Crichel	46	Aldbourn	90
Pentridge	47	Harnham	91
Portesham	48	Amesbury	92
Bradford Peverell	49	Filton	93
Maiden Castle	50	Chavenage	94
Dorchester	51	West Hanney	95
West Stafford	52	Boxford	96
Tolpuddle	53	East Hendred	97
Wareham	54	Sutton Courtenay/Drayton	98
Ullwell	55	Streatley	99
Stoneage Barton	56	Thruxton	100
Cannington	57	Broughton	101
Brean Down	58	Millbrook	102
Banwell	59	Ampfield	103
Portbury	60	Crawley	104
Compton Pauncefoot	61	Compton	105
Lamyatt Beacon	62	Headbourne Worthy	106
Burnett	63	Kingsclere	107
Camerton	64	Steventon	108
Buckland Dinham	65	Bramdean	109
Mere	66	Monk Sherborne	110
Maiden Bradley	67	Preston Candover	111
Monkton Deverill	68	Exton	112
West Knoyle	69	Ropley	113
Warminster	70	Silchester	114
Berwick St John	71	Wimborne St Giles	115
Swallowcliffe	72	Cranborne	116

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Cerne Abbas	117	Stert	134
Hinton St Mary	118	Urchfont	135
Spetisbury	119	Ashton Keynes	136
Dorchester	120	Stratford Toney	137
Boscombe	121	Wilton	138
Gussage St Michael	122	Alton Priors	139
Long Ashton	123	Winterbourne Bassett	140
Chew Stoke	124	East Kennett	141
Chewton Mendip	125	Wroughton	142
Witham Friary	126	Pewsey	143
Kingston Deverill	127	Ogbourne St George	144
Longbridge Deverill	128	Chisledon	145
West Knoyle	129	Marlborough	146
Brixton Deverill	130	Everleigh	147
Seagry	131	Liddington	148
Worton	132	East Grafton	149
West Lavington	133		

2. Alphabetical

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Abbots Worthy	7	Broughton	101
Abbotts Barton	6	Brown Candover	39
Abingdon	22	Buckland Dinham	65
Abingdon (Adult Training Centre)	2	Burghfield	27
Aldbourne	90	Burghfield (Wickham's Field)	4
Alton Priors	139	Burnett	63
Alvediston	73	Camerton	64
Amesbury	92	Cannington	57
Ampfield	103	Cerne Abbas	117
Ashton Keynes	136	Chalton	9
Banwell	59	Chavenage	94
Barrow Hills, Radley	24	Chew Stoke	124
Basset Down	85	Chewton Mendip	125
Bedhampton	42	Chisledon	145
Berwick St John	71	Christchurch	79
Bestwall Quarry, Wareham	13	Compton	105
Bitterne	32	Compton Pouncefoot	61
Boscombe	121	Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke	8
Boxford	96	Cranborne	116
Bradford Peverell	49	Crawley	104
Bramdean	109	Didcot	23
Brean Down	58	Dorchester	12
Brixton Deverill	130	Dorchester	51

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Dorchester	120	Pewsey	143
East Grafton	149	Portbury	60
East Hendred	97	Portesham	48
East Kennett	141	Ports Down	41
Ebbesbourne Wake	75	Portway West, Andover	30
Everleigh	147	Poundbury	11
Exton	112	Preshaw	38
Filton	93	Preston Candover	111
Ford	87	Purton	84
Grafton	89	Roche Court Down	88
Gussage St Michael	122	Ropley	113
Hambledon Hill	45	Roundway Down	78
Harnham	91	Salisbury Race Course	83
Headbourne Worthy	106	Seagry	131
Heddington	77	Sherrington	74
Hinton St Mary	118	Shrewton	80
Horndean	43	Shrewton	82
Ibsley	10	Silchester	114
Kemble (III)	76	Spetisbury	119
Kimpton	29	St Mary's, Southampton	31
Kingsclere	107	Stert	134
Kingston Deverill	127	Steventon	108
Lamyatt Beacon	62	Stoneage Barton	56
Liddington	148	Stratford Toney	137
Long Ashton	123	Streatley	99
Long Crichel	46	Sutton Courtenay/Drayton	1
Long Wittenham	3	Sutton Courtenay/Drayton	98
Long Wittenham II	25	Swallowcliffe	72
Longbridge Deverill	128	Swindon	17
Longcot	18	Thrupton	100
Lowbury Hill	26	Tolpuddle	53
Maiden Bradley	67	Trowbridge	14
Maiden Castle	50	Twyford	34
Malmesbury	15	Twyford	44
Marlborough	146	Ullwell	55
Martin	28	Urchfont	135
Mere	66	Wareham	54
Millbrook	102	Warminster	70
Milton II	21	West Ham, Basingstoke	40
Monk Sherborne	110	West Hanney	20
Monkton Deverill	68	West Hanney	95
Ogbourne St George	144	West Hendred	19
Oliver's Battery, Winchester	33	West Knoyle	69
Pentridge	47	West Knoyle	129

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
West Lavington	133	Winterbourne Bassett	140
West Stafford	52	Witham Friary	126
Wilton	16	Worthy Park, Kings Worthy	37
Wilton	138	Worton	132
Wimborne St Giles	115	Wroughton	86
Winchester	5	Wroughton	142
Winchester	35	Yatesbury	81
Winnall II	36		

loaf shield-bosses, spearheads, shears, a wooden casket, a shale bracelet, a silver ring, buckles, and a very few beads (Butterworth and Lobb 1992). There is a likely contemporary settlement at *Wickhams Field* (Crockett 1996; cal AD 650–870 date for well timbers).

‘Hampshire’¹⁷

Winchester and Chilcomb

Architectural elements in the Old/first Minster have been considered to be north Italian and it has been suggested that these relate to the time of Birinus, the bishop who was active in the conversion of Cynegils (611–642) and the Gewisse at Dorchester-on-Thames in c. 635 (Bede, *HE* iii. 7; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: Oswald of Northumbria was sponsor to Cynegils at his baptism; he subsequently married Cynegils’ daughter (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 634–635; Finberg 1964a, 215; Yorke 1982). It was in c. 661, in the reign of Cenwalh (642–673), the son and successor of Cynegils, that the Gewissan see was moved, permanently, to Winchester from Dorchester, following intense military pressure from Mercia.¹⁸ If Wulfhere now had control of the entire homeland of the Gewisse (Blair 1994, 56), the translation of the see could indicate that the Gewisse had been forced to retreat into the old *civitas Belgarum* (Paper 1) whose boundary was no longer of any relevance. The grave of a rich female (Grave 23), with a necklace of three gold and garnet pendants, a gold *bulla* pendant, two silver *bulla* pendants, a copper-alloy pendant, a gold ring, up to 30 silver-wire rings and 14 glass beads, possibly of the late seventh century, was one of four excavated in the *Lower Brook Street* area (Hawkes 1990). An apparently isolated late seventh-century, or possibly early eighth-century, male burial, cut into the highest part of the bank of *Oliver’s Battery*, an enclosure of Iron Age or Romano-British date to the south-west of the Roman town and above the Roman road to Old Sarum, was accompanied by a *seax* with a silver cocked-hat pommel, a spear and a hanging bowl (Yorke 2010c; comparable burials are known at Ford, Wiltshire (Paper 6) and Lowbury Hill, Berkshire, for the latter see below). An Anglo-Saxon settlement, with both sunken-featured and earthfast buildings, beside the Winchester to Silchester Roman road at *Abbotts Barton, Winchester*, is thought to have begun in the sixth or seventh century (Powell 2015).

Forty-five graves, of men, women and children, all of them oriented approximately west to east, in rows, have been excavated at the *Winnall II* cemetery (Meaney and Hawkes 1970). A little more than a half of the burials were furnished with goods of some kind. These include a *seax*; a gilded copper-alloy disc brooch, no longer fully intact when buried, set with a garnet and shell boss within a silver wire collar, and other garnets, the four largest in a central star design, backed by gold foil, and also with chip-carved bird and animal ornament, and silver foil sheet on the back; a silver pin-suite; a copper-alloy garnet-set pendant, cut down from a larger piece of jewellery; and silver-wire rings. The burial ground dates to the second half of the seventh century. A cemetery at *Twyford*, near a crossing-point of the Itchen, appears to have been in use from the early sixth century until the early eighth. Grave goods with the 18 excavated burials – 11 of them west–east, six south–north and one east–north–east to west–south–west – include a very worn ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch and another with concentric lines and punched triangles, in a similar condition, in a child’s grave, beads, *bullae* pendants, silver wire rings, shield-bosses and knives and a narrow seventh-century *seax*, exceptionally (Stoodley 1999a, 29–30) with a female aged 30–40 years. In regard to the latter, Schuster suggests that the inclusion of the *seax* in the grave might indicate her prowess as a huntswoman or some similar, distinctive, role, while Härke (1990) has noted that the deposition of weapons in the graves of females may reflect the status of their families. Two graves intercut each other and there was one double burial. Eight of the interments had no grave goods. There were indications of cremation burials (Dinwiddy 2011). A silver and gilt lozengiform mount, ?from a shield, of the late sixth century, is also recorded from *Twyford* (PAS, SUR-216F26). There is a copper-alloy ?die-stamp, depicting a helmeted figure with large curved horns, from *Crawley* (PAS, HAMP-B292C2) and, from the east of the *regio*, a seventh-century gilded harness mount (PAS, SUR-6F2A07) and a much worn gold mount from *Ropley* (PAS, HAMP-2DAB03), and a hanging-bowl escutcheon (PAS, HAMP-04B085) from ‘*Bramdean and Hinton Ampner*’. A Kentish keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooch was found in 1980 on the Bagshot Sands at *Ampfield*, in the ancient parish of Hursley, in an area of *feld* (wood-pasture) at the south-west edge of the *regio* (Paper 12). There were no other finds and no sign of a burial (Denford 1986: Paper 8).

The regio of the Cleres ('Cleras')

A hanging bowl mount has been reported from *Kingsclere* (PAS, BERK-14BC37).

The 'small shire' of the Basingas

When, in the seventh century, Anglo-Saxon activity does become very apparent in this 'small shire', it is of a high status. An excavation, from 1978 to 1981, of considerable significance for our knowledge of early Saxon settlement morphology, was carried out in the Hampshire chalklands on *Cowdery's Down*, above the River Loddon, near *Basingstoke*. A minimum of three phases of occupation were identified. Finds were few and generally of little help in dating. Calibrated radiocarbon dates of AD 428–655 and 350–640 were obtained for building A2 (respectively, HAR-3720 and 3721), AD 254–588, 240–597 and 127–548 for building C9 (HAR-3764, 3767 and 3768) and AD 402–666 and 355–686 for the great hall C12 (HAR-4449 and 4447) at the 95% confidence level (Professor Tim Darvill kindly recalibrated the dates given at 68% in Millett with James 1983, 199). In each of the first two periods there were two farms with long, rectangular buildings and fenced enclosures. Spaced posts were used in the framework for the buildings. The subsequent arrangement, partly overlying the others, comprised in addition a number of larger halls, including a 'great hall'; trench-built construction was used for all of the buildings of this phase. There were also two sunken-featured buildings, and again enclosures with fences (Millett with James 1983; Hamerow 2012, *passim*). A poorly recorded burial high status burial with a hanging bowl, iron ladle, two spearheads, a knife and seven bone counters is recorded at *West Ham* (now a suburb of *Basingstoke*: Bruce-Mitford 2005, 127–30). A further settlement, probably of the seventh or eighth century, has been excavated at *Riverdene, Basingstoke* (Hall-Torrance and Weaver 2003). A silver wire-inlaid iron buckle, with silver-plated plate and decorated with both zoomorphic and other interlace, and a silver wire-inlaid square iron belt-fitting with a central panel of spotted interlace, have been recorded from the latest fill of a Roman pit at *Monk Sherborne*. The two pieces belong to different belt sets, the buckle and plate datable to the late sixth or first half of the seventh century, the fitting to the end of the sixth century or the first quarter of the seventh century. The buckle has links with Kent, but may be an import from Francia (Marzinzik 2005; the pit itself belongs to a Roman settlement, where a corn-drier went out of use in the later fourth century, but the excavator considered that a post-built structure nearby is likely to have been contemporary with the buckle and belt-fitting: Teague 2005). There is a *seax* from *Steventon*.

'The Andovers' (Andeferas)

An undecorated hanging bowl, found upturned above human remains, is recorded from *Kimpton* (PAS, HAMP-6CIED2). Eleven of the 17 known supine burials at the seventh-century

cemetery at *Portway West* were without grave goods. A spearhead, buckles, knives, a probable chatelaine, a silver pin with a garnet with gold foil backing and an iron and a copper-alloy pin, beads and a bone comb were with other burials; only Grave 6 with a number of items. Orientation was from south to north, as, mainly, at *Portway East* (there aligned on a prehistoric ditch), 800 m to the east, and the graves were generally laid out in rows, but one was within a penannular ditch. Burial may have continued until the middle of the eighth century and be in unbroken sequence from the Portway East cemetery, which could have continued into the seventh century (Stoodley 2006). There is a copper-alloy pyramidal mount from *Thruxton* (PAS, HAMP-2C1D52).

The regio of Micheldever

A settlement partially uncovered at *Abbots Worthy* (*Kings Worthy*), in the Itchen valley, is considered to have begun in the late sixth century and to have continued throughout the seventh century. Several sunken-featured buildings but no halls were identified in the limited area which was available for excavation. Its valley bottom location is typical of the settlement pattern in the chalklands both in the early Anglo-Saxon period and later (Fasham and Whinney 1991, 25–78). The woman aged 30+ in Grave 93 in the cemetery at *Worthy Park, Kings Worthy* wore a disc pendant of sheet gold with a central garnet, silver wire rings and a glass bead (Hawkes and Grainger 2003, 87). A hanging-bowl escutcheon is on record from *Headbourne Worthy* (PAS, HAMP-9BDE40). Recent excavations at the cemetery at *Weston Colley, Micheldever* (Paper 2) – where numerous burials had been found when the railway cut through the site in the nineteenth century – uncovered a ring-ditch surrounding the plank-lined grave of an unsexed adolescent, who wore a necklet comprised of a bead, a silver and an iron ring and an animal's tooth, and a purse collection and a knife at the waist; iron fittings, probably from a box, were at the feet. The ring-ditch was cut by the pit for a cremation burial (Fern and Stoodley 2005). A late sixth- or seventh-century higher status burial with a *seax* is recorded from *Brown Candover* and another with a *seax* and a spearhead from *Preston Candover*; a silver and gilt copper-alloy Style II-decorated disc is reported from '*the Candovers*' (PAS, BERK-D0201B).

The 'small shire' of the Hyltingas

Twenty-six inhumations, 19 of them oriented west–east and four north–south, and 18 cremations, some of which may date from as early as the sixth century, have been excavated at a remarkable cemetery beside the River Itchen at *St Mary's Stadium, Southampton*, within the area of *Hamwic* (Birbeck 2005). Twenty-one of the inhumations were accompanied by grave goods. With most of them there was just a knife or a buckle. One female, however, was buried with a wooden box containing a decorated silver disc, two *sceattas* and a

necklace with four silver *bullae* pendants, glass beads and a gold pendant, and another with a necklace with a gold pendant inlaid with garnets, a silver ring and beads. The number of weapon-burials and weapons is noteworthy. One male was interred with two spears, a *seax* and shield, and another with a sword, a *seax*, two spears and a shield (see further below). Up to 500 m away other inhumations, some of them within annular and penannular ditches, are associated with a variety of grave goods, including beads, glass vessels, keys and a set of linked pins (Stoodley 2010, 44–5).

Numerous inhumations have also been found within the walls of Roman *Claesentum*, at Bitterne, only 1 km or so to the north of *Hamwic*, within a loop of the Itchen on its opposite bank. Two of these have radiocarbon dates of, respectively, 640–687 and 564–775 (Stoodley 2010, 45). The probable findspot of a complete wheel-thrown Frankish bottle is about 15 m north of *Tanners Bridge, Millbrook*.¹⁹

The Meonwara

At *Chalton*, an early Anglo-Saxon settlement was, exceptionally, located on the top of Church Down, at the western limit of the South Downs. Its site, on the Chalk, occupied some 2 ha (5 acres). An excavation, between 1970 and 1976, followed surface collection of grass-tempered pottery over an extensive area; it also occurred on nearby late Roman settlements (Cunliffe 1972). The excavation uncovered 61 definite structures and in one part of the site identified four phases of occupation, which included two successive fenced farm units, within which the contemporaneity of some buildings may be suggested by their regular arrangement. Elsewhere few buildings were found to intersect each other. The largest structures were some 11 × 6 m and characterised by opposing central doorways in their long sides and, with one exception, transverse internal partitions near the east end. Where a relationship could be identified, those of post-built construction were earlier than those erected using a post-in-trench technique. Some buildings were laid out end-on and in these cases their relative sequence was often problematical. Only four sunken-featured buildings, one of them of exceptionally small size and another, where loom-weights were found, unexpectedly large, were identified on the site. It is difficult to discern any planned layout to the settlement as a whole. Chronologically diagnostic finds indicate occupation in the seventh century; they include copper-alloy pins and an escutcheon from a hanging bowl. Among the others, oyster shells, glass, quern-stones, and wheel-thrown pottery are of particular interest (Addyman *et al.* 1972; Addyman and Leigh 1973). It has been pointed out that the location of this site may be a secondary one, away from an earlier site on lower ground; its marginal position may have been a factor in its relatively short life (Champion 1977, 369).

Seventeen burials, predominantly west–east, of this period have been excavated at *Ports Down, Cosham*

(Meaney 1964, 99, ‘Portsdown Hill I’; Corney *et al.* 1967). One was accompanied by a knife, another by a shield, and there was an iron buckle with a third; the others were unaccompanied. Three males were interred in Grave 9. There was no jewellery with the females. At *Snell’s Corner, Horndean* (Knocker 1956), almost all of the 30 or so inhumations had grave goods or items of dress. There are three shields, spearheads in five graves, two bracelets, beads, copper-alloy rings, steels, a pin and a pot, but many of the burials have only a buckle and/or a knife. Gold *solidi* of Honorius, Anastasius I (491–518), Constans II (issue of c. 662–667) and Constantine IV (668–685: this one pierced) are said to be metal-detector finds from the site of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (respectively Morrisson 2014, nos 1, 86 and 97: see above, n. 6). Intrusive burials in *Bevis’s Grave long barrow, Bedhampton*, are predominantly of the seventh and eighth centuries, but extend to the tenth (Meaney 1964, 94; Geake 1997, 154; Stoodley 2002, 106; 2010, 48). A burial at *Preshaw, Exton*, is discussed in Paper 8, and there is also a hanging-bowl escutcheon (PAS, HAMP-09DFE5) from *Exton*.

From the Chalk of west Hampshire there is a hanging-bowl escutcheon from *Broughton* (PAS, WM1D-B145A3).

Overview

It has been suggested that the late sixth- to seventh-century gold and silver-gilt buckle, at least twice mended, probably of Kentish origin, from the cemetery at *Alton* (Grave 16, with a sword, shield and two spears) may relate to a time of Kentish overlordship (Evison 1988, 18–20, 43, 45: see also Yorke 1995, 296). A key stage in the history of the Gewisse was reached in 661, when, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, in more than an understatement, Wulfhere of Mercia ‘harried on Ashdown’ and ushered in a period of forced Gewissan submission (Paper 6). The warrior (presumably) whose elaborate weapon-burial was sited on *Lowbury Hill* beside the Berkshire Ridgeway on Ashdown was perhaps Cuthred’s man, and of *gesith* rank (Hawkes 1986, 91: see also Paper 6, and for other such burials close to through routes). The ‘great halls’ at *Drayton* and *Long Wittenham*, perhaps successive, with little doubt point to a royal centre close to the River Thames in the time of Birinus. Another such hall at *Cowdery’s Down*, in the territory of the *Basingas*, is comparable, but lacks the associated rich finds.

The development and significance of Winchester from Roman times has been discussed by Biddle in a series of notable papers (Biddle 1972, 1983; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007). In all probability, one immediate and important result of Wulfhere’s military successes was the abandonment of the Gewissan see at Dorchester-on-Thames and its replacement by Winchester. It been pointed out that ‘it must remain a very strong possibility that the needs of the Church

were responsible for the resettlement of Winchester' (Yorke 1982, 79: for the presence of the elite in the city in the late seventh century we may note the burials at *The Brooks* and at *Oliver's Battery*). Administrative functions appear to have been at *Hamtun*, which gave its name to the shire (Yorke 1982, 80–1; see also Paper 12). To date it is certainly the case that archaeological evidence for the occupation of the city in the sixth century remains very limited.

Burial sites and rites

The high-status female graves at *West Hanney*, *Milton*, and probably also *East Hendred*, all within 8 km of Drayton, may be the burial-places of members of a royal family. The burial ground at *Burghfield*, with both south to north and west to east oriented graves, its focus upon a Bronze Age barrow, and with 16% weapon-burials – though 32% were unfurnished – harks back to an earlier age. At *Didcot* the excavated graves have a more concise date range – certainly the cemetery was in use after the Mercians had taken control of this area. The grave goods notably include a relict-box and a barrel-padlock, but little order could be detected in the arrangement of the graves, though more of them were oriented from the south or the west than from the north or east. There was a burial with amethyst beads at *Longcot*.

Much more information is available about burial practices at this time in 'Hampshire' and they have also been the subject of a number of important research papers by Stoodley. *Winnall II*, the successor of *Winnall I* – just as *Portway II* followed *Portway I* in the 'Andovers', in a well recognised 'two cemetery' pattern (Boddington 1990, 190–1, with particular reference to Hyslop 1963 and Meaney and Hawkes 1970) – is a classic example of a 'Final phase' row-grave cemetery in which females have a similar or higher profile than males, and where roughly aligned west–east individual rows include men, women and children. There is also an approximately equal mix overall of 17 males and 16 females. A comparison may be made with the burial ground at *Monkton Deverill* in Wiltshire (Paper 6). Stoodley (*et al.* 2012, 78) has suggested that perhaps each row was now the preserve of a separate household. In contrast to earlier periods, we find a noticeable emphasis upon the deposition of fine jewellery in the graves of the children in some high-status families. An instance is the pendant and necklet in Grave 5, of a child aged 7–10 years, in *Winnall II*, and there are other examples at *Didcot* and *Snell's Corner* and at *Bradford Peverell* in Dorset (Paper 9). Some other cemeteries, such as those at *Didcot* and *St Mary's, Southampton*, show little evidence of coherent organisation.

Stoodley (1999c) has noted that in Wessex gendered masculine burials now outnumber their female equivalents by 19% to 6% and that both are notably less than in other areas. He has drawn attention to new types of burial site, beside prehistoric barrows, in the territory of the *Meonwara*,

of a distinctively masculine and martial character,²⁰ with separate areas for men and women. At *Snell's Corner, Horndean*, where 15 males and eight females have been excavated close to a prehistoric barrow, all oriented south to north, there are 'clusters of male burials ... and the central area, which is avoided by graves, is bordered by males on its northern edge and females on its southern edge.' Stoodley also notes that the graves of three males and an unsexed adult are associated with wooden structures, and that Grave 14, a large grave on the edge of the cemetery, with two weapons, is the only one where a food offering has been provided. At *Ports Down* too, with 17 males and four females:

there are two clusters of male graves, one to the north and one to the south of the [prehistoric] barrow, while right on the southern edge of the barrow are found the graves of two children and an infant. In addition burial 9 contained the burials of three males interred in succession. This is a rare configuration and underscores the emphasis placed on the male sex in this cemetery.

The site is also notable for the re-use of burial pits, a practice also recorded at *Bedhampton* (Stoodley 2002, 106, 109–10).

Appendix: The circulation of gold in Wessex

It appears that following the end of the imperial administration early in the fifth century, and certainly after the successful Saxon revolt of c. 441, only a very limited amount of gold continued to circulate in Britain, no longer being required to service the taxation demands of the imperial government. This was in contrast to the Continent, both within and beyond the *limes*, where subsidies of gold coin continued to buy off the barbarians.

In fifth- and sixth-century Wessex there are a very small number of Roman and Byzantine gold coins. Byzantine *solidi* are said to be metal-detector finds from the site of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Snell's Corner, Horndean*, Hampshire, and there is a seventh-century Merovingian gold *tremissis* from *Shalbourne*, and a gold *thrymsa*, probably minted in Kent, from *East Grafton*, the adjacent parish, in Wiltshire. A copper-alloy weight, suitable for the weighing of gold coin by both the Byzantine and Merovingian weight standards, has been found at the frontier site of *Breamore* on the Salisbury Avon and a balance with a runic inscription, which could also have been used in this way, at the *Watchfield*, Berkshire, cemetery. Otherwise, the appearance of gold is restricted to gilded brooches and other items, which become increasingly apparent in Saxon contexts from the second half of the fifth century, a limitation which continues long into the sixth century. It was only in the seventh century that the elite found new opportunities for the acquisition of jewellery of solid gold.

Pendants of gold²¹ set with garnets have been recovered from Grave 93 in the cemetery at *Worthy Park, Kings*

Worthy; with a burial at *St Mary's Stadium, Southampton* (where another grave contained a gold pendant); and with another (also with a gold pendant and a gold ring) at *Winchester*, Hampshire. A gold fragment with inset garnet has been excavated at a settlement site at *Swindon*. There is a mount of the early seventh century from *Urchfont*, also in Wiltshire. A gold bracteate is recorded from a grave at *Shrewton* in that county. A much worn gold mount from *Ropley*, Hampshire, and a loop of gold wire from *Stratford Toney*, Wiltshire, lack association. A late sixth- to seventh-century gold and silver-gilt buckle, probably of Kentish origin, is documented from a burial at *Alton*, Hampshire, and a gold and copper-alloy sword pommel of the seventh century from the *Cricklade* area in Wiltshire.

Items in the seventh-century grave of a young girl at *Bradford Peverell*, Dorset, include a gold pendant. There is also a female burial with gold jewellery of the second half of the seventh century at *Mere*, Wiltshire. In addition to the richly furnished grave at Winchester, above, gold, or partly gold, artefacts of the late seventh century have been recorded with elite female burials at *Roundway Down* and *Swallowcliffe*, 'Wiltshire', and at *Burnett*, north Somerset. A gold pendant from *Pewsey* and a gold bead from *Ogbourne St Andrew*, both in Wiltshire, lack association.

Notes

- 1 This paper revises and otherwise subsumes the relevant parts of Eagles 1994. Other parts of that paper are now incorporated elsewhere in this volume. The county names are placed in inverted commas here as it is argued in Paper 12 that the eastern counties of Wessex did not come into existence until the later ninth century. For the southern part of the valley of the Salisbury Avon see Paper 4; Wiltshire in this period see Paper 6; the Isle of Wight, Paper 8; and for Dorset and Somerset, Paper 9.
- 2 Where no published reference is specifically cited for these Berkshire sites and those in Hampshire below, see Meaney 1964 and the gazetteer compiled by Valerie Cooper in Evison 1988, 48–50.
- 3 For some comment on the topographical and geological setting of these sites see Paper 2, with reference to the fifth century.
- 4 Boyle *et al.* 1995; Allen *et al.* 2015, 16132.
- 5 Artefacts of sixth- and seventh-century date from Silchester and its environs are discussed in Paper 2.
- 6 Morrisson (2014, 220) considers that '[T]he plausible pattern [of the distribution of the 101 Byzantine coins which she lists from across Britain] leads to a reversal of the burden of proof, which now falls on those who take the finds to be largely modern losses.' This comment is made by a numismatist fully aware of the very uneven quality of the records for these coins.
- 7 Hampshire is here subdivided, from north to south, according to the *regiones* and 'small shires' identified in Paper 12, but in the realisation that only one of these territorial units, that of the folk of the *Hyltingas*, which preceded *Ham-tuncscir*, can be demonstrated to have been in existence in the seventh century, although all of them appear to be parts of an interlocking pattern.
- 8 There are also metal-detected items from *Micheldever*: a button brooch (PAS, HAMP-742BO2), an unparalleled zoomorphic brooch (HAMP3109) and a small square-headed brooch of gilded copper alloy (PAS, HAMP2765; with scrolls on head-plate: cf. Chessell Down, Åberg 1926, fig. 121: it may be a copy of a Kentish prototype, B. Ager pers. comm.).
- 9 Information on sites in the Meon valley is from Dr N. Stoodley if not cited otherwise.
- 10 Examination of recent lidar aerial photography, however, has emphasised the general density of early settlement in the New Forest.
- 11 Further information about the sites in Wiltshire is given in Paper 6; links between southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight are discussed in Paper 8.
- 12 All six small-long brooches at *Collingbourne Ducis* (one with a panelled square head-plate, two with a narrow crescentic foot, and two with a triangular foot) and 11 of the 13 at *Pewsey* are square-headed, sharing many attributes.
- 13 The late Professor James Campbell (pers. comm.) made the point that in discussing these changes we should also take into account the disruptive social effects of the great plagues of the seventh century (Maddicott 1997).
- 14 See the Appendix for the occurrence and circulation of gold artefacts in Wessex as a whole.
- 15 Charles-Edwards 2004a, 23, n. 62, notes: 'these revived styles would perhaps have been just as readily accepted whether someone's ancestors were from the other side of the North Sea or from Britain'.
- 16 The one at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, is 22.1 × 8.8 m (see below).
- 17 Casual finds of the sixth and seventh centuries from Silchester are discussed in Paper 2.
- 18 The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records a church built at Winchester *s. a.* 648, but Yorke notes that this entry does not appear before version ('F'), which certainly has links to Winchester, compiled in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.
- 19 Southampton City Museums A.3100.79. Information from Gill Woolrich and Ingrid Peckham: Southampton City Council Historic Environment Record MSH102.
- 20 The cemetery at Bargates, Christchurch, is comparable (Paper 9).
- 21 As for the items above, this is not a full listing of sites which have produced gold artefacts.

A mid-fifth- to mid-sixth-century bridle-fitting of Mediterranean origin from Breamore, Hampshire, with a discussion of its local context¹

Bruce Eagles and Barry Ager

Description

The subject of this paper is a copper-alloy fitting, originally cruciform in shape, found at Breamore, Hampshire (Fig. 12). It has rounded ends to the two remaining arms and was gilded and cloisonné-inlaid with coloured glass and possibly other material(s). Because of damage, probably in the plough-soil, all but a fragment of one of the inlays are missing; maximum width surviving, 31 mm (originally 40 mm); height in centre, 9 mm. The fitting is constructed on a plain, cruciform, convex sheet base-plate, to the edges of which is soldered a vertical framing strip 0.7 mm thick and 4 mm deep. A cylindrical collet of strip is soldered slightly off-centre to the middle of the base-plate and, from this, eight strip partitions radiate on their edges to abut an outer circular cloison linking the angles between the cross arms and consisting of conjoined, inner and outer walls. Only the outer of these walls is soldered to the base-plate, with which neither the radiating partitions nor the inner wall make contact. The central cylinder and all eight of the irregular trapezoidal cells formed by the radiating strips are now empty, but would originally have contained glass or garnet settings, with either a flat disc or a circular cabochon in the centre.

In each of the two surviving arms of the cross is a heart-shaped cell with its point touching the outer wall of the circular cloison and its concave top against the outer frame of the fitting. At this point a small, dome-headed rivet passes through the fitting in the gap formed by the concavity and the frame to secure a flat, cruciform back-plate of copper-alloy sheet to the base-plate, leaving little or no gap between the two. A fragment of thin, flat, translucent, green glass remains in the right-hand half of one of the heart shapes,

with a plain, pale gold, heart-shaped foil underneath it and bent up round the outer edges of the glass inlay to hold it in place. There is possibly a paste filling of some kind surviving under the foil, but there is no access to examine it. On either side of each heart is an empty, sub-triangular cell, with its apex curving inwards some way over the top of the heart. A fragment of another plain gold foil survives in the left-hand cell of the second arm in the angle between the empty heart and the circular cloison. Traces of gilding can be seen round the top of the outer of the circular walls.

Function

Since the Breamore fitting is a stray find, any suggestion as to its function must be based on that of similar objects with known associations. In general, its cruciform shape can be compared with that of a number of other mounts of more or less similar size from numerous Germanic contexts of the fifth–seventh centuries on the Continent, where they have been found frequently in pairs associated with horse-bridles. Although it is of Mediterranean, not Germanic origin (see below), it can be broadly compared with examples of Nawroth's type 3, mainly of the first half of the sixth century (Nawroth 2001, 84–91). All types of such fittings appear probably to have linked the straps at the crossovers of the noseband and cheek-pieces of single-head bridles, or possibly at the junctions of browband and headpiece on other forms. For example, from Germany, two late sixth-century, cruciform silver mounts of domed section with rounded ends decorated with animal heads were found associated with a snaffle-bit and other fittings from Orsoy, Grave 3; a pair with central roundels and Style II decoration with a snaffle-bit

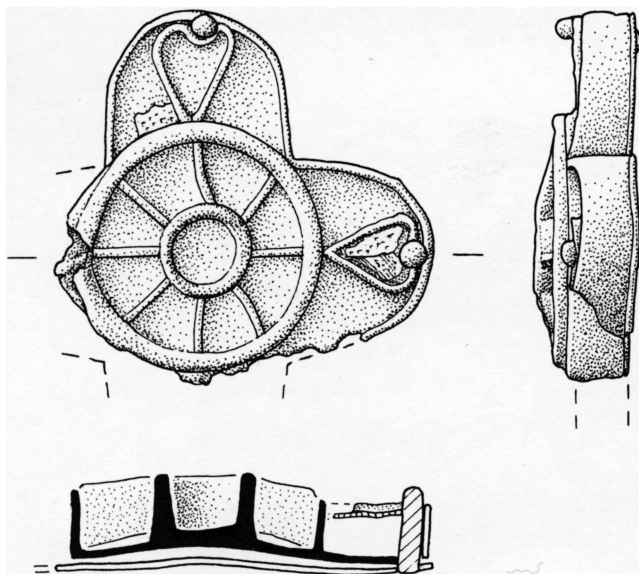


Figure 12 Bridle-fitting from Breamore, Hampshire: front, side, and section (Nick Griffiths)

and mounts from Bisingen, Grave 1; and two copper-alloy pairs with round-ended arms from Fridingen, Grave 109 and Gammertingen, Grave 4/1906, with associated bridle-fittings (Oexle 1992, Taf. 191/413, 2–3; Taf. 4, 2–3; 9, 2–3; and Taf. 12/36, 1–2). There are also three early to mid-sixth-century bridle mounts (specifically of Nawroth's type 3) with square-ended arms, and two of them with domed centres, from a Lombardic rider-grave at Veszékény, Hungary, and another from Sisak (Werner 1962, Taf. 40, 3–5, 9).

Anglo-Saxon counterparts are rarer, reflecting the lower incidence of horse burials in England, for example the gilded copper-alloy cruciform bridle-fittings with silver appliqués from the horse and warrior grave at Lakenheath, Suffolk (Caruth and Anderson 1999, 246, illustrated at bottom right). From Wakerley, Northamptonshire, Grave 31, comes a single, Style I decorated, lozenge-shaped plate from the centre of a similar mount in gilded copper alloy and iron, which appears to have been reused as a belt mount (Adams and Jackson 1988–89, 158–9, fig. 31, 6). A pair of straight-sided, cross-shaped mounts was found at Buttsale, near Eastry, Kent, with other fittings of gilded copper alloy which are probably from horse-trappings (Brown 1915, pl. 24, 2, first from right in upper and lower rows, and no. 5). A pair of gilded copper-alloy mounts of the mid- to late sixth century, with central garnet discs and Style I face-masks at the junctions with the crescentic ends of the arms from Easington, County Durham, possibly served a similar purpose, as there were originally attachment lugs projecting from the backs of the masks (Hamerow and Pickin 1995, figs. 10, 5, and 11). A gilded copper-alloy, Style I, cruciform mount with a central roundel and sub-triangular ends to single-pierced arms is simply recorded as from 'East Sussex' (*The Searcher*, December 1994, 26) and another Style

I piece, 4 cm wide with triangular extensions to square arms for fitting, but without any given provenance, has appeared twice at auction (*Bonhams*, 12 December, 1995: lot 372; *Christie's*, New York, 18 December, 1997: lot 344).

From the Mediterranean region, a provincial Byzantine-influenced quatrefoil mount of filigree and granulation-decorated gold sheet, found near Naples (Roth 1973, 228–9, Taf. 32, 6), is thought to be probably from the headstall of a bridle. It is of the same late sixth/early seventh-century type (Nawroth's type 7) as the gold mounts from Castel Trosino, Graves 90 and 119, Italy (Sergi 1902, tav. 10, 10, and 5, 7) and has long-stemmed loops on the backs of the lobes, as if to pass through a double thickness of leather.

In all of the above examples where cruciform mounts have known associations, it is evident that they are decorative fittings from horse bridles, either on single straps or at strap junctions. It is therefore most likely that the Breamore fitting is also from a bridle, although, in view of the thinness of the gap between the base and back-plate, it may be that it had been riveted either to textile or to very thin leather covering a strap. Alternatively, it might perhaps be suggested that the rivets have been shortened for secondary use, possibly on a belt (rather like the Wakerley mount).

Discussion

The use of cloisonné glass in simple geometric arrangements, gilded copper alloy, and relatively thick cell walls on the Breamore mount represents a less costly imitation of gold and garnet cloisonné work of the fifth–sixth centuries on fittings (especially for belts) and jewellery of the Mediterranean region (cf. Kazanski 1994; Quast 1999c).

The heart-shaped motif in each of the cross arms of the Breamore mount may derive from ivy leaves in antique art, hence the choice here of green glass (and green stones for the 'hearts' on other objects).² The motif appears also in Sassanian and Caucasus-region, garnet-inlaid work from at least the late third century onwards, eg. on the clasp of a reused Persian bracelet plaque of the later third or fourth century from Wolfsheim, Germany, and a ?fourth-century earring and finger-ring from Mtskheta, Georgia, Graves 7 and 19 (Arrhenius 1971, 13–14, and 1985, 46–8; Roth 1981, 312–15, Abb. 1, 3 and 5; Quast 1999a, Abb. 1, 1; Kazanski 2001, 406). The motif is not uncommon, particularly in late Antique, Mediterranean metalwork of the fifth and possibly early sixth centuries (although rare there after the third quarter of the fifth century according to Quast 1999b, 242), and also, more rarely and usually later, in western European craftsmanship, where it is ultimately of Mediterranean origin. It is used, for example, for the olivine cells in the cruciform inlays between red glass settings on a pair of cloisonné disc brooches from a fifth-century female Vandal grave at Annaba (formerly Bône), and for the malachite inlays on a belt-set from a male Vandal grave with a *terminus*

post quem of 429 at El Kala/La Calle, Tuniza, also in Algeria. The former is probably from a Constantinopolitan workshop, although Carthage is perhaps not to be excluded from consideration – see below (Roth 1981, Abb. 6, 2 and 6; Arrhenius 1985, 120, 201, fig. 102; Kazanski 1994, fig. 6, 1; Quast 1999b, fig. 7). A general Mediterranean distribution of the motif is indicated by the hearts in opposed pairs on a gold, garnet and malachite buckle-set from Varna, Bulgaria, deposited in the sixth century and on a buckle with ovoid plate from Leguillac-de-l'Auche, Grave 1, France, of the late fifth, or possibly early sixth century (Kazanski 1994, 149, 155, figs 8, 13–14 and 15, 2). It is also used for the garnet inlays at either end of an unpublished, copper-alloy, cloisonné strap mount from the site of *Bethogabris*, Israel (British Museum, registration no. MME 1909,5-18,7). A flat, heart-shaped garnet plate forms part of what appears to be a jeweller's cache of eighteen, unmounted, flat and cabochon garnets said to have been found on Mount Carmel (British Museum, reg. no. MME 1934,2-7,5).³ The cache is comparable with, and probably contemporary with, a similar, larger find of cut plate and cabochon garnets from Vandal-period Carthage, although lacking hearts (Roth 1981, 324–8, Abb. 5A–B), and Arrhenius (1985, 51–2) is of the opinion that the domed cabochons, found in both caches, were not produced after the fifth century. The cloisonné decoration of the fifth-century collar from Pietroasa, Romania, includes vertical rows of triple hearts (Arrhenius 1985, 121, fig. 91) and three rows of garnet hearts can be seen on the guard of the sword from Altlusheim, Grave 1, Germany, traditionally regarded as the product of a Pontic, possibly Bosporan, workshop of the late fourth/early fifth century (Zasetskaya 1982, 31–49), but which recent research suggests could be rather early fifth century and from a Mediterranean source, either directly or indirectly (Arrhenius 1985, 48, 85, 106–7, 123, fig. 107; Kazanski 2001, 402, 405–6, figs 1, 4 and 4, 4).

Turning to the products of west European workshops, the paten from Gourdon, France (which may be late Roman in origin, with ?Burgundian additions of the middle or later fifth century, and was deposited in a hoard datable by coins to c. 518–527) has a heart-shaped turquoise setting in each corner of its central trough (Roth 1979, Abb. 235; Arrhenius 1971, 107; and 1985, 48, 70, figs 65–6; Topić-Mersman 1989, 15–16). The use of patterned or plain, gold or silver foil, or crystalline paste and foil, under settings first occurs early in the fifth century (Arrhenius 1985, 124–5). Heart-shaped settings occur, too, in Visigothic jewellery, eg. in bluish glass pointing to the corners of a sixth-century, rectangular, cloisonné plate of a buckle, and, in green glass or stone, at the tips of the wings of a pair of eagle brooches of the end of the fifth or early sixth century from Tierra de Barros, Spain (Brown 1993). In Frankish metalwork there is a heart-shaped garnet setting at both ends of the bows of a pair of sixth-century brooches from Jouy-le-Comte, France, which are also decorated with Christian fish and

cross motifs (Roth 1979, Abb. 247). The same shape is used for the terminal knobs round the head-plates of a pair of radiate-headed brooches from a high-status female grave of the first half of the sixth century at Artres, Nord, France (Ager 1997, illustrated on p. 127) and there is a green glass heart in the centre of a kidney-shaped Frankish buckle inlaid with cloisonné red ?glass from Howletts, Grave 31, Kent, of the sixth century (British Museum, reg. no. MME 1936,5–11,116).⁴ Presumably influenced by such 'imports', a sixth-century, Anglo-Saxon disc-on-bow brooch from Stodmarsh, Kent, has a garnet heart set in a collet at the upper end of the foot-plate (Åberg 1926, fig. 146).

The radiated circle at the centre of the Breamore mount shows a related origin and distribution, eg. a cloisonné finger-ring with five trapezoid cells of the late third–fourth century from Aragvispiri, Transcaucasus (Shchukin and Bazhan 1994, fig. 1, 18) and a later, fifth-century mount with nine trapezoid cells made in a Mediterranean workshop (possibly at Ravenna) from the grave of the Frankish King Childeric at Tournai, Belgium (died '481', but see also Paper 2, n. 17; Kazanski and Périn 1996, fig. 4, top left). A simpler, Byzantine disc mount with a cruciform arrangement of inlays of colourless glass from *Heraclea Lyncestis* (Bitola, Macedonia), possibly from a horse-harness and dating to the sixth century, appears to be in the same tradition (Werner 1991, Abb. 1, 14).⁵ Rayed circular settings enclosing a central disc or cabochon are also used on late fifth/early sixth-century, rectangular or ovoid buckle-plates of western Mediterranean origin, eg. from Monceau-le-Neuf, with eight trapezoid cells, from Saint-Clément, France, with eleven, and Madrona, Spain, with six (Kazanski 1994, figs 3, 2; 8, 19; and 12, 10).⁶ Such west European parallels indicate a probable mid-fifth to mid-sixth-century dating and a possible central or western Mediterranean origin for the Breamore mount.

The local context (Fig. 13)

The source, or sources, of the River Avon are to be found in the chalklands of Salisbury Plain, wherefrom the river flows southwards through a varying geology to reach the sea at Hengistbury Head at Christchurch. Reference to Hengistbury Head, where dykes protected a major Iron Age trading community, in itself reveals the ancient importance of this river route from the south coast into the heartlands of Wessex (Sherratt 1996, 216). An intensive fieldwalking survey, which was combined with controlled metal-detecting, in the middle Avon valley, where Breamore lies, has pointed to the considerable scale of activity in the area in both the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, as well as subsequent periods (Light *et al.* 1994, from which the information for the Roman and earlier periods given below is derived).

In its southern stretches, the Avon marks the western limit of the New Forest. Breamore itself lies on the west

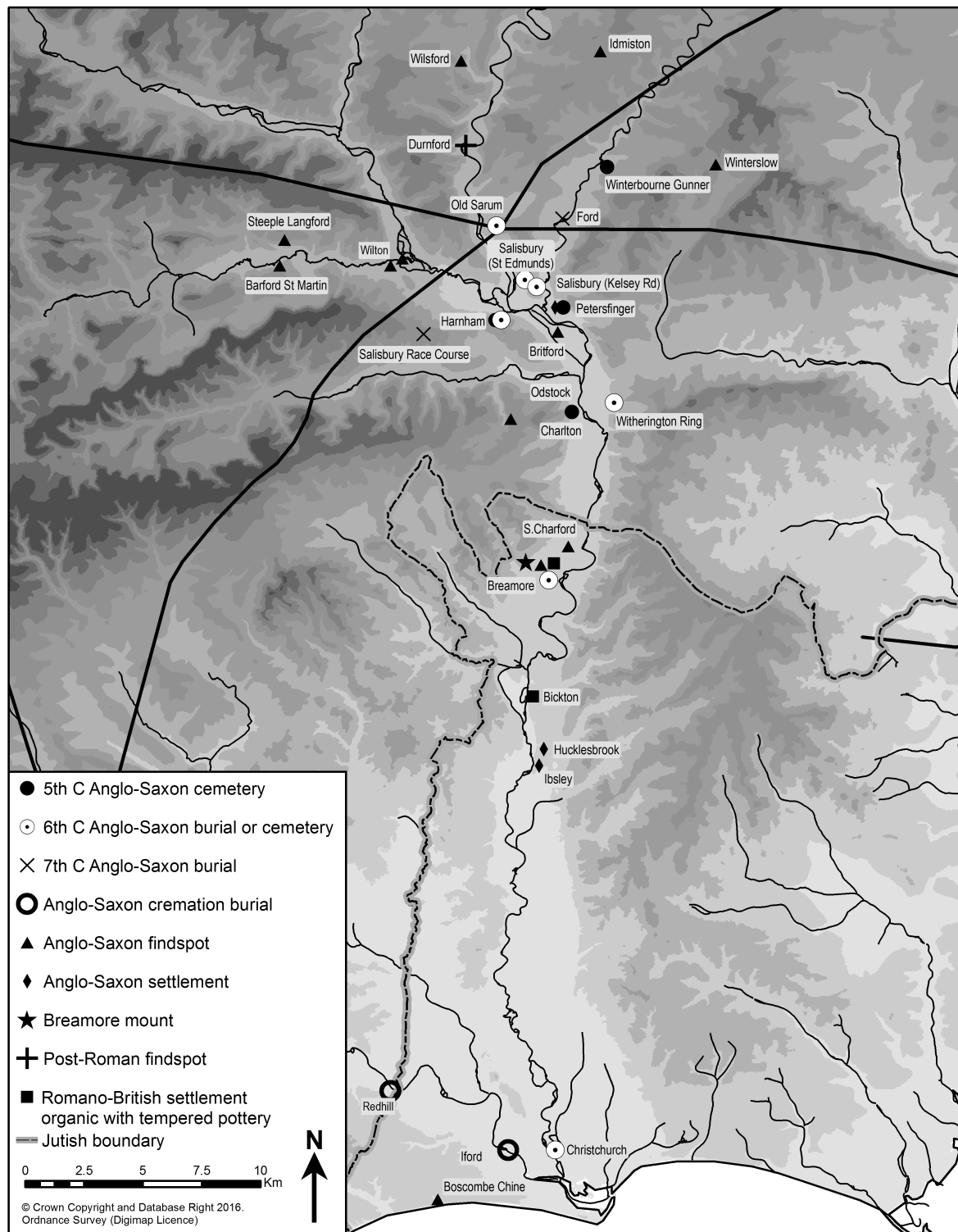


Figure 13 Sites of the post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods in and near the southern part of the valley of the Salisbury Avon. Breamore is starred (Harry Manley)

bank of the river, close to the western border of Hampshire. The place is some 4 km north of Fordingbridge and 12 km south of Salisbury, which is in the neighbouring county of Wiltshire. The Tertiary geology of the area is made up of

various deposits of clays, sands and gravels which, on the west, edge the Upper Chalk. Today the loamy soils in this part of the valley support arable cultivation, especially west of the river, with some permanent pasture.

The fieldwalking programme referred to above produced important information not only about prehistoric occupation and settlement in the Breamore area but also for Roman exploitation, and even more importantly, for its probable continuation in native form into the fifth century or even later. Romano-British settlement sites, of later Iron Age origin, are numerous; lesser densities of potsherds, the product of manuring fields, indicate widespread arable at the time. The pottery also suggests that activity was at its height in the first two centuries AD but the lack of Roman building material recovered points to only limited Romanisation. Wares of the late third and fourth centuries were less frequent, reaching a maximum of 20% at one site in Breamore parish itself, in spite of the high local output from the New Forest pottery industry. This contrasts notably with the evident late Roman prosperity of the villa at *Rockbourne*, on the Chalk, about 4.5 km to the west (RCHME 1983: coins to Honorius and Arcadius and late Roman belt-fittings. See Paper 2).

Hand-made, undecorated, chaff-tempered pottery was recovered from a number of the Romano-British settlement sites. At *North Street, Breamore*, at the edge of the gravel terrace immediately above the floodplain on the west bank of the Avon, late Iron Age and Roman finds, including numerous coins, up to and including the fourth century, together with hand-made sherds were found over the whole site, an area of some 15 hectares (37 acres). The recovery of a five-spiral saucer brooch (PAS, HAMP3367: Evison 1981, 137; Dickinson 1991, 55), a worn button brooch (Suzuki 2008, Class B1: PAS, HAMP3366) and a 'Frankish' garnet-inlaid rosette belt-mount (for the form, cf. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, SF 24, a silver brooch with gold-backed garnets and a central glass stud (Arnold 1982, 56–7); the type dates to 550–580: Brugmann 1999, 42), within some 50 m of each other, may relate to disturbed furnished graves of 'Anglo-Saxon' character within the overall limits of the pottery scatter. A second button brooch, of the early sixth century (Suzuki 2008, Class A2: PAS, HAMP3365), from the middle Avon survey is an isolated find to the west of the *North Street site at Breamore*, as is the mount which is the subject of the present paper. The brooches date to the late fifth or early sixth century and the belt stud is of the early to second third of the sixth century.⁷ A similar association of Romano-British and a significant quantity of hand-made, organic-tempered, pottery, but no other post-Roman artefacts, also occurs to the south at *Bickton*, on the east bank. At other sites at *Charford*, *Burgate*, and *Harbridge*, there are only a few hand-made sherds with the Romano-British wares. Interestingly, two thin, 'manure', scatters of Romano-British potsherds at *Bickton*, and possibly another at *Breamore Wood*, also produced some chaff-tempered ware. Such organic-tempered pottery and part of an 'Anglo-Saxon' small-long brooch, probably of the sixth century, but no earlier sherds, were recorded from *South Charford*, to the

north of Breamore, to the west of the river. The occasional chaff-tempered sherd was also recovered at other locations. Excavations in advance of gravel extraction on the east bank, by a minor tributary, the *Hucklesbrook*, revealed a possible sunken-featured building, whose fill contained hand-made, some of them 'organic-tempered', potsherds (Davies and Graham 1984). An unassociated hand-made, chaff-tempered, plain pot was reported in 1926 '2ft (0.6 m) below the top soil in widening the high-road', just to the south of this site. The fragments from which the pot has been restored include a full profile, with an everted, flat-topped rim, which suggests that the vessel was found complete and was, therefore, perhaps, a cinerary urn, though there is no record of any contents.⁸ The use of this type of pottery is known to last in Wessex as late as the early tenth century (Hinton 1994, 35). However, its occurrence in many places in the Breamore area exclusively in association with Romano-British finds suggests that in those places at least it marks a continuation of native occupation immediately after the Roman period when Roman wheel-thrown products were no longer available. These finds were made, as already noticed, in the course of an extensive, well organised, programme of field walking. This is an example of the way in which even slight traces of new sites may be identified in locations which have responded poorly to aerial photography (Light 1985). Another sunken-featured building, and a pit with a cal AD radiocarbon date of 561–648, have been recorded at a gravel-extraction site at *Ibsley* (Coles and Ford 2016, 30 and 80–2).

A Bronze Age round barrow, also at *Breamore*, and again on the west bank, on a gravel promontory within a bend in the Avon, was re-used as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery for men and children and, apparently, women. Its presence was first revealed through the activities of metal-detectorists. Subsequent, limited, excavation by Roy Entwistle and *Time Team* (the latter for a television programme) identified about a dozen burials. Grave goods associated with these burials include nine spearheads (there were also three others which were unassociated) and ferrules; shield-bosses; six wooden buckets, one of 'imported' pine; a glass bowl; copper-alloy buckles and tweezers; and knives. Among unstratified finds are a copper-alloy pail with a Greek inscription and decorated with hunting scenes (see further below); and a shield-on-tongue buckle and possibly associated plate (Marzinzik 2003, Typegroup 1.11b–2.12, datable to c. 450–c. 530), which is ornamented with blue and red glass or garnet inlays. The latter was imported 'from anywhere in a long arc from Ibiza to the middle Rhine, reaching as far east as Hungary' (Marzinzik 2003, 39–41). Part of the foot-plate of a Kentish square-headed brooch of nielloed silver, with Style I animal ornament (PAS, D30EA3: DCMS 2001, 26–7) and a Kentish square-headed brooch of gilt copper alloy (PAS, FASW-7F2FCC) are also recorded from the site. A copper-alloy weight (PAS, FASW-7f5f27), also

unassociated, suitable for the weighing of gold coin by both the Byzantine and Merovingian weight standards, is of particular interest in the light of the arguments put forward in Paper 8 that Breamore was located at the boundary between the Jutes and the *Wilsæte*. The cemetery is also notable for the occurrence of two double burials and one triple burial. Many of the grave goods point to links with Kent and the Isle of Wight and the presence of some individuals of higher status. It is suggested that the burial ground was in use for only a short period, arguably in the second quarter of the sixth century (Hinton and Worrell 2017).

There is now considerable information about other sites of the early Anglo-Saxon period elsewhere along the southern and middle reaches of the Avon valley, to complement those discovered at Breamore. The earliest, also in origin of late fifth-century date, occur at *Charlton* and round *Old Sarum*, the predecessor of Salisbury. At *Charlton*, in Downton parish in Wiltshire and about 6 km to the north of Breamore, an inhumation cemetery was partially excavated prior to road-works. It produced only fragmentary data about the earliest graves. Near Old Sarum there are contemporary burial grounds of inhumations at *Winterbourne Gunner*, *Petersfinger* and *Harnham Hill*. There is also a casual find of a five-spiral saucer brooch from *Britford*. All the fifth-century cemeteries continued in use in the sixth century and Harnham Hill into the early seventh. New burial places too appear in the sixth century: by *Old Sarum* itself, and nearby at *St Edmunds Church*, *Kelsey Road* and *Harnham*, locations all now within the city limits of Salisbury, and at *Witherington Ring*, *Alderbury*. A site regarded as a possible settlement has been recorded at *Petersfinger*, near the cemetery, though the recovery there of a complete hand-made ‘grass-tempered’ pot, subsequently restored from the fragments, together with charcoal, may imply a cremation burial (for all of these sites, see Paper 6). The cemetery at *Bargates*, *Christchurch*, at the confluence of the Avon and the Stour, with both cremations and inhumations, belongs to the end of the sixth century (Jarvis 1983). A cremation in a hand-made, ‘grass-tempered’ plain urn was found in 1938 at *Iford Bridge*, along the Stour to the west of Christchurch (Reed 1947: 283–4; Myres 1977: I, 144, fig. 39, 3663)⁹ and another plain pot, less certainly from a cremation, ‘3–4 ft (1–1.3 m) down, in sand, resting on charcoal’, in 1930 at *Redhill*, also near the river, in Bournemouth.¹⁰ At *Boscombe Chine*, ‘near the surface of a piece of sandy barren ground, on the sea shore’, where the coast is particularly prone to erosion (Steers 1964, 290–5), the discovery in 1807 of a bronze bowl of eastern Mediterranean origin, now known only from a drawing, probably betokens another high status burial. This type of bowl (conventionally, if misleadingly, referred to as ‘Coptic’) is thought to have been in production from the end of the sixth until, perhaps, the mid-seventh century (*Archaeologia* 16 (1812), 363, pl. lii, 4; Richards 1980, 51–2, 237; Koch 2001).

Some of these graves contain artefacts which had been imported from the Continent. Fifth-century burials at *Winterbourne Gunner*, *Petersfinger* and *Harnham Hill* have produced ‘Frankish’ weapons and belt-fittings which were made in Belgium or northern France (Evison 1965, *passim*) and a grave at *Charlton* a kite-shaped belt-rivet and a shield-on-tongue buckle (Paper 6). Before the seventh century, material of specifically Mediterranean derivation is generally scarce outside of Kent. Special mention should be made of the late fifth/sixth-century buckles with coarse cloisonné glass inlays from Lyminge, Kent, Graves 17 and 36, which are of Mediterranean origin, though not specifically Vandal or Frankish (Warhurst 1955, pl. 10, 1–2); and of belt-plates of comparable date from Bifrons, Kent, Grave 15, and *Pewsey*, Wiltshire (the upper Avon valley), Grave 49 (Annable and Eagles 2010, 227, Fig. 59), similar in design to other plates from *Hippo* (Annaba/Bône), Tunisia, and Ibiza (Hawkes 2000, 14, fig. 7, 6; Kazanski 1994, fig. 8, 17–18).¹¹ Also, again notably from the Avon region, there is a buckle from *Petersfinger*, Grave 21, with a rectangular plate inlaid with glass and a bone lozenge set with a garnet, which has an East Roman Crimean parallel (Evison 1965, 38–9, fig. 18e) and Grave 33 produced a buckle with a heart-shaped plate comparable in form to the one inlaid with red and green glass on early ring-in-grid patterned foils (introduced c. 475) from Abingdon, Oxfordshire, Grave B 119 (Leeds and Shortt 1953, 26; Leeds and Harden 1936, 55, pl. 17, 119 centre, fig. 8; Evison 1965, 39; Arrhenius 1985, 120, 124–5, fig. 16g). A sixth-century bronze bucket from Breamore has already been noticed, which has a parallel from Bromeswell, Suffolk (Mango *et al.* 1989); a further two from Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight, are noted below. The later ‘trade’ in Mediterranean products including, for example, a Byzantine belt set and three buckles of sixth- to seventh-century date, said to be from Kent, in the British Museum (reg. nos MME 91,4–14,1–5), a buckle of the early sixth to mid-seventh-century Syracuse type from near Chichester, Sussex, and so-called ‘Coptic’ vessels (which may have been diplomatic gifts), amethyst beads, Byzantine coins and, probably, objects of rock-crystal (Hawkes 1982, fig. 33; Welch 1983, 102, fig. 126a; Huggett 1988; Koch 2001) should be seen against the background both of the development of Byzantine political and cultural influences on the Merovingian royal court, which reached a peak in the seventh century, and of the Roman Christian mission to the Anglo-Saxons from 597 onwards (Vierck 1978; Geake 1997, 122).

The Isle of Wight may have played a role in some of this traffic, though direct links with the Avon valley can be demonstrated only in the sixth century. Thus a gilt-bronze, semi-circular headed brooch, an Anglo-Saxon variant (western form) of a Frankish type, from *Petersfinger*, Grave 25 (Leeds and Shortt 1953, 21–2, pl. v), is closely paralleled both at *Harnham Hill* (Akerman 1853, 278, pl. xii) and

at *Chessell Down* on the Isle of Wight (Leeds and Shortt 1953, 21; Arnold 1982, 50; for the variants, see Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 39, fig. 12). Other artefacts also link the Isle of Wight and the Avon. The zoomorphic mounts, perhaps from buckets, from graves at *Charlton* and *Chessell Down* provide an example (Davies 1984, fig. 7, SF 34; Arnold 1982, fig. 4, 3viii). The same *Chessell Down* burial also contained a local copy of a 'Frankish' bird brooch of the second half of the sixth century, another example of which is from *Milston*, in the Avon valley to the north of Salisbury (Eagles 2001, 218: the brooch is in Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum). Only two other bronze buckets of the type recovered from Breamore and Bromeswell have been found in England, also at Chessell Down, one decorated with an animal frieze and the other simply with horizontal grooving, though they both lack Greek inscriptions (Arnold 1982, figs 7, 26iii; 10; pl. 4n). The geographical position of the Isle of Wight opposite Southampton Water assured its trading and strategic importance, in terms both of the south coast of England and the crossing to the kingdom of the Franks (Ulmschneider 1999, 20). Its rulers, independent before the conquest by Caedwalla in 686, may have been closely associated with the kingdom of Kent, wherefrom Frankish goods may also have reached the island (Yorke 1989, 88–9). Trade between the English kingdoms and the Continent was likely subject to a monopoly held by the kings of East Kent and, in the sixth century, the island may have been a Kentish ally or staging post, helping to maintain Kentish control of such trade (Welch 1983, 259; Hawkes 1982, 72–6, and 1984, 173). In the case of finds of such material in the Avon valley, however, it is possible that contacts could have been either via the Isle of Wight or Kent, or even perhaps directly across the western Channel to *Francia*,¹² as to Gaul in the Roman period.¹³

The absence of sites of the early Anglo-Saxon period along the southern stretches of the valley between Ibsley and Christchurch is striking, but may be more apparent than real. Disturbance this century along the east bank through gravel working at Blashford, minor industrial development, and housing around Ringwood has been considerable. In spite of all this activity, record even of finds of Roman date is limited largely to coins. However, parts of the eastern side of the valley hereabouts, such as the large area of the former open fields of Ringwood itself and southwards, are notably fertile. A new fieldwalking exercise on farmland south of the town, comparable with that undertaken around Breamore, would seem particularly worthwhile.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that the Avon afforded a significant route into Wessex in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Sandbars and the frequency of ancient fords across the river, notably at Fordingbridge, South and North Charford and Britford, may not have hindered navigation, even in summer, as log-boats capable of carrying small loads, rowing boats, and even seagoing vessels of the time,

from which loads could have been trans-shipped in the lower reaches of the river, were of only shallow draught.¹⁴

The crossings at Charford were certainly important (Crawford 1931, fig. 5). The place appears twice in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in entries for the years 508 and 519. The later entry refers to the succession of Cerdic and Cynric and a battle with the Britons at Charford. Both texts could imply a boundary location, arguably between the Jutes and the *Wilsaete* (Yorke 1989, 85–6, fig. 6.1; Paper 8). North and South Charford were Domesday manors and ancient parishes, which exceptionally extended in contiguous, narrow, west to east strips across the Avon (*Ordnance Survey*, First Edition 6 inch to the mile scale map of 1871). Only since 1932 have North and South Charford been divided, respectively, between Breamore, west of the Avon, and Hale, which lies on the edge of the New Forest, to the east of the river (Youngs 1979, 202). Both were in Fordingbridge Hundred as, prior to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, was Breamore (*VCH, Hampshire*, IV (1911), 559). The Charfords, therefore, have long retained close links with Breamore. They have never been a part of Wiltshire. The remarkable series of finds and burials of the early Anglo-Saxon period in Breamore thus appear to have been located at the northern edge of the Jutish kingdom, near a major crossing of the River Avon.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to express their grateful thanks for assistance to Kay Ainsworth (Hampshire County Museum Service), D. Algar, S. Bridges (Hampshire Record Office), R. Entwistle, C. Gifford, N. Griffiths, A. Light, Dr Sonja Marzinik, J. Peters, Dr D. Quast, Carolyn Wingfield and Sally Worrell.

Notes

- 1 This paper is updated from Eagles and Ager (2004) and may be read in conjunction with Paper 8.
- 2 It has no known connection with the much later symbol of the sacred heart in Christian iconography (Cabrol and Leclercq 1950, cols 343–5, *sub* 'Sacré-cœur'; Kirschbaum 1970, *sub* 'Herz' and 'Herz Jesu'), but probably represents the evergreen ivy, an early Christian symbol of immortality and fidelity (Ferguson 1955, 40), and so may have been thought to protect the wearer from harm.
- 3 Research has so far failed to locate a more precise findspot or establish any connection with the cave excavations on Mount Carmel between 1927–1932 by Prof. Dorothy Garrod and others. The authors would like to thank here Dr M. Evron and Dr B. Zaas of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Haifa, and staff of the Israeli Antiquities Authority for their invaluable assistance in trying to locate the findspot of the garnets, which are not, however, mentioned in the Authority's archives (Evron *in lit.*, 20.3.1994). Thanks are also due to Mrs Jill Cook, Deputy Keeper of the Department of Prehistory

- and Early Europe, British Museum, and Mr C. Chippindale, Assistant Curator of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, for confirming that there is neither historic material, nor any record of it, among the archives of the Mugharet el-Wad (Mt. Carmel) excavations in their care.
- 4 The garnet hearts set at intervals round the inner edge of the decorative rim of the late ninth-century paten of Charles the Bald (Lasko 1972, pl. 60) are reused from older jewellery (N. Adams, *Desire and Necessity: the Recycling of Garnet Cloisonné in Church Treasures*, Early Medieval seminar at the British Museum, 24.10.2000).
 - 5 Grateful thanks are due to Dr D. Quast for the reference and kind supply of a copy of the article.
 - 6 Such settings may have inspired the series of small, Frankish, garnet-inlaid disc brooches and larger, cast, copper-alloy examples with incised lines radiating from a central boss (Werner 1961, Taf. 36, 141–4, and 38, 186).
 - 7 The stud is inlaid with six cloisonné garnets on chequered foils in an irregular ?silver framework, which consists of two trapezoidal cells on either side of the diameter, flanked by a lateral triangle and opposing segment (diameter: 15 mm). It has an iron backing with corrugated sides (5 mm thick), which have traces of ?silver inlay, and in the centre of the back is the slight stub of a single attachment shank. The style and construction of the stud can be closely compared with slightly larger, garnet-inlaid, northern Frankish disc brooches of around the early to second third of the sixth century (eg. Werner 1961, Taf. 36, 150–1, 155), and the arrangement of its garnets is clearly a cruder form of that seen on an example from Schretzheim, Germany, Grave 247 (Koch 1977, Taf. 63, 4). Brooches of the same type, presumably Frankish ‘imports’ (whether through marriage, gift exchange, or trade), are found in the cemeteries of Dover and Mill Hill (Deal), Kent (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 44, fig. 15e). The stud may be an ornament from a belt or purse-mount, like one more simply decorated with concentric lines from Nouvion-en-Ponthieu, France, or radially incised Frankish-style belt-studs from Bifrons, Kent (Piton 1985, 275, pl. 141, bottom left; Hawkes 2000, fig. 49, 184–5), which occur in a variety of sizes and styles throughout the Merovingian period. A further possibility is that it may be from a sword-bead, and a later version of the example of the second half of the fifth century from the grave of Childeric, which has radiating garnet inlays and corrugated sides (Kazanski and Périn 1996, fig. 4, top right).
 - 8 Both the undated letter, from which the quotation is taken, subsequent to another of 7 January 1926 on the same subject, from Heywood Sumner to Robert Newall, and the pot itself, unaccessioned, are in Salisbury Museum.
 - 9 J. B. Calkin, ms. *Catalogue of Antiquities, Volume I, from the Bournemouth District* (1929–[sic]; held by Hampshire Council Museums Service, Winchester), 226, ‘Summer 1938. Iford, less than 1ft. [0.3 m] below surface an upright urn covered by small sarsen and containing bones and charcoal. Presented to B(ritish). M(useum). by T. Dayrell Reed’; pencilled ms. note by TDR in Dept. of Medieval and Modern Europe archives in the British Museum; BM reg. no.1939,5–7,1.
 - 10 Calkin, *Catalogue I*: 100, 105, 125; BM reg.no. 1940,7–1,1025.
 - 11 The authors are most grateful to Dr Sonja Marzinzik for drawing their attention to the connection between the Bifrons, Pewsey and *Hippo* belt-plates.
 - 12 Cf. the suggestion that the Byzantine bucket from Chessell Down came via the Rhône-Saône route (Richards 1980, 60). On the nature of fifth- to sixth-century cross-Channel maritime traffic, Lebecq 1999, 50–4.
 - 13 In the Roman period sea routes connected ports along the south coast with the mouths of the main rivers of Gaul opposite: the Rhine, Seine, Loire and Garonne (Strabo, *Geography*, Book IV.5.2). There had been significant trading through Hengistbury Head in earlier times (see above), but the port there became silted in the late or post-Roman period and late Roman use of the Avon is unclear (Cunliffe 1987, 346). The river again assumes importance from the late fifth century.
 - 14 The former may have had a draught of only 0.15 m to 0.3 m (McGrail 1977, 124), while a reconstruction drawing of the Sutton Hoo ship, perhaps ‘more of a royal barge than a practical working ship’, shows a draught of about 0.7 m when light (Evans 1994, 26–7, fig. 14). The largest of the Viking-period *færings* from Gokstad has a draught of 0.33 m (Johannessen 1940, folding plan opposite p. 128).

A reconsideration of East Wansdyke; its construction and date – a preliminary note

Bruce Eagles and Michael J. Allen¹

East Wansdyke

Extending from near Bristol to beyond Marlborough, though it disappears for long stretches in between, Wansdyke comprises, for the most part, a double bank and ditched earthwork with the smaller counter-scarp bank and ditch on the north and main bank on the south. The north-facing East Wansdyke extends across central Wiltshire for about 20 km from Morgan's Hill, and Bishop's Cannings Down, in the west to the edge of Savernake Forest in the east (Fig. 14). In its western part it traverses the high Chalk. There the Dyke generally follows the top of the escarpment, its bank up to 3 m (10 ft) high, and together with its Roman type V-shaped ditch (Pitt Rivers 1892; Green 1971), up to 28 m (92 ft) across, with a further, counter-scarp bank, itself in places more than 9 m (30 ft) across and 1.2 m (4 ft) high, on its north side (Fig. 15), it is here clearly a military work. East of Shaw House (SU 135653), however, the Dyke changes abruptly, at the point where the Upper Chalk gives way to Clay-with-Flints – which takes a natural cover of woodland – to a territorial boundary no more than 1.4 m (4½ ft) high and 15.3 m (50 ft) across and which lacks the counter-scarp bank. The precise point of change is lost under farm buildings (Fox and Fox 1958; Fowler 2001a; 2001b).

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to re-examine elements of the structure and stratification of East Wansdyke as they were revealed by, in particular, Lieutenant General Pitt Rivers in his sections through the Dyke at Brown's Barn (Section II, SU 064657) and Shepherd's Shore (Section I, SU 049661: Pitt Rivers 1892, 252–76); and second, to review Tony Clark's carefully considered opinion – based upon his interpretation of, principally, the Brown's Barn section – on the important but difficult issue of the dating of the Dyke; an opinion which he expressed in a letter, published later the same year, to Bruce Eagles (Eagles 1994, 23: the letter is quoted in full below).

Following these observations by Tony Clark about the age and nature of construction of the Wansdyke and wider research by one of us (BNE), the published excavation sections and reports by Pitt Rivers (1892) were re-examined and several points about the construction, age, nature and significance of the Wansdyke are here re-considered. Pitt Rivers' excavations and the recorded and mapped earthworks in this locality i.e. Morgan's Hill and Shepherd's Shore (south of Bishop's Cannings Down) to Tan Hill and Milk Hill (north-west of Adam's Grave) form the basis of part of the preliminary re-investigation (Fig. 14).

There has been a long interest in the date and significance of the 77 km (48 miles) long Wansdyke (e.g. Pitt Rivers 1892; Major and Burrow 1926; Crawford 1932; 1953; 1954; Clark 1958; Fox and Fox 1958; Bonney 1966: 1972, 174–6, fig. 19; Eagles 1994; Fowler 2001a; Erskine 2007), and this contribution aims to provide some further and additional considerations. The length of East Wansdyke considered here has had several small archaeological interventions; those by Pitt Rivers (1892) at Shepherd's Shore (Section I) and at Brown's Barn (Section II), and those at Red Shore and New Buildings (Fowler 1968; Green 1971). Tony Clark's observations included consideration of the nature of a 'dark brown mould' over the primary bank, the distribution of pottery within this and the buried soil beneath the bank, and the effect of soil formation processes (worm-working) within these soils and deposits.

Pitt Rivers' sections at Brown's Barn (II) and Shepherd's Shore (I)

The elegant and detailed sections across Wansdyke at Brown's Barn by Pitt Rivers (1892; pl. ccxxix), provide the basis for both Tony Clark's and this re-examination.

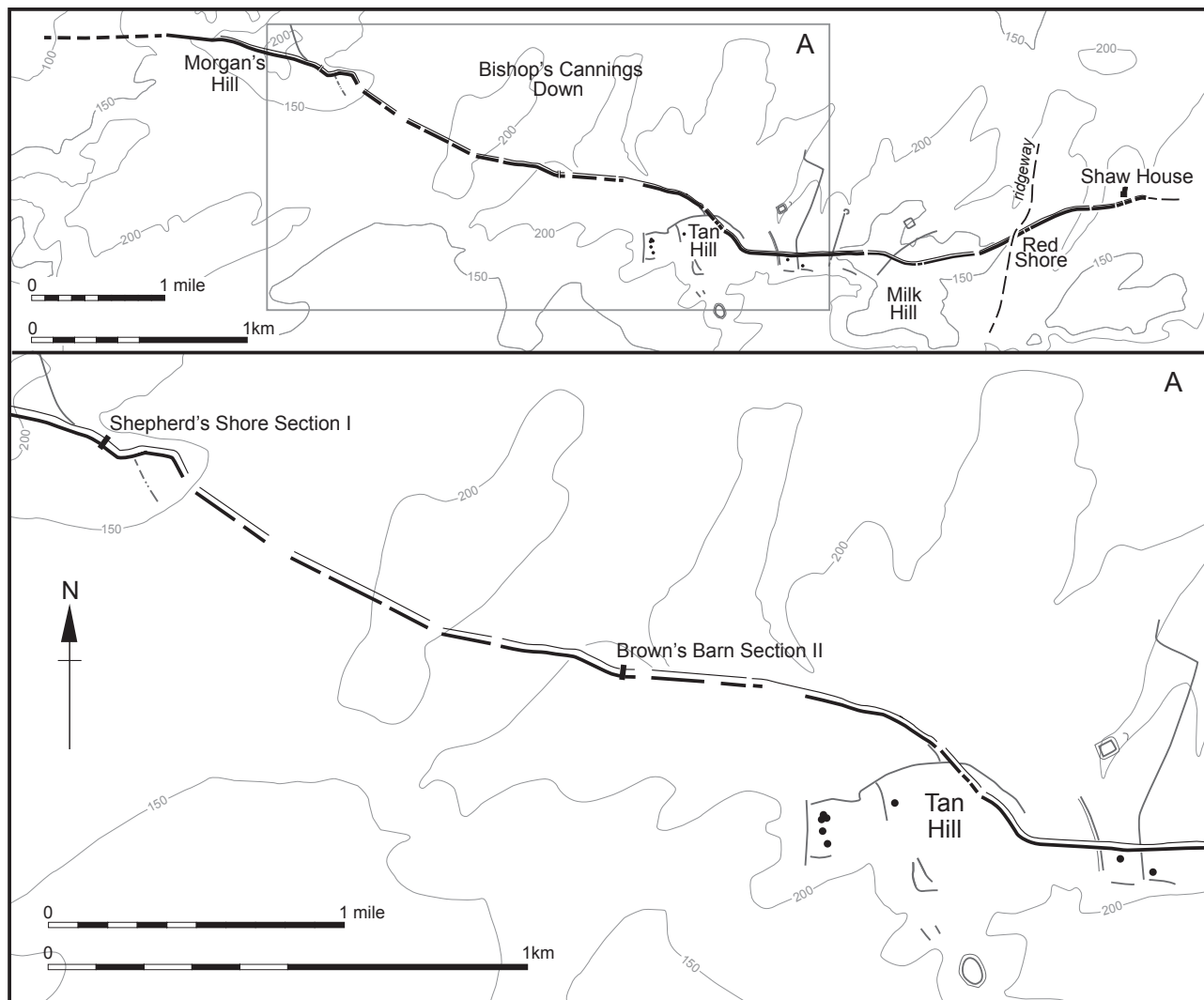


Figure 14 Plan of a) The course of Mid- to East Wansdyke and b) the area of Shepherd's Shore to Milk Hill (R. Read)

Construction

From the sections cut by Pitt Rivers at Shepherd's Shore (Pitt Rivers 1892, pl. ccxvi) and Brown's Barn (*ibid.*, pl. ccxix), but not at those cut by Stephen Green at Red Shore (Green 1971, figs 2, 4 and 6), it seems clear that the bank (and presumably the ditch and thus Wansdyke itself) is a two phase construction. Asymmetrical to the main (secondary) bank, is a former initial (primary) bank comprised of chalk rubble and chalk mould, and capped by a deposit of 'dark brown mould' (Fig. 15). A clear former old land surface lies beneath both the primary bank and the subsequent secondary enlargement of it. Significantly, however, the thick deposit of 'dark brown mould' was laid against the southern side of the primary bank, and subsequently chalk rubble and 'chalk mould' have been added to the southern side of the initial bank, doubling or trebling its size both in height and width. Romano-British pottery occurs on and in the buried soil that underlies the banks and in the

dark brown mould, but is essentially absent from the chalk rubble of both the initial and later enlarged bank. The lack of any clear soil material or turves beneath the primary bank suggests either that they have been incorporated within the deposits described by Pitt Rivers as 'chalk mound' or, as Clark suggests, were put aside and emplaced over the primary bank. Whether the chalk mould can be considered to be the capping of the primary chalk bank, or the initial construction of the secondary bank is, therefore, critical to both our interpretation of the construction and of the date of the monument(s).

The 'dark brown mould' is about 45 cm (Section I, Shepherd's Shore) and 53 cm thick (Section II, Brown's Barn) which Tony Clark calculates to represent a 'soil' layer c. 10 cm and 20 cm thick across the area cut away by the ditch in the respective sections. Despite the possibility of compaction and loss by erosion, these figures are low for typical rendzina profiles on the chalk which are normally 0.3–0.4 m thick. It



Figure 15 Wansdyke near Shepherd's Shore looking west, showing the bank, ditch and counter-scarp bank to the north; the counterscarp bank is visible as a shallow rise in foreground, and is masked by snow in the distance (M. Allen, December 2010)

seems unlikely that turf and topsoil material was put aside and reserved to stabilise the chalk rubble of the primary bank unless this formed a single construction phase. More significant, however, is that the area requiring greatest stabilisation is not the back of the bank, but that in front of the ditch, precisely the area in which there is no dark brown mould (Fig. 15). On this basis we assume that this material represents the earliest phase in the enlargement of Wansdyke, this turf and topsoil being stripped from the recutting and enlargement of the ditch. Such re-cutting is clearly seen at Shepherd's Shore (Pitt Rivers 1892, pls ccxvi and ccxvii), but this cannot be determined at Brown's Barn as Pitt Rivers did not section the ditch there (*ibid.*, pl. ccxix). Here, therefore, it seems likely that Pitt Rivers eloquently records the presence of an earlier ditch which at this point on the Marlborough Downs was subsequently subsumed, along a part of its length at least, by the construction of the Wansdyke itself, in or after the Roman period.

At Shepherd's Shore where not only does another primary bank exist, here under the outer, or counter-scarp, bank (*ibid.*, pl. ccxvi), there is also a clear 'old surface line' over the outer bank and infilling a hollow at its outer basal edge (Fig. 15). If Pitt Rivers is correct in this interpretation, and he clearly can recognise buried soils here and at Wor Barrow under chalk mounds (Pitt Rivers 1898), then this provides evidence for a relatively long duration between the two phases of construction of the outer/counter-scarp bank at least. The counter-scarp bank (or outer bank *sensu* Pitt Rivers) also clearly overlies and seals the Romano-British enclosure ditch at Brown's Barn (Pitt Rivers 1892, section III, pl. ccxvii).

Age of East Wansdyke

The Wansdyke is generally considered to be post-Roman/Saxon in origin; its existence in the later Saxon period is

well documented (see further below). This discussion brings us neatly back to the observations made by Tony Clark in his letter referred to above:

A date for East Wansdyke at the end of the Roman period is especially suggested by evidence from the 'Brown's Barn' section II, which was located close to a Romano-British ditched enclosure partly buried by the dyke. The distribution of pottery within and beneath the bank showed that there was little time for worm action to take place between the cessation of deposition and the building of the dyke. Charles Darwin (1883) [*sic*] demonstrated that burial by worms takes place at an average rate of 4 cm in ten years, so that pottery dropped on the surface would reach a depth of 20 cm in fifty years. This process would be upset by ploughing, but the darkness of the old soil underlying the bank at Brown's Barn is in keeping with an undisturbed turf. Pottery sherds are scattered at all depths throughout this layer; otherwise they are almost completely confined to a mould deposit higher in the bank, probably consisting mainly of turf derived from the excavation of the ditch. In particular, an iron sandal cleat, of a type found by Pitt Rivers in Romano-British contexts, was discovered lying on the old ground surface, and a fourth-century mortarium type was present.

This evidence indicates that Wansdyke was built not earlier than the fourth century and soon after the dropping of Romano-British pottery on the surface of the site, with an upper limit of about forty years. If the cleat was associated with the site, its position suggests a much shorter interval; if it was lost by one of the builders of the dyke, it supports the likelihood that they were Roman or sub-Roman.

Pitt-Rivers' section shows Romano-British pottery scattered throughout the buried soil beneath the bank, but it is clear that this is a multiperiod horizon and that the soil beneath the initial bank, and that beneath the later bank, should be considered as two chronologically separate contexts. Archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the main construction of Wansdyke is Roman or later, and most writers (e.g. Fox and Fox 1958; Green 1971; Fowler 2001a) have taken the view that it dates to no later than the early Anglo-Saxon period. The section at Brown's Barn is next to a Romano-British settlement and the dark brown mould of the base of the second phase bank contains a greater density of Romano-British pottery and artefacts than other layers in the bank, and comparable with that in, and on, the buried soil.

Tony Clark argued that Romano-British pottery on (as well as within) the buried soil indicated that 'there was little time for worm action to take place between the deposition of the pottery and building of the dyke' (cf. Darwin 1881), but we cannot adhere to the specificity of depth vs age calculations that Tony made. Furthermore Pitt Rivers seems to record artefacts on, and in, the buried soil indicating that some sherds, at least, had been worm-worked into the A

horizon ('topsoil') of the buried soil, assuming that the soil had not been mixed by cultivation.

We could postulate that the primary bank and ditch were prehistoric, and possibly related to the complex of Bronze Age linear ditches and land divisions on the Marlborough Downs (Kirkham 2005), and indeed one of the linear ditches in particular seems to run up to and potentially under Wansdyke north of Tan Hill in the area of Brown's Barn (see Fig. 17; Kirkham 2005, fig. 14.2). It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that post-Roman or Saxon East Wansdyke was in part aligned along a Bronze Age land boundary system (cf. McOmish *et al.* 2002). General Pitt Rivers' archaeological recording, however, is so good that we can be confident that Romano-British pottery and post-prehistoric iron artefacts occur in the buried soil beneath the primary bank. Although the buried soil is recorded as a continuous and undifferentiated single context beneath the primary mound, the dark brown mould and the secondary bank, Pitt Rivers' recording was so meticulous that we can differentiate between artefacts recovered beneath each. The excavation was divided by a series of 'pickets' (numbered 1 to 8) and all finds were recorded in relation to these pickets. Furthermore the General explicitly observed the recovery of each find and marked it onto a section during the excavation (Pitt Rivers 1892, 263); *viz*:

I was watching the digging at the time and saw the cleat and two fragments of Samian picked up by the workmen. They were immediately handed to me, and I took their position with a spirit level, and had them marked at once in the diagram of the section. Mr. James and the other assistants were also present at the time of the discovery. The Rev. J. Penrose and Dr. F.G. Penrose were also present at the discovery of one piece of Samian on the old surface line. I was myself present when every piece of Samian was found, and verified the discovery by examining the spot immediately. The excavations were so carefully watched, that one or other of the assistants saw every piece of pottery picked out of the section. Each piece was at once washed quite clean with a scrubbing brush, to enable its quality to be identified.

The General goes on ...

One piece of Samian was picked out of the old surface line in my presence by a workman, who had come to the diggings on that day for the first time, and who was ignorant of the

different kinds of pottery found in the section. He would therefore have been unable, even if he had desired it, by any species of legerdemain [sleight of hand], to have introduced a piece of Samian into the rampart.

He concludes:

No grounds for the slightest suspicion exists in regard to the genuineness of every discovery. The very greatest vigilance and accuracy is necessary in recording the finds in the Sections. An experienced excavator must also be prepared to meet hypercriticism ...

As such we can be assured of the location of the finds, and moreover, that his representation of the distribution of Roman finds beneath both primary and secondary bank (Fig. 16; Pitt Rivers 1892, Brown's Barn Section II, pl. ccxix) is correct (Table 2).

The presence of the Romano-British settlement adjacent to and under the Wansdyke counter-scarp bank at Brown's Barn is significant, as this provides a direct and local source for the sherds. The calcareous base-rich buried soil is likely to have been subject to considerable worm-working and thus pottery on and in the soil would be incorporated relatively rapidly and thus the duration between Roman activity and construction of the dyke could be relatively short; in the order of a century or so. Most of the illustrated sherds (*ibid.*, pls ccxxi–ccxxiii) seem to have relatively fresh edges and be largely unworn. Examination of the published drawings shows that the Roman pottery ranges from the first–late second century to the third–fourth century AD (Seager Smith *pers. comm.*), and seems, on preliminary examination, to fall into these two distinct groups. Too few of the illustrated chronologically diagnostic sherds, however, come from key stratigraphic locations to enable us to determine if they all derived from a single mixed deposit associated with the Romano-British settlement, or help provide some dating for the two phase construction.

Although the excavated sections of East Wansdyke do not, as we have seen, afford any evidence of its prehistoric origin, we cannot discount the possibility that the earlier bank is Roman, as Fowler postulates for East Wansdyke on Overton and Fyfield Downs (2001b). The probability still stands that the second, and possibly the first, phase belong to the Saxon period.

Table 2 Key Romano-British items recorded from Brown's Barn (Section II, Pitt Rivers 1892, pl. ccxxii)

Buried soil under primary bank (between pkt 7–4)	Buried soil under primary or secondary bank (between pkt 4–3)	Buried soil under secondary bank (between pkt 3–2/1)
Iron cleat, no. 1	–	Rim globular vessel, no. 13 (1st–early 2nd century AD)
Rim globular vessel, no. 16 (1st–early 2nd century AD)	–	–

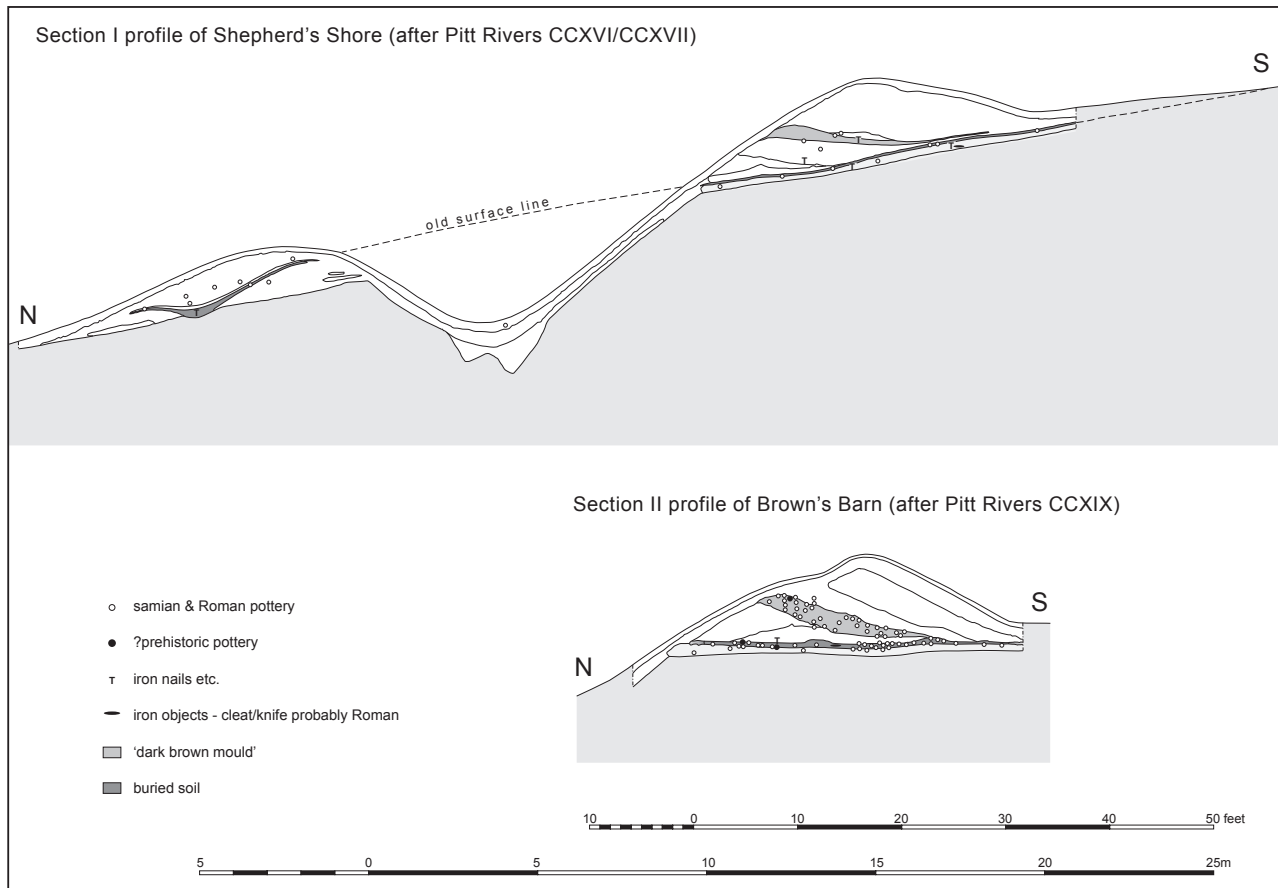


Figure 16 Pitt Rivers' sections of Wansdyke: Section I at Shepherd's Shore (redrawn from Pitt Rivers 1892, pls ccxvi and ccxvii), and Section II at Brown's Barn (redrawn from Pitt Rivers 1892, pl. ccxix) (R. Read)

Bronze Age origins for parts of East Wansdyke

As already noticed, some prehistoric linear ditches can be shown to have a relationship with East Wansdyke (Fig. 17; Kirkham 2005, fig. 14.2). Particularly notable is one that branches from a T-junction at the complex of ditches at Tan Hill (SU 090647) to elide, less than 150 m to the north, with the Dyke. The date of the complex on the top of Tan Hill (275 m OD, a location from which it is possible to view the whole length of East Wansdyke) is unknown, but by analogy it is likely to be of either the Late Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age (linear ditches focus upon hill-top enclosures and other major sites elsewhere: McOmish *et al.* (2002, 57–8); their dating, beginning *c.* 1200 BC, has been established only in the Eastern Range of Salisbury Plain Training Area: Bradley *et al.* 1994, 126; for further discussion see Field 2008, 216–17). Also relevant is the apparent southern termination of three linear ditches to the east of Tan Hill at T-junctions with a fragmentary linear ditch whose course follows the contour and lies parallel to, but *c.* 225 m to the south of, East Wansdyke itself. Another linear, at Morgan's Hill 'appears to have been partly subsumed in the line of the Wansdyke' (Fig. 16; Kirkham 2005, 150, 154, fig. 14.2). Such T-junctions are characteristic of the 'Wessex Linear

Ditch System' (Bowen 1978), where spinal linear ditches are met by secondary ones which demarcate territorial blocks of land (McOmish *et al.* 2002, fig. 3.1; Bradley *et al.* 1994).

Dating Wansdyke

As seen above, Pitt Rivers demonstrated that East Wansdyke dated to the Roman period or later. Subsequently it has also been shown that at Morgan's Hill the Dyke overlies the Roman road from Bath to Silchester (Fox and Fox 1958, 4). East Wansdyke was compared by Pitt Rivers to Bokerley Dyke, which demarcates part of the county boundary between Dorset and Hampshire. In excavations at Bokerley Junction, where the Dyke meets Ackling Dyke, the Roman road from Dorchester and Badbury Rings to Old Sarum, he discovered that Bokerley Dyke too lay over a Romano-British settlement. The Roman road there had initially been cut by the Rear Dyke, but was then reinstated, the refilling of the Dyke's V-shaped ditch consisting entirely of clean chalk. The Roman road was then permanently blocked. The argument for a Roman date (Hawkes 1947) for the severing of the road may be strengthened by the identification of a late fourth-century *burgus*-type enclosure set askew the

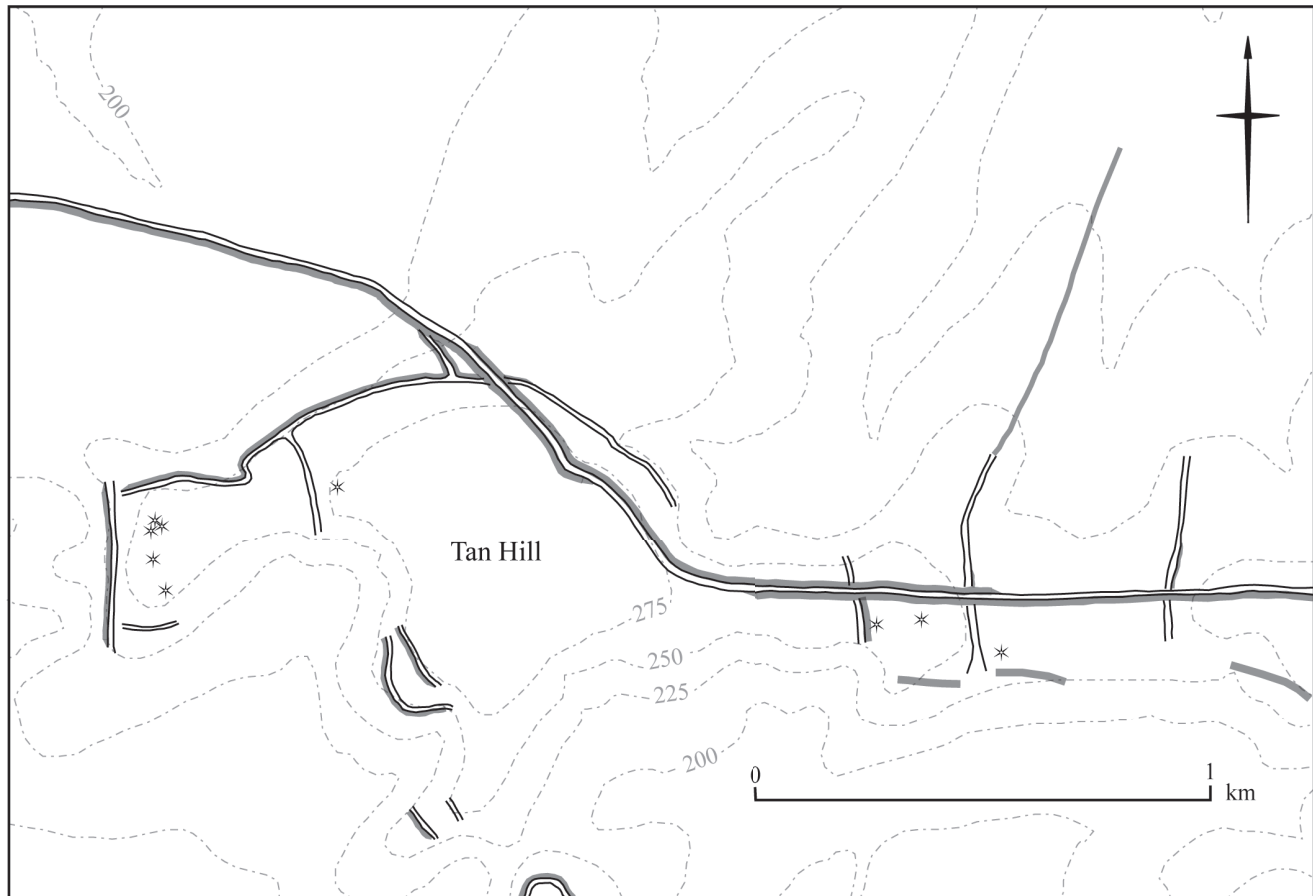


Figure 17 Plan of Wansdyke on Tan Hill showing a number of Bronze Age linear ditches (redrawn, with modifications, by Deborah Cunliffe from Kirkham 2005, fig. 14.2)

same road at Shapwick, 1.6 km beyond Badbury, whose entrances were clearly designed to control traffic along its route. The road was subsequently restored (Papworth 2004). It has also now been demonstrated, that from the early sixth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement extended across the east-facing Bokerley Dyke, from Wiltshire and Hampshire as far into Dorset as Combs Ditch, 22 km to the west, clearly making Bokerley Dyke henceforth irrelevant as a frontier (Eagles 2004; Paper 9). It is therefore now apparent that none of the phases of Bokerley Dyke dates later than c. 500. Analytical field survey by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments showed that a multi-stranded linear earthwork had existed in some form on its line since the Middle Bronze Age, the date of ditched land divisions excavated by Pitt Rivers to the east but not apparent on its west side (Bowen 1990). The identification of prehistoric linears associated with East Wansdyke near Tan Hill now hints at a sequence that may in some ways be comparable to that at Bokerley Dyke. The lack of such a prehistoric predecessor at Red Shore, Shepherd's Shore and Brown's Barn, however, indicates that any prehistoric demarcation of the course of East Wansdyke was of an intermittent, rather than a continuous, nature. Fowler's assertion (Fowler 2001a,

196) that East Wansdyke, in its less pronounced form in West Woods, Overton and Fyfield, was 'unfinished' may also be relevant in this context.

Saxon Wansdyke and its cultural implications

East Wansdyke has traditionally been assigned to the Anglo-Saxons, not least because of its name, *Wodenedic*, and a cluster of associated 'Woden' names in its immediate vicinity where the Dyke has clearly been designed to control movement from the north along the Ridgeway. This is the only point, at Red Shore, Alton Priors, along the Dyke where an original gap has been identified. A date of construction in the late sixth century AD has often been proposed and a context related to the battle of *Wodnesbeorg*, Adam's Grave long barrow 1.5 km to the south by Red Shore, in 592 according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* – there was another battle there in 715 (Fox and Fox 1958, 40–3; Green 1971; *VCH, Wiltshire*, I, ii (1973), 478; Paper 6). It has also been considered that it may have already demarcated the boundary between the self-governing *civitates* of the Belgae, centred upon Winchester, and the Dobunni, centred upon Cirencester (Paper 1). Gildas (Winterbottom 1978, chap.

21, cf. chap. 19) refers to civil war amongst the Britons after the Romans left and this may provide a context for the strengthening of some of the *civitas* frontiers at this time (Eagles 2001, 215). It has, however, been thought by some that Britons in the fifth century would not have had the capacity to have made such a concerted effort. As we have seen, however, it is now clear that Bokerley Dyke was built by them at this date. A further context for East Wansdyke has been argued to lie in the fifth century, as a bulwark against expansionist Saxons in the upper Thames valley (Myres 1964). Finally, a yet further possible context for East Wansdyke is the middle Saxon period and the wars between Wessex and Mercia. The Dyke shares its name with that of the similarly constructed West Wansdyke, which runs above the River Avon in north Somerset from the hill-fort at Maes Knoll to just east of the Fosse Way, though its relationship with that Roman road is unknown (Erskine 2007 provides a recent and major reassessment of West Wansdyke, building on that of Fox and Fox 1958). It has been argued that West Wansdyke is then linked to East Wansdyke by a stretch of the Roman road between *Aquae Sulis* (Bath) and *Cunetio* (Mildenhall). This view, which was not that of the Foxes, who, following their meticulous field survey, concluded that West and East Wansdyke were separate constructions, has recently been strongly advanced by Reynolds. He points out that the ‘dedication’ of the Dyke to Woden does not necessarily imply its date within the early Anglo-Saxon period, as the god’s continuing relevance, as the founder of the royal house of Wessex, into the late Anglo-Saxon period is well evidenced by his incorporation into their genealogies in the late ninth-century *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Reynolds 2006, which includes discussion of earlier views of Wansdyke, beginning with those of Leland in the sixteenth century). If the *ealdan dic* in a charter for Alton Priors refers to East Wansdyke, as is likely, it can, at least, be said that it dates to before 825 (*VCH, Wiltshire*, Vol. I, Pt ii (1973), 478). A possible context for such a Middle Saxon frontier might be the 730s, when Æthelbald of Mercia had been pressing hard against Wessex, even to the point in 733 when he took the West Saxons’ royal centre at Somerton in Somerset. There appears to have been a prehistoric predecessor to West Wansdyke, just as to East Wansdyke (Erskine 2007, *passim*).

Conclusions and suggestions for future work

What is clear from this preliminary study is that the East Wansdyke is a complex multiperiod boundary, and that the construct as seen today appears to have incorporated a number of existing boundary earthworks. First among these are the possible later Bronze Age linear boundaries at Tan Hill. Elsewhere an initial bank and ditch may be Romano-British in date. Consequently the post-Roman East Wansdyke should be seen as linking, and the refurbishment of, older features. The social organisation required for its construct, would therefore, have been considerably less than a completely new planned, managed and built boundary.

Following this preliminary note we clearly recognise that further work is needed to explore the suggestions made in this paper. Prime amongst these must be an analytical field survey to define the character and precise relationships between East Wansdyke and other archaeological sites, in particular the prehistoric linear ditches in its vicinity, and fuller recording of the finds, especially the pottery. This is important not only to advance our knowledge of the date and nature of Wansdyke but also to help define its significance as a field monument for management, conservation and preservation plans. The possibility of targeted field investigation and excavation could then be considered.

Acknowledgements

Tony Clark’s thought-provoking ideas on Wansdyke, particularly its dating, inspired us to write this paper. We are pleased to thank David Field and David McOmish for their very helpful and supportive comments and Katy Whittaker who made available material in the Historic England Archive at Swindon. Rachael Seager Smith kindly provided detailed comments on the Roman pottery illustrated by Pitt Rivers. We thank Graeme Kirkham for permission to reproduce his figure (Fig. 17), and Deborah Cunliffe for supplying it and making modifications. Rob Read produced Figures 14 and 16.

Note

- 1 Eagles and Allen 2011.

Anglo-Saxon presence and culture in Wiltshire c. AD 410–c. AD 700¹

Literary traditions and charters

The Avon near Salisbury

Annals in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Whitelock *et al.* 1961) claim to recount the conquest by Cerdic and his son Cynric of the Salisbury area, which was said to have been ultimately achieved following a victory at Charford in 519. The *Chronicle* records that Cerdic died in 534 and that Cynric defeated the Britons at Old Sarum in 552. The sixth-century dates given in the *Chronicle* are, however, unreliable. Cerdic's reign has been recalculated as between 538 and 554 (see also Yorke 1989, 86 and the Introduction).

Central and northern Wiltshire

Under the annal for 556, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* introduces Ceawlin² and states that in that year he and Cynric fought alongside each other against the British at *Beranbyrg*, identified as Barbury, a hill-fort on the Ridgeway 11 km to the north of the Wansdyke. Ceawlin's fighting alongside Cynric has been taken to indicate joint action for the first time by Anglo-Saxon kingdoms based on the Thames and in southern Wessex (Hawkes 1986, 86–7). Ceawlin's kingdom may initially have been restricted to the old territory of the Atrebates (for the suggested bounds of the *civitas* see Paper 1; cf. Kirby 1991, 55). If *Cerdicesbeorg* (Sawyer 1968 (henceforth S), 359; Yorke 1989, 91) at Hurstbourne Tarrant in Hampshire was Cerdic's burial place, Cerdic had earlier been active well inside that area, but this is the only hint that this might have been the case.³ Ceawlin's title of *Brytenwalda* – he is the only king of the Gewisse to appear in Bede's list of great overlords (*HE* ii. 5) – appears to have been earned through his aggressive and expansionist wars against his neighbours on all sides.⁴ The Ridgeway would have provided him with a direct route westwards to Barbury, which, as argued in Paper 1, lay in the lands of the Dobunni. The events reported for 556 may, however, also define an important stage towards the ultimate achievement of a single Wessex kingdom. There is no further mention

of Cynric, who may have continued to rule the south (Dumville (1985, 51) dates his rule to 554–581), but if so perhaps now in a subsidiary role, for in 560 the *Chronicle* states that Ceawlin succeeded to the 'kingdom in Wessex'. In 568 Ceawlin was forced to confront Æthelberht of Kent, whose kingdom, as argued in Paper 1, shared a boundary with the Atrebates at the *Fullingadic*. In 571 Ceawlin's brother, Cuthwulf, and in 584 Ceawlin himself was north of the Thames, fighting in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, areas which had formerly belonged to the Dobunni and the Catuvellauni. In 577 Ceawlin defeated three British kings and captured three towns, Bath and Gloucester and Cirencester (see also the Introduction). This British defeat, following their earlier one at Eynsham in 571, may have been the occasion of the redrawing of the Dobunnic boundary along the present county line between Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, a boundary which is up to 30 km west of the River Cherwell (though it rejoins the river in the Banbury area), which has been considered to have marked the eastern limit of the Dobunni (eg. Blair 1994, xviii Leins 2012, 79–108 and 153–69, shows that the pre-Roman Western style coinages, some of which have been regarded as 'Dobunnic', extend east of the river, but that their Eastern counterparts seem to be defined by it).⁵

In 592, the *Chronicle* tells us, enigmatically, that Ceawlin 'was driven out' after a great battle at *Wodnesbeorg* (the long barrow called 'Adam's Grave', which lies only 1.5 km south of the point, at Red Shore, Alton Priors, where the Ridgeway passes through the only original gap as yet identified in the East Wansdyke: Green 1971). The *Chronicle* records another battle there in 715, during the wars between Wessex and Mercia, which emphasises the strategic significance of the location.⁶ East Wansdyke has been argued to have marked, militarily, the boundary between the Saxons of southern Wessex and the Dobunni (Paper 1). Ceawlin's fighting on Wansdyke would imply his control of the Marlborough Downs and his earlier seizure of that area from the Dobunni, with its concomitant loss to

the British rulers of Cirencester. This entry for 592, which does not specify the combatants, has always been difficult to understand, but the battle may have been fought between Ceawlin and reassertive ‘Saxons’ south of Wansdyke, who now regained their independence (Eagles 1994, 27) or who, indeed, reunited their realm with that of the Gewisse, but now under their own leadership. Ceawlin died in 593 according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but Dumville (1985, 46, 50–6) has re-dated his reign from either 571 to 588 or 581 to 588 (see also Yorke 1989, 86 and n. 26).

Ceawlin’s gains began to unravel in 628 when the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Cynegils and Cwichelm of the Gewisse fought against Penda at Cirencester and ‘came to terms’ (imposed by Penda; by now British rule here must have come to an end).⁷ In 635 Cynegils was baptised at Dorchester-on-Thames (Bede, *HE* iii. 7). Cenwealh (642–672), the son of Cynegils, had earlier married, arguably as part of the terms of 628, and after his accession rejected Penda’s daughter and had then been forced into exile in East Anglia. Mercia was now the dominant power.

By 648 Cenwealh had returned and now entrusted to his relation Cuthred ‘three thousands’ [hides], an ancient unit, here denoting a province (Stenton 1971, 66) on Ashdown (the Berkshire Downs). The enormous size of this territory suggests that it may have encompassed the Marlborough Downs (Paper 12). This was a strategically vital area, traversed by the Ridgeway, and now exposed to the ever increasing power of Penda. It is here, the *Chronicle* relates, that in 661 – it is surely no coincidence that Cuthred died the same year (Kelly 2000, with reference to Abingdon charter, Kelly no. 4/S 241) – Wulfhere, Penda’s son, began his campaigns which led to Mercian domination of a part of Hampshire, Wight and Sussex. This is almost certainly the context for the removal of the Gewissan see from Dorchester to Winchester (Bede, *HE* iii. 7; Yorke 1982; Finberg 1964a, 215; see also Paper 3 and Paper 8).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us of a western advance by the Gewisse in 658 – that is, 3 years earlier than their losses to Wulfhere – when the Britons were said to have been driven back to the Parrett, in west Somerset (Paper 9).⁸ Important evidence for Anglo-Saxon control of north-west Wiltshire and north Somerset is provided by a series of charters which had been preserved in the monastic archives at Bath and Malmesbury. The foundation charter (S51) for the monastery at Bath dates to 675 and records the grant of 100 hides by Osric king of the Hwicce to Abbess Berta (Sims-Williams 1975, 2). Mercian control of the area was presumably secure by 679–80, when the Hwicce diocese was established (Plummer 1896, II, 246–7). The monastery at Malmesbury was possibly founded in the mid-seventh century by the Irish hermit Maildub – perhaps, on the arguments set out in Paper 10, when the area was still in British hands. Bede (*HE* v. 18) says the place was named after Maildub: see also Campbell 1987, 338; Edwards

1988, 83; Sims-Williams 1990a, 108–9; and Yorke 2010b, 164–5).⁹ Aldhelm, its first abbot, was said by William of Malmesbury to have been of West Saxon royal lineage, and the monastery appears always to have been in West Saxon hands (Sims-Williams 1990, 384). Charters show Aldhelm to have secured patronage from both Mercia and Wessex. From Mercia came land at Tetbury, *iuxta Tettan monasterium*, in 681, the earliest genuine and datable grant to Malmesbury (S71/73; Edwards 1988, 90–2), and an estate at Somerford Keynes in 685 (S1169; Edwards 1988, 93–4). Yorke (1990, 107–11) has noted that it was Mercian policy to support religious houses in areas they wished to take over. From Wessex came an exchange of land east of Braydon Wood (Forest) for an estate near the monastery in c. 676–686 (S1170, issued by Baldred, then *subregulus* of Centwine of Wessex; Edwards 1988, 94–7) and land at Kemble and east of Braydon Wood in AD 688 (S231/234; Edwards 1988, 97–100). Edwards suggests Cædwalla perhaps disposed of border areas to the Church.

West Saxon and Hwiccan rivalry in north-west Wiltshire in the later seventh century is therefore clear. The history of the monasteries shows the critical nature of the West Saxon border in the area (Sims-Williams 1990, 384). Aldhelm’s concern for his monastery at Malmesbury is underlined by the privileges granted by Pope Sergius I, with the agreement of both Ine and Æthelred that Malmesbury should not suffer in wars between their kingdoms (Edwards 1988, 104–5).

The archaeological evidence and place-names (Fig. 18)

The area around Old Sarum

The Romano-British name (*Sorviodunum*) for the roadside settlement below Old Sarum, at an important Roman road junction, was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, who called the place *Searobyrg*. It has been suggested that *Sorviodunum* may mean ‘the fortress of Sorwjos’ (Coates 2000a; see also Gelling 1997, 56, 57). The British woodland names of *Penchet* (lost) and *Melchet* occur to the south-east of Old Sarum (for the etymology of the British and English river names and place-names discussed in this paper, Gover *et al.* 1939 and Coates and Breeze 2000, unless specifically stated otherwise).

This area, where five river valleys meet, is unique in Wiltshire for the concentration of later fifth-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burial sites (Paper 2). At *Petersfinger* the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cemetery contained both west–east and north–south oriented furnished burials, in almost equal numbers, and also some unfurnished graves (Leeds and Shortt 1953).¹⁰ Interments of probable later fifth-century date occur in both groups and it is possible that there were originally two adjacent cemeteries, which served two distinct communities. Among the west–east group, Grave 21 was a weapon grave, which contained, in particular, a

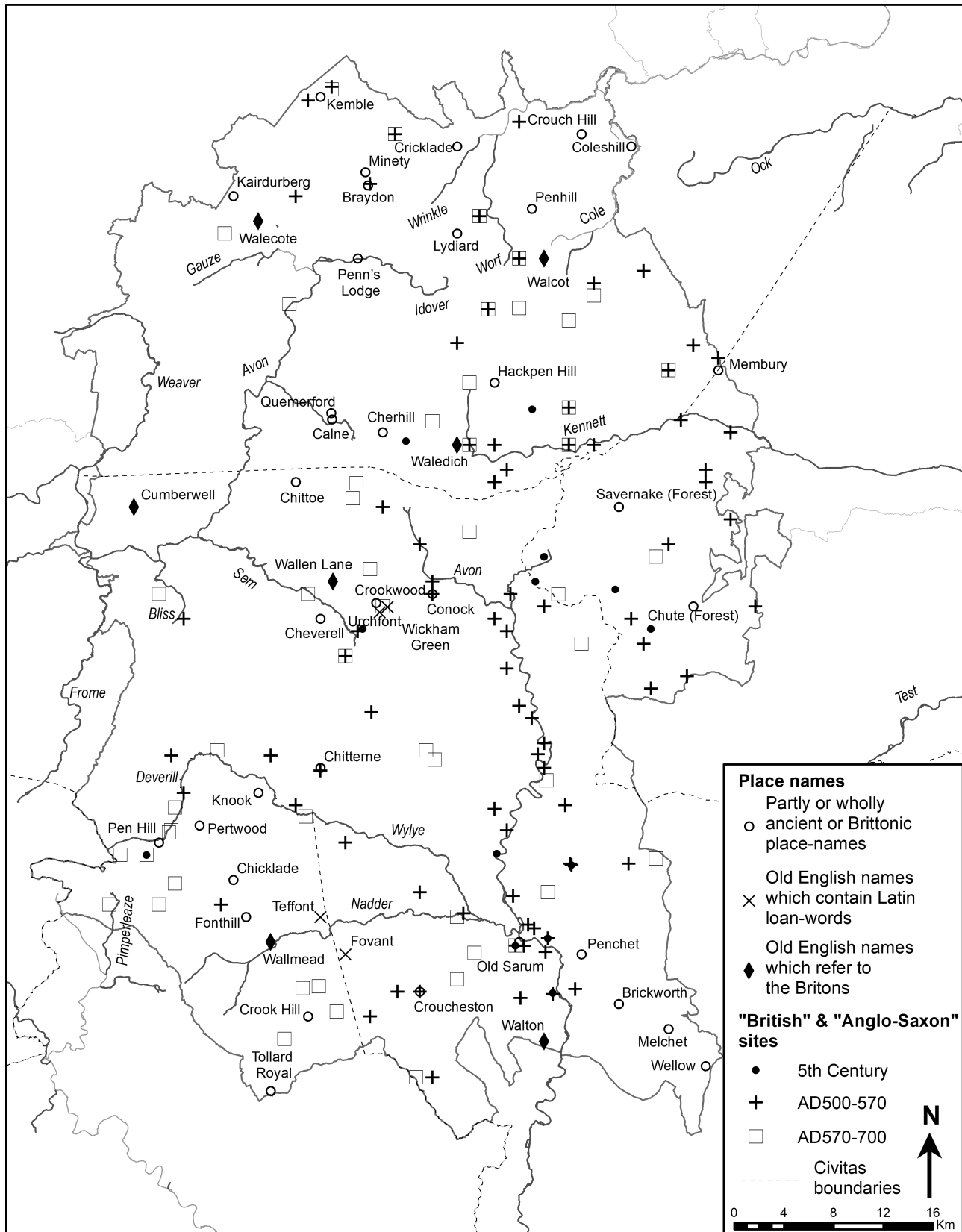


Figure 18 Ancient and Brittonic place-names and Old English place-names which refer to the Britons in Wiltshire, set against the archaeological data (Harry Manley)

fine ‘Frankish’ sword, a spearhead of Type H1 (Swanton 1973) and a buckle plate set with a garnet and glass (Evison 1965, 38). At the cemetery at *Harnham*, excavated in the nineteenth century (Pls. 7, 8) and with only a minimal record, burial also appears to begin in the fifth century. Other graves, probably contemporary, are known from near *Old Sarum* itself (Eagles *et al.* 2014). A further burial ground which commences in the later fifth century is that at *Winterbourne Gunner*, in a strategic location to the east of Old Sarum, where the Portway, the Roman road from Silchester to the major road junction at Old Sarum, crosses the Bourne (Musty and Stratton 1964). Grave VI is of particular interest. Its contents include a *francisca*, probably of the third quarter of the fifth century (Professor H. W. Böhme, pers. comm.) and brought in most likely from ‘Frankish’ Belgium or northern France, and a strap-end decorated with a fantastic beast in late Roman style, which is likely to have been made in southern Britain (Evison 1965, 39, 60, 67). The strap-end, whose fine decoration shows no sign of wear, is paralleled locally at Gussage Cow Down, east Dorset (M. Corney, pers. comm.). The skeleton in one of the unfurnished graves excavated subsequently in the same cemetery has a date of cal AD 340–550 at 95% confidence, and 400–460 and 480–530 at 68% confidence with, in regard to the latter two, a slightly higher probability of the earlier date (OxA-8036: Dr J Richards, pers. comm.). The location of the associated settlement may be indicated by a few handmade organic-tempered potsherds, which were found in limited excavation of the later settlement earthworks by the church of St Mary, only about 400 m to the north of the burials (*Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* (hereafter *WANHM*) 61 (1966), 108; finds in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, hereafter SM).

Burial continued at *Petersfinger*, *Harnham* and *Winterbourne Gunner* in the sixth century.¹¹ In 1860, in a gravel pit at *Petersfinger*, east of the confluence of the Avon and the Bourne, Dr Blackmore recovered Mesolithic flints, animal bones, charcoal and organic-tempered pottery about 0.8 km to the west of the cemetery (Moore and Algar 1968). The latter included a distinctive, and well-known, type of plain ‘Anglo-Saxon’ pot with three small, pierced, lugs (Eagles 1979(i), 85). No Roman wares were found, and this suggests a new settlement location. Sixth-century graves are also known at *Kelsey Road*, *St Edmunds Church* and *East Harnham*, all now within the limits of *Salisbury* (published references to these ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burial sites, and to those discussed above, unless specifically stated otherwise, will be found in Meaney 1964).

Finally, to the south of Old Sarum, the cemetery at *Charlton* in the parish of Standlynch in the Avon valley was another that began in the fifth century. This site was discovered during road widening (Davies 1984). The earliest objects there include a small quoit brooch (Ager 1990) and

tubular belt-slides with links with the Quoit Brooch Style (Paper 2). ‘Frankish/Kentish’ connections are again evident here from a shield-on-tongue buckle and a kite-shaped rivet with Burial 8. Burial continued in the sixth century.

Richly furnished graves of the seventh or early eighth centuries from *Coombe Bissett* (Salisbury Race Course) and *Ford*, in the parish of Laverstock, respectively 6 km and 2 km from Old Sarum, are discussed below.

The Salisbury Avon

The River *Avon* retained its British name. *Walton*, in Downton parish, south of Salisbury, has an Old English name which may refer to the Britons (Figs 3 and 18; Gelling 1997, 94). There are a host of new sixth-century sites and findspots along the river in Wiltshire.¹² Moving from south to north, attention may be drawn to a burial of high status, with sword, shield and spear, from below *Witherington Ring*, *Aldbury*; a large penannular brooch (exceptional evidence for the presence of a high-status, male Briton: Paper 2) and a button brooch (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.) from *Salterton*, *Durnford*; a weapon burial intrusive in a round barrow at *Lake*; findspots and a cemetery of the seventh–eighth century (Harding and Stoodley 2017) in *Amesbury* parish; a weapon burial from *Netheravon*; button brooches from *Upavon* village and nearby at *Widdington*; and another grave with weapons at *North Newnton*. The cemetery at *Blacknall Field* (known locally as Black Patch), *Pewsey*, lies on the Lower Chalk, on the south side of the Upper Avon and immediately below the southern slopes of Pewsey Vale. Excavations there between 1969 and 1976 revealed four cremations and 104 or 105 inhumations, which date from c. 475 to c. 550. It has been argued that Pewsey lay in a frontier area with the Britons at this time (Annable and Eagles 2010; Paper 7). *Winterbourne Gunner* is the only other early Anglo-Saxon cemetery of comparable size in the county. There is a post-Roman hoard with copper-alloy vessels and scale-pans from the Pewsey area (Paper 2) and also a late seventh-century gold pendant from *Pewsey* (Youngs 1992).

The western tributaries of the Avon

*The Wilsæte*¹³

There are three tributaries of the Avon in south Wiltshire. The name of the major one, the *Wylfe*, is British, as is that of the *Nadder*. The third of these rivers is the *Ebbel*. *Crouchston* by the *Ebbel* has a name of British origin; along the *Nadder* such names occur only west of Teffont (see below).

In Paper 1 it is argued that the valley of the *Wylfe* east of Sherrington lay within the *civitas Belgarum* and that the river to the west marked the northern boundary of the *Durotriges*. The *Wylfe* also forms the southern border of Salisbury Plain. The first element of the name *Corton*, in

the parish of Boyton, appears to be Brittonic, referring to a fish-weir (Breeze 2013), as is also that of *Warminster* (Breeze 2017, with reference to the local stream, a tributary of the Wylye) and *Knook*, on the north side of the river, and again west of Sherrington, is probably Brittonic. Intrusive burials in long barrows at *Sherrington* and *Warminster* (King Barrow, *Boreham*), are notable; they included, respectively, one accompanied by a two-edged sword, a spearhead, a shield-boss and a knife, and one with a *seax*. Both burials are likely to date to the seventh century (Eagles and Field 2004). Spearheads are known from ‘The Hollows’, *Wilton*, and a sunken-featured building, probably of the seventh to eighth centuries, has been excavated in the town (De’Athe 2012). There is also a hanging-bowl from *Wilton* and a Style I-decorated saucer brooch from *Wylye* (WILT-52B85F). The Wylye has itself two northern tributaries, the Winterbourne (its later and present name is the Till) and another in the *Ashton valley*, both of which rise on the southern flanks of Salisbury Plain. *Chitterne*, at the head of the Ashton valley, has a woodland name of British origin, though the landscape is now an open one. ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burials are known from both valleys. Grave goods from one burial at *Shrewton* on the upper Winterbourne are particularly distinctive and include an openwork circular girdle-hanger, while a grave at a different location in the parish produced a gold bracteate; both burials are likely to belong to the seventh century (Eagles *et al.* 2016). There is a small-long brooch from *Upton Lovell* (PAS, WILT-D9FF1B) and an imitation gilded copper-alloy Kentish garnet-inlaid disc brooch from *Warminster* (PAS, WILT-30B2F5). The upper Wylye, or Deverill, is considered below.

Along the Nadder, there is only one find from east of Teffont, a spearhead from *Barford St Martin*. Above and along the Ebble (or Chalke) there are spearheads from *Odstock Down* and *Bishopstone*, a cemetery at *Broadchalke*, a button brooch from *Bowerchalke* (N. Griffiths, pers. comm.) and a hanging-bowl mount (PAS, WILT-6925E4) and a very worn three-stranded, beaded loop of gold wire (? from a sword grip), probably of the seventh century, from *Stratford Toney* (PAS, WILT-5F9DEE).

There is a 2 *nummi* denomination coin of Justinian I (527–565) from *Martin* (PAS, WILT-0A11B7), a parish which borders Bokerley Dyke and was in Wiltshire until 1895 (Paper 1 and Paper 9).

The River Bourne

As has been noticed, the Bourne, which bounds Salisbury Plain in the east, meets the Avon at Petersfinger. A richly furnished late seventh- or early eighth-century barrow on Ford Down is discussed below, in another context. A remarkable grave of the mid-sixth century above the Bourne at South *Tidworth*, across the border in Hampshire, contained four adult male skeletons, each with weapons (Härke and Entwistle 2002). Excavations at *Collingbourne Ducis* in

1998 revealed a settlement with at least ten sunken-featured buildings and a possible post-built structure, beside the upper Bourne. One of the former dates between the fifth and late seventh century, the others being of later date (Pine 2001). The site lies only about 150 m below a cemetery with fifth-century graves (Gingell 1975/76; Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016: see also Papers 2 and 11). Casual finds at *Collingbourne Kingston*, the parish immediately to the north of Collingbourne Ducis, include a fragmentary ‘pair’ of much worn tinned or silvered disc brooches with ring-and-dot decoration and a gilded copper-alloy saucer brooch decorated with five spirals. There are no names of British origin along the Bourne. On the chalk down to the east of the valley finds suggestive of a weapon burial are on record at *Idmiston*.

Salisbury Plain

These generally dry chalk uplands are bisected, unequally, by the River Avon. It is possible that water conservation on the Plain continued after the Roman period (Field 1999). Sites which lie by lesser streams on the fringes of the Chalk have been mentioned above. The Greensand edging the northern escarpment of the Plain was equally favoured for settlement. At *Urchfont* – the name is comparable with Teffont (Paper 1) – quantities of Late Iron Age metalwork and Roman coins may point to another shrine (Paper 2). *Wickham* (Green), nearby, also has a name of Latin derivation (Gelling 1997, 73, 74, 84). *Crookwood* (Farm), in Urchfont parish, and *Conock* (Chirton parish) and *Cheverell*, respectively to the east and west have Brittonic names. *Wallen* (Lane), in Potterne, is an English name with reference to the Britons. All of these places lie within 10 km of each other and all are on the fertile Upper Greensand. Such ‘groups’ of British names occur elsewhere in the county and require further study, here as in other areas (Gelling 1997, 90). A gold mount of the early seventh century, decorated with Style II interlace and beaded wire, is also on record from *Urchfont* (PAS, WILT-A28A63; in WM). The excavations in 1990 at Grove Farm, *Market Lavington*, uncovered a contiguous and apparently contemporary settlement and cemetery, the latter in use from the latter part of the fifth century. Although late Roman material was found in the vicinity, the settlement occupied a new site, near the top of a local ridge in the Upper Greensand, well served by streams, and overlooking the clay lowlands. The burials were on the slope below. Three probable sunken-featured buildings but no larger structures were identified. The surrounding landscape was predominantly open. Wheat, rye and barley were grown. The livestock included cattle (over 50%), sheep/goat (around 37%) and pig but the latter accounted for less than 10% of the total. The large size of some of the cattle, and the sheep, which were probably kept for their wool, points to a background of Roman husbandry, also noted at other early Anglo-Saxon sites elsewhere, such as *Abbots Worthy*, Hampshire (Coy 1991, 67).

The excavated cemetery comprised 42 inhumations, an unknown part of the whole; the burials were of men, women and children. The earliest of the women's graves appears to be Grave 4, with a pair of ring-and-dot disc brooches. Grave 33 has just one of them, and is discussed below. Saucer brooches, reported upon by Dr Tania Dickinson, in Grave 26 date between the later fifth and the mid-sixth century. The earliest weapon burials (graves 17, 27, 31 and 34) have spearheads of types H1–H3 and K2, of the late fifth century onwards. Burial 32 has a spearhead of hybrid C4/E4 type, of the mid-sixth to mid-seventh century. None of the graves intersected each other but some were cut into and others cut by settlement ditches. Thus one ditch cut burial 11, with amber beads, usually regarded as indicative of the sixth century, but a ditch of a later phase was itself cut by Grave 35 with, among other goods, a spearhead of Type K1/K2 (Williams and Newman 2006).

The location of the settlement at *Market Lavington*, 10 km to the west of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery site at *Blacknall Field*, *Pewsey*, requires comment. The burial ground at *Pewsey* came into use *c.* 475 and, as has been noted above, that place has been argued to have been in a frontier location with the Britons. This raises the possibility that an immigrant community was planted at *Market Lavington*, at the limit of territory then acquired by the Saxons, perhaps to mark its new 'ownership'. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the settlement at *Market Lavington* was unplanned, and only one of perhaps a number which were thinly scattered in areas still under British control in the latter part of the fifth century (cf. the distribution of sixth-century 'Anglo-Saxon' findspots in Dorset and Somerset (Paper 9). If so, the settlement may represent only a small, intrusive but, initially at least, unimportant, element amongst the native population. Whatever interpretation is put upon the site, the initial date of the *Market Lavington* burials approximates to that of the appearance of a number of 'Anglo-Saxon' burial grounds and settlements in the south-east of the county and is a part of that new phenomenon. Furthermore, the cemetery does not have the strongly military character seen in the high proportion of weapon burials at *Breamore* (Paper 4).

There is a five-spiral saucer brooch (PAS, WILT-716220) and a gilded copper-alloy axe-shaped mount with late Style I decoration (PAS, SOM-F5FBE6), which is dated by Dr Helen Geake to *c.* 560–590, from *West Lavington*. In the context of a possible late fifth-century frontier with the Britons in this area, it may be relevant that the group of places with British names, or with names of Latin origin, noted above, lie, as *Market Lavington*, either on this same band of Greensand or to the north of it (see also Paper 10). On the high Chalk, hand-made wares associated with Roman pottery have been recovered from a number of Romano-British settlements and point to their continuation into the post-Roman period (Paper 2). One such sherd from the

settlement at *Coombe Down*, *Enford*, has a rosette stamp, suggestive of Saxon influence. There is also a weapon burial from *Enford*, and others from *Milston* (intrusive in a barrow) and *North Tidworth*. Scattered burials point to the likely existence of other settlements. Attention may be drawn to a group of seven small barrows, which may be of this period, on *Netheravon Down* (G. Brown, pers. comm.). A cemetery of about 30, apparently unaccompanied, north–south inhumations on *Durrington Down*, uncovered in 1864 near the boundary with *Winterbourne Stoke*, is undated (WANHM 31 (1901), 331). Bronze Age barrows with unaccompanied intrusive interments of possibly early Anglo-Saxon date, and stray finds of spearheads from *Bulford*, are recorded along the *Nine Mile River*, a tributary of the *Avon*. Excavation of a Beaker–Early Bronze Age round barrow at *Barrow Clump*, *Figgheldean*, has produced 72 inhumation graves, of men, women, adolescents, children and infants, most of them from within the confines of the barrow. About half were accompanied and probably date to the sixth century, with a few others, without grave goods, radiocarbon-dated to the seventh century AD. The furnished burials included both weapons, among them a sword, and a repaired great square-headed brooch and other jewellery (Phil Andrews, pers. comm.). There are spearheads from *Figgheldean*, *Rushall Down* and *Faberstown*, *Ludgershall* (note with accompanying drawing in SM ('Saxon' box file): 'unearthed when the house of Mr. E. E. Levell, Nance-Mere, *Faberstown*, *Andover*, was being built. (information from Mr. Levell of the *Andover Historical Society*, Feb. 1960)'); a silvered copper-alloy pyramidal mount (PAS, WILT-761BB7) from *Everleigh*; and burials intrusive in *Bowl's Barrow*, *Heytesbury*.

Bedwyn and the Hundred of Kinwardstone (see Paper 11)

*The Vale of Pewsey, East Wansdyke and their environs*¹⁴

A seventh-century copper-alloy buckle of Marzinzik Type II.24a (PAS, WILT-7BFF20) is recorded from *Stert*, and there are casual finds of sixth-century brooches from *Patney* (PAS, WILT-D9A1BD) and *Chirton* (a Class I2 button brooch: PAS, WILT-25DE61), *Bishops Cannings* – its large parish is bisected by *East Wansdyke*, suggested to have marked the boundary between the *civitates* of the *Belgae* and the *Dobunni* (Paper 1) – and *All Cannings*. From the clays to their south-west, there is an imitation gilded copper-alloy Kentish keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooch from *West Ashton* (PAS, WILT-F561A1) and a large, late sixth-century¹⁵ saucer brooch from *Worton*. To the north-west of the *Cannings*, at the western limit of the Chalk, and to the south and south-west of *Morgan's Hill*, where *East Wansdyke* cuts the Roman road from *Silchester* to *Bath*, there is a notable group of 'Anglo-Saxon' burials, all

certainly or probably of seventh-century date, at *Roundway* and *Heddington*. Two of them are primary barrow burials, one on the summit of King's Play Hill, Heddington, the other on the top of Roundway Hill. There is also a richly furnished grave of the later seventh century, possibly a bed-burial (Speake 1989, 107), intrusive in a round barrow on Roundway Down. The accompaniments of the latter included a pin-suit with a gold roundel with a blue glass setting in the form of a cross, which has been thought of probable Irish workmanship and to reflect the influence of the monastery at Malmesbury (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 48–9; see above). To the north-east of Morgan's Hill and overlooking the Roman road, lies *Oldbury Castle* (Pl. 9), which has produced one, probably two, large zoomorphic penannular brooches, of fifth-century British manufacture and worn by the military elite (Paper 2), with the implication that Oldbury was held by the Britons at that time (Paper 7 for its context on a British frontier, and see also above; for a comparable fifth-century British site, see Crickley Hill hill-fort in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds: Dixon 1988, 2005). One of the two brooches is plain (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 91, no. 21), the other enamelled (from 'near Calne', but probably from the hill-fort: Youngs 1995) and probably of slightly earlier fifth-century date (Youngs 2010), with the apparent inference that Britons retained control here for some years in the fifth century (Paper 2). Indeed, it is argued in Paper 10 that the Britons held north-west Wiltshire until the last quarter of the seventh century.

The chalklands west and north of the Marlborough Downs

To the north and north-east of Oldbury, sixth-century 'Anglo-Saxon' inhumations, apparently intrusive in a barrow, are recorded from immediately above the outer escarpment of the Chalk at *Clyffe Pypard*.¹⁶ The cemetery at *Basset Down*, *Lydiard Tregoze*, is at the junction of the Chalk and the Upper Greensand, as are two late sixth-century burials at *Wroughton* (a child's grave with saucer brooches and beads cut that of an elderly male with a sword and other weaponry: *WANHM* 95 (2002), 291). A brooch of gilded bronze and decorated with a row of punched circles down both the bow and the faceted foot, of probable fifth-century date, is among finds recorded from graves found on Basset Down in 1822 (Evison 1965, 39–40). Grave-groups, however, do not survive and the brooch may have come from a sixth-century grave. Large saucer brooches point to the continued use of this cemetery until the later sixth century.

The Kennet and its tributary, the Og

To the north of the East Wansdyke and Savernake Forest, the River Kennet (its name is British), a major tributary of the Thames, affords easy access from and to the east. At the west, where the Kennet cuts through the inner

escarpment of the Chalk, sites probably of the sixth century are known in *Avebury* parish, including sunken-featured buildings by the winterbourne which feeds southwards into the Kennet, which itself rises at Silbury Hill (Fowler and Blackwell 1998, 24). A burial with a work/relict box of the last quarter of the seventh century is recorded in *Yatesbury*, and a seventh-century gilded mount from *Winterbourne Bassett*. There appear to have been weapon burials intrusive in the *East Kennett long barrow*. A seventh-century applied disc brooch is also recorded from this area, and there is also a mount from a hanging bowl. An inhumation grave located near Savernake Hospital (*Marlborough*) contained a spearhead of Group K1 and there is also a small-long brooch from *Marlborough* (PAS, BERK-9EB34C) and a Mahndorf supporting-arm brooch from 'Marlborough' (PAS, WILT-D50E12). Two locations at *Ogbourne St Andrew* beside the River Og, which rises to the north on the Marlborough Downs and joins the Kennet at Marlborough, have also produced Anglo-Saxon finds, including a small-long brooch, and organic-tempered pottery is recorded from a Romano-British settlement at *Ogbourne St George* (Fowler 1966). A gold bead from *Ogbourne St Andrew* is likely to come from a burial of the seventh or early eighth century (Paper 7). On *Poulton Downs* (Mildenhall), north of the Kennet, the altogether exceptional discovery was made of a woman who had been thrown into a Roman well. Lower down the river, a saucer and a fragment of a button brooch (in WM) are recorded from the parish of *Ramsbury*. A lead model for a five-spiral saucer brooch is a casual find from *Ramsbury* (in WM; Mortimer 1994). Excavations at *Ramsbury* have demonstrated large tracts of woodland thereabouts in the Middle Saxon period (Haslam 1980).

The Marlborough and Wiltshire Downs

These Downs form the western part of a vast extent of high chalk downland which stretches eastwards across Berkshire as far as the Thames. The Ridgeway affords an easy means of passage across them, but may have developed as a through route only in the Early Anglo-Saxon period. After its ascent from the Kennet valley, its route is marked on *Overton Hill*, *West Overton*, by Bronze Age and Roman barrows which were found to contain Saxon intrusive burials; one may belong to the fifth century, but others are certainly of sixth-century date (Eagles 1986; White 1988, 17). The barrows are sited immediately above the River Kennet and the point where the Ridgeway has crossed the Roman road from Silchester to Bath. The Ridgeway then keeps close to the edge of the top of the escarpment. Anglo-Saxon finds from *Barbury Castle*, *Wroughton*, include a single-edged battle-knife (*seax*) and knives, perhaps as a deliberate dry-land non-funerary weapon deposition (WM: the two spearheads

listed by Swanton (1974) are of Iron Age date – information from the late Dr Paul Robinson; Reynolds and Semple 2011, 45). Further north-east, a probable sunken-featured building, with associated organic-tempered pottery and a double-sided bone comb, has been partially excavated on the Greensand which edges the Chalk below *Liddington Castle* (WANHM 74/75 (1979/1980), 113–5). A mount from a hanging-bowl has been found nearby. Burials at *Foxhill* and at *Callas Hill, Wanborough*, lie by the Roman road from Silchester to Cirencester, respectively 1 km and 2.3 km to the north-west of its intersection with the Ridgeway. To the south of the Ridgeway, in *Bishopstone* parish, a burial, intrusive in a Bronze Age barrow, is recorded from *Hinton Downs*; there are other findspots nearby (WANHM 46 (1934), 173; 72/73 (1977/1978), 207). Further to the south on the Downs, Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been recovered from locations at *Aldbourn* (Paper 11). There is also a cemetery of the seventh to early eighth centuries there (Stoodley *et al.* 2012). A small-long brooch and an ‘Anglian’ wrist-clasp (both in WM), the only one known in the county, both probably of the earlier to the mid-sixth century, are recorded from *Baydon* (Hines 1996). A saucer brooch with star pattern (in WM) is recorded from north-west of Membury hill-fort. Two copper-alloy pyramidal mounts and a hanging bowl escutcheon are known from *Chiseldon* (respectively, PAS, WILT-8D2697, WILT-9AB1A4 and WILT-EAF4C6).

The Coral Rag, claylands and gravels of the north of the county

At *Swindon*, on the Portland Limestone which caps Old Swindon Hill, excavations in 1975–77 uncovered six sunken-featured buildings and a wooden building of approximately 8.5 × 4.5 m. The latter had been destroyed by fire; more than 100 loom-weights, many of them in line, together with lengths of timber, apparently from the loom itself, shears and large pots were found. The walls of this building were covered with a sophisticated plastering. It overlay a slightly larger building, of post-hole construction, with internal stake-holes; associated finds included bone pins, many of them decorated, yellow vessel glass, and a gold fragment with inset garnet. There was a Roman stone building beneath (Canham and Phillips nd). A grave with a spearhead and knife has been recorded nearby, in Evelyn Street. A metal-detected circular girdle-hanger with a triskele of serpents, of the sixth or seventh century, is also on record (Eagles *et al.* 2016, 108, no. 13), and there is a button brooch of Class B2 from ‘Swindon’ (PAS, WILT-1DBB42). A further record relates to a burial with a knife, of uncertain date, at *Stanton Fitzwarren*; this site, and the seventh-century cemetery at *Purton* – the provenience also of a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch (PAS, WILT-D3C76C) – are on the Coral Rag.

There is a sixth-century burial by the Thames at *Castle Eaton* (WANHM 72/73 (1977/78), 207). A gold and copper-

alloy ‘cocked-hat’ sword pommel of the seventh century has been found in the Cricklade area (in WM), a *seax* at *Ashton Keynes* (WANHM 69 (1974), 186) and organic-tempered pottery at the Romano-British settlement, and a five-spiral saucer brooch close by, at *Cleveland Farm* in that parish (Paper 2). There are three early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at *Kemble*, a place with a Brittonic name, which at this time arguably lay on the frontier with the Britons (Paper 10); it was transferred to Gloucestershire only in 1897. One of these burial grounds (Kemble I) may have begun in the later fifth century (Dickinson 1976, II, 141); Kemble II appears to date to the sixth century; and cemetery III is represented by two burials of the seventh century, one of them accompanied by a silver pin with garnet-inset head (probably once part of a linked pair), a silver hoop and beads, the other with beads, including one of amethyst (Wilkinson 1988). Kemble I and III are only 200 m apart.

North-west Wiltshire

At *Foxley, Norton*, on the Corallian limestone and by the Avon west of Malmesbury in north-west Wiltshire, aerial photography has revealed, and magnetic survey and limited excavation have subsequently confirmed, traces of a substantial settlement near the Fosse Way. A timber ‘hall’ (Hinchliffe 1986, building ‘B’), of two phases, a building with an apse at its east end, in its own enclosure (probably a church), and some twenty other large structures, together with fenced closes, have been identified. No floor remains survived within the buildings. The excavations showed that the post-in-trench technique of construction was used for many buildings. The walls of the ‘hall’, in its first, but not its second phase, were supported by external posts. There were very few finds, and these not particularly diagnostic, but oak charcoal from a wall trench of structure C produced a date of cal AD 430–770 and from a posthole thought to be part of another ?hall one of cal AD 650–990 (respectively, HAR-6216 and HAR-8082: Bayliss *et al.* 2012, 127). The hall with external buttresses is comparable with one at Cowdery’s Down in Hampshire (Paper 3). Foxley lies well to the west of the suggested frontier with the Britons which remained in place until *c.* 675 (Paper 10), and this complex arguably dates no earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century. There is a small-long brooch from *Charlton*, to the north-east of Malmesbury (PAS, WILT-003ED1). Sunken-featured structures and timber-framed buildings have been excavated at *Trowbridge* (Graham and Davies 1993, 142–4), and there is another sunken-featured building at *Chippenham* (WANHM 84 (1991), 143). It is quite possible that the sites at Foxley and Trowbridge, at least, date to a period after the area had been incorporated into the kingdoms of the Hwicce and the West Saxons.

An exceptional find in this part of the county is an unfinished Celtic hanging bowl mount of the mid- to late seventh century from *Seagry*, in the upper Avon valley south of Malmesbury. This piece may point to a British

workshop there – evidence for which is otherwise known only in Scotland (Youngs with Eagles 1998).

In the Introduction attention has been drawn to the persistence of British speech in north-west Wiltshire, probably into the seventh century (see also Paper 10 and Breeze 2007, 2015). Most of the relevant place- and river-names are mapped on Figure 18, but there are 11 examples of *Idover*; all of them tributaries of the Avon and the Thames (a full list is given in Gover *et al.* 1939, 2–4).

*The south-west of the county*¹⁷

It has been argued in Paper 1 that south-west Wiltshire, an area to the north-west of Bokerley Dyke, remained territorially one with the former *civitas Durotrigum* until the early seventh century. The four parishes of the Deverills, which share the earlier, British, name of the upper Wylye, are likely to have formed a discrete British entity, perhaps estate. The temple complex at *Cold Kitchen Hill* in *Brixton Deverill* arguably stood close to the meeting-point of the boundaries between the Roman cantons of both the northern and southern Durotriges and the Belgae. There is a notable group of Brittonic place- and river-names, and two place-names which contain Latin loanwords (Fig. 18). Occupation of the Roman villa at *Brixton Deverill* continued into the fifth century. A large penannular brooch has been recorded from *Kingston Deverill* and Romano-British and organic-tempered pottery has been found together at *Swallowcliffe* (PastScape, ST 92 NE 36; CBA Groups 12 and 14 *Archaeology Review* 3 (1968), 4).

In the earlier seventh century the burial record in this area is dominated by a number of distinctive, apparently isolated, inhumation graves, some of them of high status, and new cemeteries. These burials include a notable group of primary Anglo-Saxon barrows, each over an inhumation accompanied by a sugar-loaf shield boss, a form which was in use from the second quarter of the seventh century (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 21 and fig. 16). They occur on the high chalk at *Alvediston*, *Maiden Bradley* and *West Knoyle*. There is also a grave with a shield-boss akin to the sugar-loaf type at *Ebbesbourne Wake*, to the south of Teffont. At *Sherrington* a male, accompanied by a sword, was inserted in a long barrow just metres from the south bank of the River Wylye (Eagles and Field 2004). There is a primary barrow and an adjacent inhumation cemetery with west–east graves at *Monkton Deverill* (Rawlings 1995, 26–36; one grave produced a knife, all other burials were unaccompanied). An extensive cemetery on *Winkelbury Hill*, *Berwick St John*, comprises both intrusive barrow burials (including a bed-burial: Speake 1989) and 30 flat west–east graves, whose contents have parallels with *Swallowcliffe*, below (Pitt Rivers 1888, 257–62, 64–7, 81–2, 4–7; measured earthwork survey by RCHME: PastScape, ST 92 SE28/30). A garnet-set, silvered, copper alloy pyramidal sword scabbard mount may point to a richly furnished grave there (PAS, WILT–9195E0). There is also

a loose find from *Longbridge Deverill* of a fragment of a copper-alloy dress pin, which belongs to a group of which the majority date between the late sixth century and the first third of the seventh century (PAS, WILT-B7E3D7: Ross 1991, 214–9, Type XXXV, ‘Knob-above-eyelet-headed type’); a fragment of a ?saucer brooch and a copper-alloy pyramidal sword mount from ‘*the Deverills*’ (respectively, PAS, WILT-BD7517 and WILT-4008EB), and a similar mount, but of gilded silver, from *Kingston Deverill* (PAS, WILT-5EF569); a silver finger-ring of the sixth to early seventh century from *Brixton Deverill* (PAS, WILT-9D4288: Hines and Bayliss 2013, 366–7, Type WR3; and a seventh-century ?harness mount of copper alloy with debased Style II decoration from *West Knoyle* (PAS, SOM-6175C6). The burials and burial-grounds may mark the military takeover of new territory. The burial cist at *West Knoyle*, edge-marking stone slabs at *Monkton Deverill* and a cist and a fragment (anciently broken) of a Kimmeridge shale bracelet placed on the arm at *Alvediston* (Clay 1927) suggest possible native influence (Blair 2005, 26). There is also a female burial with gold jewellery of the second half of the seventh century at *Mere* (Wessex Archaeology 1995). At *Swallowcliffe* a late seventh-century female bed-burial in a chamber grave was cut into a Bronze Age barrow. Among its rich furnishings are a Celtic sprinkler and a leather satchel mount decorated with gold and silver foils, apparently in the form of a cross, which may be of Christian significance; the foils exhibit both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon styles of ornament (Speake 1989). The sprinkler and the Celtic ornament parallel the indigenous aspects of the weapon graves. The woman buried at *Swallowcliffe*, just as another at *Roundway Down*, may have been a Christian (Blair 2005, 174, n. 167; see also Paper 3 for the increasing prominence of aristocratic women in the later seventh century).

A Swanton type G1 spearhead (PAS, WILT-E7B785) from *Longbridge Deverill* and a shield-on-tongue buckle pin from *Hindon* (PAS, WILT-531F77), both unassociated, date to the sixth century.¹⁸ The extent of Selwood, and its impact on settlement hereabouts, is unknown (Paper 2).

These distinctive weapon and other burials in south-west Wiltshire may well have been intended to make a political statement, through burial display and ritual, on and following the conquest of new territory there (Paper 1),¹⁹ at a time when such funerary extravagance appears to have been widespread among the elite. The siting of a number of them is also clearly significant. The primary barrow and cemetery at *Monkton Deverill* (Kingston Deverill parish), to the east of Cold Kitchen Hill, is located near the junction of the Roman road between Old Sarum and the Mendips with that from Hamworthy to Bath (Rawlings 1995, 37). Two others, at *Alvediston* and *Swallowcliffe*, are beside the *herepath* (‘army road’; the former Salisbury to Shaftesbury road) along the top of the Ebble–Nadder ridge, while the richly furnished primary barrow burial, with a sword, pyramidal studs with garnet and shell inlays, three spearheads, a shield-boss, gold

and silver wire rings, a copper-alloy skillet, buckles and two knives, at *Salisbury Race Course, Coombe Bissett*, is by its crossing with the Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester (Evison 1963; lost cone beaker and extant fragments from grave ‘doubtful’: Evison 2000, 62). This burial is in an area where the Saxons had been firmly established since the fifth century, as is another at *Ford*, close to the Roman road from Old Sarum to Winchester, where the primary barrow is of unusual form, with a penannular ditch with external bank (Musty 1969). There an adult male, 40–50 years of age, was accompanied by two spears, a sugar-loaf boss and other fittings from a shield, a hanging bowl, which contained crab apples and onions, a *seax* with copper-alloy pommel covered with silver sheet and with a garnet soldered on to one face and a silver encircling band, an elaborate sheath with silver fittings, a buckle set with garnets with gold collars and a bone comb. The seventh-century burial with a gold bracteate at *Shrewton* may also have been placed by a long-distance route (Eagles, Behr, Saunders and Algar 2016, 91).²⁰

The distribution of the bed-burial rite itself as so far known is equally widespread, being recorded in Wiltshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, the Peak District and North Yorkshire (J. Hines in Bayliss *et al.* 2013, 552). The Swallowcliffe grave contains, as already noted, clearly deliberately, items of both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon design, as also, for example, does the Lowbury Hill barrow, where a hanging-bowl was among the grave goods. The inclusion of such items – hanging bowls are a widespread feature of richer Anglo-Saxon burials of the seventh century – and the appearance of native traits in some of the burials in south-west Wiltshire, may be essentially a display of widely wielded power. Parker Pearson (1982) has suggested that rich burials tend to be most noticeable at times when individuals needed to assert their position and there was competition among the elite. The insertion of the Saxon interment right through the primary one at Swallowcliffe, however, seems also to imply a ruthlessness not apparent in the earlier burials and perhaps indicates a difference in attitude towards the local inhabitants compared to two generations earlier, with a deliberate attempt to replace the original burial and demonstrate the dominance of the new elite (N. Stoodley, pers. comm.). The contrast with the situation in the sixth century, when Saxon settlers in east Dorset appear to have been incorporated within British territory, is even more stark (Paper 9).

Archaeological evidence, therefore, seems to reflect the growing coherence (in spite of inter-elite rivalry) of the kingdom of Wessex and the increasing confidence and wide connections of its rulers. Burial rites no longer appear to have an essentially local context but recur over wide areas (Paper 3). The burials sited by long-distance routes seem to reflect the desire of emergent wealthy families to advertise their ability to control significant territories, whether newly conquered or not, and movement both within and in and

out of them. The location of the burials also indicates the continued significance of the Roman roads themselves. Williams (1999, 80) suggests that this siting by long-distance routes may have been thought to provide protection for the people. This may have been especially true of the ‘signal’ burials on the frontier with the Britons in north Wiltshire at *Roundway Down* and *Hedington* and the grave with a gold pendant at *Mere* in south-west Wiltshire, on the present county boundary between Wiltshire and Dorset, but which arguably followed the ancient border between the southern and northern Durotriges (Paper 1). It is also possible that *Martin*, which probably means ‘the boundary settlement’, derives its (English) name from its location adjacent both to Bokerley Dyke and to the former southern boundary of the territory of the *Wilsæte* (Cole 1991–92, 39; the parish is now in Hampshire but until the late nineteenth century was in Wiltshire: see also Paper 8). The acquisition by the English of new territories in the west thus may be suggested to have resulted in the redrawing of some, but by no means all, ancient and major boundaries. The county boundary of Wiltshire appears to have a complex history and to have been finally established only in the later Saxon period (Paper 12).

Distinctive styles of dress and personal display within the new material culture in the sixth century

The great majority of women in Wessex wore a tubular gown, fastened by a brooch at either shoulder (Owen-Crocker 1986, 28–39). It has been observed (in Williams and Newman 2006, 79–80), with reference to the work of Dr Dickinson, that the closest parallels to the saucer brooch in Grave 8 at *Market Lavington* are from Alveston (Warwickshire) and Woodston (Cambridgeshire), but there are also links with the upper Thames valley. The exceptional six-pointed star decoration on the brooches in Grave 26 recurs on another saucer brooch only at Barrington in Cambridgeshire, although it does appear on two applied saucer brooches from elsewhere. It is suggested that these individual differences, within a general framework of potent symbolism, were deliberate and, perhaps, a means through which the elite were distinguished, generally and from each other, or each other’s kin (Dickinson 1993, 39). The single saucer brooch in Grave 8, worn at the left shoulder, and associated with a pin on the right, probably fastened the usual tubular gown.

Dr Dickinson has commented (in Annable and Eagles 2010, 29–34) upon the applied disc and applied and cast saucer brooches from *Blacknall Field*. The applied saucer brooches in graves 55 and 60 have, respectively, parallels, though not precise ones, at Brighthampton and Wheatley in Oxfordshire, and at Barrington, Cambridgeshire, Duston, Northamptonshire and Beckford, Hereford and Worcester. The cast saucer brooches in Grave 50 may be compared to others mainly in and to the south of the Thames valley,

while those in Grave 56 are matched by others from *Long Wittenham*, Oxfordshire (formerly Berkshire) and Northfleet, Kent. As Tania Dickinson has pointed out, these brooches show ‘continually active communal connection’ with several other areas. The mature woman in Grave 102 wore a brooch at the shoulder in the usual fashion, but in this case a large zoomorphic penannular brooch of British origin was paired with another penannular brooch. At *Harnham*, the female in the sixth-century Grave 53 combined an equal-arm brooch of a group (with variants) now well evidenced in Saxon Wessex (there are pairs in *Blacknall Field* Grave 26 and in *Collingbourne Ducis* Grave 64 and a casual find from *Twyford*, Hampshire, Paper 3) and on the Isle of Wight (Paper 8) and Kent, with a very worn Type G1.6 penannular, most of which have been found in north Somerset (Paper 9).²¹

The contents of Grave 21 at *Blacknall Field* included a great square-headed brooch, an ‘Anglian’ type, and there is an ‘Anglian’ wrist-clasp from *Baydon*, already noted. However, taken together and with others known to the east in Berkshire they are sufficiently prominent to indicate direct communication with areas of Anglian culture, seen at its closest in Northamptonshire (Hines 1996).

The single Roman disc brooch, of second- to third-century date, on the right shoulder of the male in *Collingbourne Ducis*, Grave 11, has parallels in the Roman period, when a brooch worn in this position fastened a male’s cloak (Janes 1996, 127); the same grave contained an iron buckle with silver inlay (for another example from *Droxford* see Paper 8), so the man buried there appears to have been a member of the elite. The woman in Grave 47 has a penannular brooch at the left shoulder. In a similar way the person buried in *Market Lavington* Grave 33 – the sex of the adult skeleton could not be determined – wore a disc brooch with ring-and-dot decoration, fastening an outer garment of wool tabby, at the right breast, held by a belt at the waist, over an inner one of wool twill. Walton Rogers has noted that the ‘Saxon’ gilded saucer brooch in *Market Lavington* Grave 24 was worn at the right shoulder, or more centrally, and appears to have fastened a sophisticated pattern-woven woollen undergown, with an open woollen tabby outer garment of Frankish style, both fastened by a buckle. The fine linen in Grave 4 probably relates to a shoulder-length veil (Walton Rogers in Williams and Newman 2006, 111–17). The woman buried in Grave 61 at *Collingbourne Ducis* has a penannular ring beside either ear, possibly to fasten a veil, and one disc brooch on the upper chest and another just above the waist, suggestive of a type of Kentish costume (Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016, 120–2). At *Harnham* the number of females who wore finger-rings and bracelets in the Romano-British fashion is notable (N. Stoodley, pers. comm.).

The mechanisms whereby brooches, and their designs, travelled are still little understood. Local production seems most likely, itinerant craftsmen providing the necessary skills (Dickinson 1993, 36: see also Paper 3).

Conclusion

It was probably only in the last third of the fifth century that Anglo-Saxon style burials and material culture became firmly established, within the former *civitas Belgarum*, in a limited area around *Old Sarum*, and also, though here apparently isolated, at *Market Lavington* on the north side of Salisbury Plain. At the same time, if not a little earlier, similar burials and artefacts appear in the Hundred of Kinwardstone, at the western limit of the *civitas Atrebatum*. It may be noted that the new culture around Salisbury has links with the south coast but that in the Collingbourne area contact is with the Thames valley, as is also true of Saxon finds which now also appear in north-east Wiltshire, in the area here attributed to the Dobunni (Paper 1). From the early sixth century the new types of artefacts spread westwards across the county, reaching as far as *Charlton* in the north and Warminster and West Ashton in the west (see Fig. 10). From the same date a Saxon presence is also evident beyond *Bokerley Dyke* in Dorset, in a definable area as far as *Seaxpenn* (‘the Saxons’ hill’) and Combs Ditch, to the south of Hod Hill (Paper 9). To the south of the Wylfe, however, ‘Anglo-Saxon’ material culture of the sixth century is found, almost without exception, only to the east of *Teffont*, a difference which may be explained by Anglo-Saxon influence coming to a halt, until the seventh century, at the boundary of the *civitas Durotrigum*. It has been argued (Paper 1) that the location of the seventh-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ burial at *Sherrington*, north of *Teffont*, hints that the limit of the *civitas Durotrigum* there followed the River Wylfe as far as Cold Kitchen Hill.

From the later seventh century only north-west Wiltshire lay on a frontier of Wessex (with Mercia), which now stretched westwards into Devon. The military successes in the west were matched, under Cædwalla, in southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. His energetic successor, Ine (688–726), was able to consolidate these gains. Ine’s laws point to a king pro-active in law-making and profiting from his interference in the now greatly extended administration of justice (Wormald 1995). It is also possible that he developed *Hamwic* and overseas trade (Morton 1992, 28): the self-confidence of Wessex at this time is discussed by Mayr-Harting (1991, 216). Christianity was now a force to be reckoned with, though since 635, when Cynegils had been baptised at Dorchester-on-Thames, the progress of Christianisation had been slow (Yorke 1990, 139), despite the advantages it brought to kings (Campbell 1986, 76). Pagan shrine place-names, it has been suggested, such as that of *Thunresfeld* (at Hardenhuish: ‘open land, within woodland, of Thunor’, the woodland here later known as Chippenham Forest) continued to be coined at the end of the seventh century (the late Dr Margaret Gelling, pers. comm.; and Gelling 1973a, 121–2: see also *Waden Hill*, between Avebury and Silbury Hill, Paper 7). Attention should also be drawn to the remarkable group of sites by the county

boundary with Hampshire on the commanding top of Roche Court Down, Winterslow, whose name incorporates *hlaw* – Old English for tumulus (Gelling 1997, 134–6). There a pair of primary Anglo-Saxon barrows lies close to an inhumation cemetery with west–east burials; all are likely to belong to the seventh century. One barrow covered a male burial accompanied by a knife, whose grave-cut was aligned on a post-setting in the centre of the adjacent mound, which was of similar construction but lacked any interment. The arrangement may be of religious significance (Blair 1995). Eighteen execution burials were in a nearby prehistoric linear ditch (Reynolds 2009, 148–9).

The period covered by this paper was one of dramatic change. It began when officialdom had departed from Britain, never to return. Roman material culture suffered a rapid collapse. In spite of irregular contact with the disintegrating Roman world of northern Gaul, the initiative now lay not with the British warlords who inherited the old provinces but with the incoming Germanic peoples, many of whom had had only limited contact with the Roman Empire. They brought with them new ways, new cultures and a new language. To all of these the native inhabitants had to adapt as best they might. It has been a central purpose here to try to tease out from a variety of meagre and ill-understood evidence hints of these processes at work. It is not until some 150 years later that it is possible to see again, in Wessex as elsewhere, the establishment, with the aid of an enterprising and energetic Church, of robust political institutions which mark a new and important phase in the history of England.

Acknowledgements

The writer would like to thank Mark Corney for much helpful discussion, in particular in regard to late Durotrigan influence in south Wiltshire. I have also benefited greatly over many years from discussions with and help from late Dr Paul Robinson, Peter Saunders and David Algar. Martin Green and Nick Griffiths also kindly provided information about recent finds in east Dorset and Kenneth Penn drew my attention to the cemetery at Langham. David Dawson and Lisa Brown have been most helpful in regard to material in the collections in the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes.

Notes

- 1 Updated and edited from Eagles 2001.
- 2 The annals associated with Ceawlin may derive from an oral poetic source (Sweet 1878; Bately 1978, 102–3): see also the Introduction.
- 3 Hurstbourne Tarrant is on the boundary which divides the possible *regio* of the Upper Bourne and the Upper Test from the *regio* of the *Andeferas* ('The Andovers'). Cerdic may have been active in an area within the former *civitas Belgarum*.
- 4 Unless the title is a '... later reconstruct based ultimately on national recollections of the heroic age ... If so, precise motive is for the moment lacking' (Dumville 1997, 355).
- 5 Sims-Williams (1983, 33) has suggested that 'the 571 annal... may have been shaped by the events of 779 and after' (*q.v.* see Paper 12) and the one 'for 577 could ... be designed to reinforce West Saxon claims against Mercia' (see also the Introduction). Dyrham certainly lies far to the west of any other recorded military action by the Gewisse at this time.
- 6 It may be noted that the use of Woden in place-names may have crystallised only in the Christian missionary period (Gelling 1997, 152; Reynolds and Langlands 2006).
- 7 The politics of this period are discussed in Yorke 1995, *passim*.
- 8 The background to a battle at Bradford-on-Avon in 652 is particularly obscure, as it is variously recorded as fought against the British or as civil war in different sources (Whitelock *et al.* 1961, 20, n 2). It is therefore not at all clear that it relates to an onslaught against British territory and, indeed, the place may not be correctly identified.
- 9 Kelly 2005, Appendix, for a discussion of the 'bewildering variety of forms of the place-name 'Malmesbury' found in the mss. See also Plummer (ed.) 1896, II, 310–11.
- 10 Publication and other references to other burial sites, where not specified in this paper, will be found in Meaney 1964.
- 11 The great majority of the graves at Winterbourne Gunner are unpublished. Inter-site links within Wessex, as seen through button and small-long brooches, at Petersfinger and other cemeteries and findspots in Wiltshire in the first half of the sixth century, are discussed in Paper 3.
- 12 Recent finds here and elsewhere or records of them in the county are, unless noted otherwise, either in the collections of SM or the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes (hereafter WM).
- 13 See Paper 12.
- 14 See also Paper 7 for this and the following three sections.
- 15 Dickinson 1993, 34; 2002, 176–7.
- 16 At *Clyffe Pypard*, too, organic-tempered pottery has been found on the site of a Roman building, which may indicate that occupation continued at that site into the fifth century (*WANHM* 70/71 (1975/76), 136; see Paper 2).
- 17 This section, together with evidence set out in Paper 1, subsumes the Note, 'Britons and Saxons on the eastern boundary of the *civitas Durotrigum*', *Britannia* 35 (2004), 234–40.
- 18 The occurrence of some sixth-century Anglo-Saxon material in areas not taken over by the Anglo-Saxons until the seventh century is also seen in both the more westerly parts of Dorset and in Somerset (Paper 9).
- 19 We may compare the burial with a relict box at *Yatesbury* in north Wiltshire which lies by a *herepath* (Reynolds 1994, 193; and also, as argued in Paper 10, on a former frontier with the Britons).
- 20 Elsewhere in Wessex the richly furnished burial at Lowbury Hill is similarly sited by the Berkshire Ridgeway (Paper 3). Neither is the practice restricted to Wessex. For instance, the barrow burial at Caenby, Lindsey, lies close to Ermine Street (Eagles 1979, 155, 164).
- 21 I am grateful to Barry Ager for his comments on the equal-arm brooch from Harnham.



Plate 1 Bokerley Dyke, where it traverses Martin and Bokerley Downs (J. and S. Crane)



Plate 2 Upper Holt, Teffont, Wiltshire. The site of the Romano-British temple lies in the dense woodland seen against the skyline at the centre-right of the picture. View from the north (J. Schuster)



Plate 3 Poundbury hill-fort, Dorset, from the north-west (J. and S. Crane)



Plate 4 Hod Hill hill-fort, Dorset, viewed from the south (J. and S. Crane)



Plate 5 Badbury Rings hill-fort, Dorset, seen from the north-west (J. and S. Crane)



Plate 6 South Cadbury hill-fort, Somerset, from the south-east (Contributor Commission Air/Alamy stock photo)



Plate 7 The excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harnham: The Low Field, East Harnham, looking towards Salisbury with Old Sarum in the distance (Society of Antiquaries of London. Red Portfolio: Wiltshire Vol. I, p. 7. Watercolour of 1853–1854 by an unknown artist);



Plate 8 The excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harnham: The Low Field, East Harnham, from the Bridleway under Harnham Hill (Society of Antiquaries of London. Red Portfolio: Wiltshire Vol. I, p. 8. Watercolour of 1853–1854 by an unknown artist)



Plate 9 Oldbury Castle hill-fort, Wiltshire, viewed from the north (Bob Clarke)



Plate 10 Maiden Castle hill-fort, from the north-west. It is bisected longitudinally by the Long Mound, of Neolithic date (J. and S. Crane)



Plate 11 Spetisbury Rings hill-fort, Dorset, from the north-east. Anglo-Saxon weaponry of seventh-century and possibly earlier date was recovered when the railway line cut through its north-eastern defences (J. and S. Crane)

Britons and Saxons (AD 410–c. AD 800) in the Avebury area¹

There is only limited evidence for these periods from within the area of the World Heritage Site (Fig. 19). The Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings excavated in 1976 by Faith and Lance Vatcher in the *Avebury* southern car park, outside the henge, are not yet fully published but, on the basis of the date of three associated glass beads, they have been assigned to the sixth century (Guido 1999, 164). Another, similar, building was excavated nearby in 1988 (Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 192–8; Wiltshire HER SU06NE402; see also SU16NW404, SU17SW402). Other evidence for early Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area is provided by two clay loom-weights of ring-doughnut type from *East Kennett* (Goddard 1929; HER SU16NW405).

Inhumation burials of men, a woman and children at *West Overton* were intrusive in a Bronze Age round barrow and three Romano-British tombs of the second century AD. They were sited on the east side of the Ridgeway, just above its crossing with the Roman road from Bath to Silchester (Eagles 1986; Semple 2003, 86–7). The Ridgeway may have developed as a north to south through route in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Fowler 2000, 22). The grave goods from the male burials at West Overton include shields, spearheads, knives and an iron finger-ring; they belong to the sixth century. The grave of the adult female accompanied by a small zoomorphic penannular brooch (Youngs 2010, 38), Roman key, beads of amber and one of blue glass may, however, date to the late fifth century, the earliest date that an Anglo-Saxon presence has been recognised in this area. Loose finds, in all likelihood from further, disturbed, burials, include organic-tempered pottery and a fragment of a triangular-lugged copper-alloy cauldron. The latter is probably of the *Westlandkessel* type, which was manufactured in the Namur region, but was widely distributed throughout the Germanic world. The *Westlandkessel* was in production from the late fourth until at least the mid-sixth century, though it clearly remained in use later (Richards 1980, 13; Eagles 1986; HER SU16NW400–403). There also appear to have been intrusive interments in the *East Kennett* long barrow, for an anonymous illustrated manuscript letter (Fig. 20) of c. 1840–

50 states ‘Long Barrow (beyond 360 feet) on the Eastern summit of which I discovered 3 skeletons with iron spears and knives similar to the adjoining sketch’ – [socketed] spearhead, ‘about 9 inches’; knife, ‘4 inches’ (J. Pollard, pers. comm., who notes that the identification of the barrow is made probable by the dimensions cited in the letter and the accompanying sketch profile, and also by the details of the East Kennett round barrow Beaker grave group, which are reported separately but immediately below in this letter; see also Semple 2003, 87). An applied disc brooch, whose frontal silver disc – almost certainly in origin a bracteate (pendant) – is decorated with repoussé Germanic Style II animal ornament, was found near the boundary between the parishes of *East Kennett* and *Avebury*. Its closest parallel is a seventh-century silver bracteate from Sittingbourne in Kent (Hattatt 1989, 214–15; Speake 1980, pl. 13b; HER SU16NW413). The decorative mount from a bronze hanging bowl from the River Kennet (SU 100690) by Waden Hill is also likely to belong to the seventh century (Youngs with Eagles 1998). The name Waden (Old English *wēo(h)-dun*) means ‘the shrine on the hill’, though not necessarily a pagan one, as the term continued to be used of wayside shrines in Christian times (Gover *et al.* 1939, 295; Wilson 1992, 10; Gelling 1997, 259).

To the north and beyond the limits of the World Heritage Site, Temple Down, *Preshute*, may be the provenance of a complete, plain, hand-made Anglo-Saxon pot in the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes; its completeness suggests that it once accompanied a burial (Robinson 1991; HER SU17SW400). There is also a seventh-century, copper-alloy gilded mount decorated in Germanic animal Style II from *Winterbourne Bassett* (PAS, IOW-227533, where the provenance is incorrectly given as Wootton Bassett).

Looking eastwards, unassociated finds of the sixth century are recorded from two sites at *Ogbourne St Andrew* (a small-long brooch: Anon. 1991, 148; and a saucer brooch with six-spiral decoration: Anon. 1988, 185). The Marlborough area has produced another copper-alloy bowl with triangular lugs. This example is of rounded, rather than the angular profile of the *Westlandkessel*, of which it is a typological

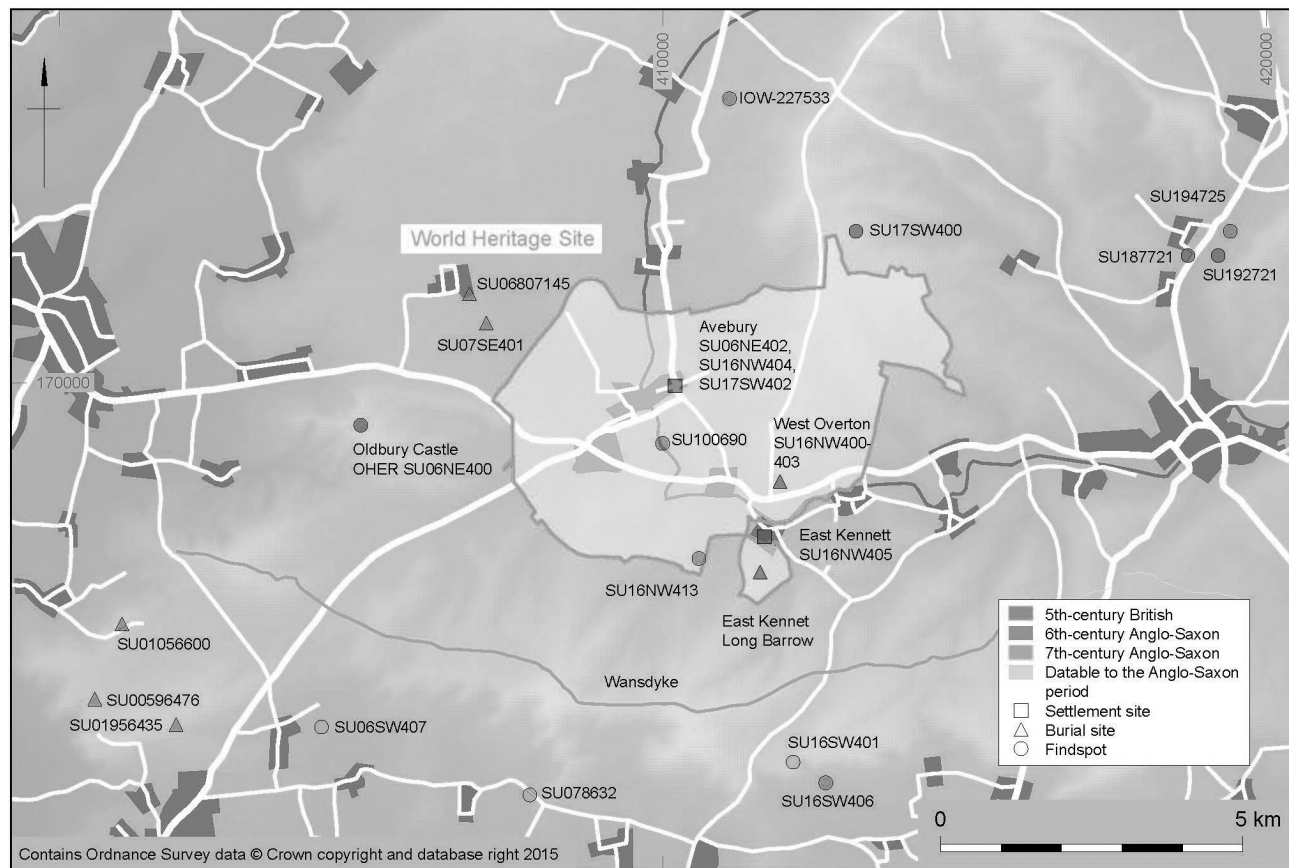


Figure 19 The Avebury area (Rob Goller)

development, and is classifiable as a *Gotlandkessel*; it was found with a knife (PAS, WILT-7E5176). Such bowls are again likely to have been made in the Namur region and they too have an extensive distribution. They date to the sixth century, up to c. 600 (Richards 1980, 13–14). A gold wire bead, possibly seventh to early eighth century in date, also from *Ogbourne St Andrew* probably derives from a high status burial there (Marzinzik 2005/6).

To the south-west and south of Avebury, the landscape is dominated by the great earthwork of East Wansdyke, its west to east course keeping, for the most part, to the crest of the Chalk escarpment. The late or post-Roman date of the Dyke was established by General Pitt Rivers at the end of the nineteenth century, but its precise context continues to elude us. It has recently been shown that, at least in some places, it is of two-phase construction and, furthermore, that it may have origins in prehistory, though not necessarily as a continuous earthwork (Eagles and Allen 2011; Paper 5). East Wansdyke, it has been argued, marked part of the boundary between the Roman *civitates* of the Belgae, whose capital lay at *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), and the Dobunni, who were centred upon *Corinium Dobunnorum*, Cirencester (Paper 1). It has been considered that it may have reached its present form only in the eighth century, as a frontier between the

West Saxons and the Mercians (Reynolds and Langlands 2006, to whose arguments may be added the point that this may be the context for the Old English name of the River Marden ('the boundary valley': Gover *et al.* 1939, 8–9), a tributary of the Wiltshire Avon, which replaced its earlier name of Calne (Coates and Breeze 2000, 340).

A saucer brooch is recorded from *Bourton* in Bishop Cannings parish (Anon. 1991, 148, fig. 3; HER SU06SW407) and a disc brooch (Anon. 1990, 229: SU 078632) from *All Cannings*. Cannings is an early Old English name with the '-ingas' suffix and refers to the *Can(n)ingas*, the people of an individual called Cana (Gover *et al.* 1939, xiv, 249–50). Their name also survives in Caningborough Hill, between Avebury and Yatesbury and to the north of Wansdyke. In 2001 a gilded silver pyramidal fitting, with niello decoration and inset garnet, of the late sixth or the seventh century and probably from a sword belt, was found to the south-east of Knap Hill (Evans 2003, no. 60; HER SU16SW406). At *Knap Hill* itself, a sword, two-edged, but with no other distinguishing features (it has not been x-radiographed), of early Anglo-Saxon date but not more closely datable, was found during excavations in 1908–9 (HER SU16SW401; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 135, fig. 25, no. E27a).

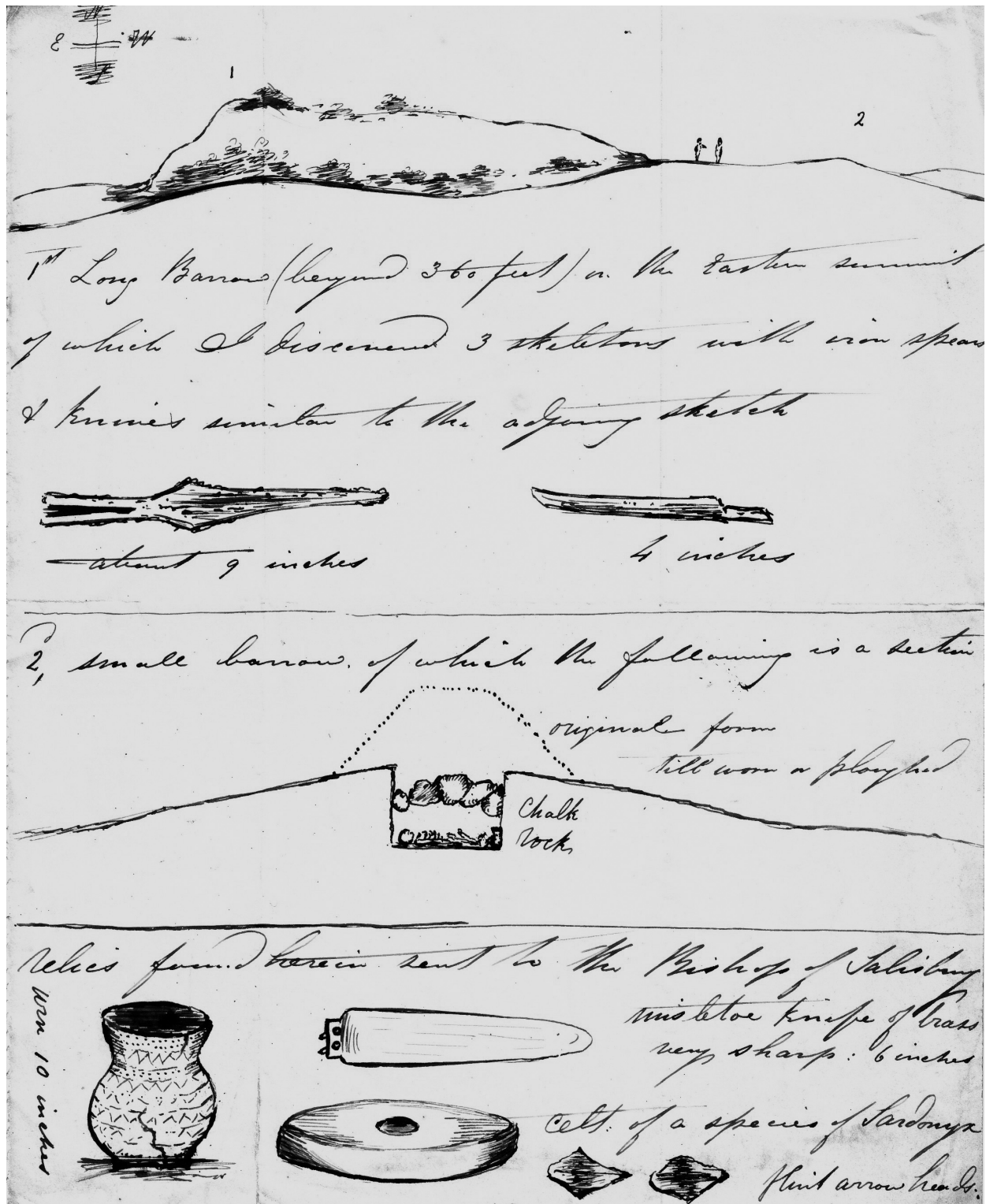


Figure 20 Saxon burials at East Kennett long barrow (J. Pollard - source unknown)

It has been argued that, from the later fifth century, the Avebury area lay in a frontier zone between the expanding Anglo-Saxons and the Britons (Annable and Eagles 2010, 107–9). It is from this frontier, too, that there is the only

archaeological information about the post-Roman Britons themselves. The independent Britons, ruled by a Christian elite, may well have regarded themselves as ‘Romans’ – the cleric Gildas, writing in the first half of the sixth century,

refers to his fellow Britons as ‘*cives*’. The evidence takes the form of two large penannular brooches, both with zoomorphic terminals. One of them was excavated from a ‘hollow’, one of a number once recognisable, within the Iron Age hill-fort of *Oldbury Castle* (Pl. 9) on Cherhill Down (Cunnington 1887: the hollow is marked m.2 on the plan; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 255–6; HER SU06NE400). Recent analytical field survey of Oldbury Castle has revealed a possibly late enclosure within its north-east quadrant, the highest part of the hill and also the area where m.2 was located (Bowden *et al.* 2005; Oldbury has also produced Roman finds, with coins up to AD 383–385, of the reign of Magnus Maximus). Another, similar, brooch, but enamelled, is recorded as from ‘near Calne’, but it is possible that it too is from the hill-fort. It is an early example of a type introduced and developed in Ireland from *c.* 400 (Youngs 2012, 268–9). Following late Roman practice, in the fifth century brooches such as these were worn at the shoulder by high-ranking British males to fasten a cloak (Youngs 2010, 39–40; for dating of the large penannular brooches, Mackreth 1986, 30).

There are also indications of a late Roman site at the foot of Cherhill Down, to the north-east. Metal-detected finds there include a copper-alloy spoon and a number of late third- and fourth-century coins, the latest of them of Gratian (367–383), and a fragmentary silver penannular brooch, also with zoomorphic terminals, but smaller than the others and of fourth-century date (now in Wiltshire Museum, Devizes). Silver examples of zoomorphic penannular brooches are extremely rare (Youngs 2012, 259: WILT-809E32 in the PAS Database, which also holds records of the other finds). This frontier marks the most westerly limit of Anglo-Saxon penetration, as determined by material culture, until the late seventh century. It is also defined to the west and south-west of Avebury by high status burials of the later or the end of the seventh century at *Roundway Down* and *Yatesbury* (HER SU07SE401) and other, primary, burials which also date to the seventh century at *Heddington* and at another location in Roundway. References to these four sites will be found in Semple 2003, respectively under ‘Roundway Down 7’ (SU 00596476), possibly a bed-burial (for which see also Speake 1989, 107), ‘Yatesbury 2’, ‘King’s Play Down, Heddington’ (SU 01056600) and ‘Roundway Down

3’ (SU 01956435). Semple also notes that another burial at Yatesbury, her ‘Yatesbury 1’ (SU 06807145), may have been another primary burial in this area.

In addition, there is a marked concentration of Brittonic and even more ancient place-names in north-west Wiltshire, a distribution emphasised in the Avebury area by the names Cherhill, Calne, Quemerford and, possibly, Penn (High and Lower Penn farms) to the west and north-west of Oldbury Castle (Coates and Breeze 2000, 112–6, 339–40, 391 (map); Paper 6, fig. 18). These names indicate the late persistence of the British tongue in that region: ‘We may ... suggest that Brittonic was still spoken here in the seventh century by people capable of influencing the linguistic behaviour of the West Saxon overlord class and its administrators’ (Coates 2000b, 113). The territory of the *Can(n)ingas*, it has been suggested (Reynolds 2005), stretched westwards beyond Calne, and so across this frontier, although the names directly associated with them are all further to the east.

Organic-tempered, hand-made, potsherds, which, if plain, cannot be dated more closely than between the fifth and the early tenth centuries, have been recovered from within Avebury henge and from the building and an adjacent pit found in the car park in 1988 (Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 191–2, 196–7). Similar potsherds have also been found at many other sites across the wider region under discussion here: West Overton, as already noticed, Winterbourne Monkton (HER SU07SE402), to the north of Avebury, Compton Bassett to the north-west, Cherhill, Yatesbury and East Kennett (Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 211; Anon. 1995, 154), and also the Neolithic Palisade Enclosure 2, West Kennett (Whittle 1997, 83, and also 84 ‘Anglo-Saxon’ sherds).

Acknowledgements

Barry Ager kindly discussed the vessel from the Marlborough area and the silver brooch from East Kennett and Susan Youngs the penannular brooches from the vicinity of Oldbury. Dr Josh Pollard drew my attention to the letter, which is in his possession, that appears to refer to intrusive Anglo-Saxon interments in the East Kennett long barrow. Richard Henry provided information from the PAS Database.

Note

- 1 Eagles 2016.

The Jutes in Hampshire and on the Isle of Wight

The written sources and the evidence of place-names

Bede, in a well-known passage (*HE* i. 15),¹ says that the Jutes originated in an area to the north of the Continental Saxons and the Angles, which appears to indicate Jutland,² and occupied Kent, the Isle of Wight and the lands opposite (*contra ipsam insulam Uectam*). The Jutes' name is preserved in *Ytene* ('Jutes'), the New Forest, according to twelfth-century John of Worcester (*in provincia Iutarum, in Noua Foresta* and *in Noua Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur*: Thorpe 1848–49, i, 276 and ii, 44–5 – the first reference, in the section headed *Genealogia regum West-Saxonum*, is omitted from McGurk 1998, but the second is to be found on his pp. 92–3; *Yting stoc*, Bishopstoke ('farm of the Jute' Gover (nd), 67: (*æt*) *yting stoce* in charter Sawyer 1968, no. 683, of 960) on the River Itchen; and also in *Ytedene*, 'the valley of the Jutes' (J. E. B. Gover (nd), 'Hampshire place-names', unpublished ms in the Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, vol. I, p. 63a: *a eadens* (1840 Tithe Award), *Ytedene* (1263, 1301 and 1453) and *Itedene* (1350), records of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, not further specified), a lost settlement name near East Meon (Coates 1989, 34, 122; Yorke 1989, 85 (fig. 6.1), 90–1).

These places may hint at the limits, respectively in the west, north and east (Fig. 21), of Jutish authority (probably, but not certainly, a royal one: Yorke 1989, 91). The inclusion of the area of the New Forest is corroborated by Bede's account (*HE* iv. 16) of the flight of the royal Jutish princes of Wight at the time of Cædwalla's conquest (c. 686) of the island to *Ad Lapidem* (probably Stone:³ Yorke 1989, 90), on the mainland coast opposite (Fig. 21).⁴ Ringwood ((*æt*) *runcwuda* (Sawyer 1968, no. 1491, of 955 x 958) and *rimecudā* (Sawyer 1968, no. 690, of 961: Coates 1989, 138, 'the border wood') may also have been located on the Jutes' western boundary; the former limit of Ringwood on the west reached the Dorset border, across the Avon (just as did that of the *parochia* of Christchurch, its neighbour to the south). It is noticeable that *Yting stoc* also lies on the boundary of

the reconstructed *scīr* ('small shire') of *Hamtunscīr*, which is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s. a. 757 (Paper 12). This 'small shire', it is argued, extended from the River Test in the west to the Meon in the east and at an earlier period had been an English folk-territory, that of the *Hyltingas*. This early presence of the *Hyltingas* suggests that Jutish control of the area of this 'small shire' was a secondary development. The territory of the *Hyltingas*, however, may have been co-extensive with the central part of the mainland home of the Jutes.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recounts an initial landing s. a. 495 by Cerdic and Cynric at *Cerdicesora*, their defeat s. a. 508 of Natanleod (a name which apparently has to do with the English place-name Netley on the west bank of Southampton Water (Coates 1989, 121; SimsWilliams 1983, 29; *contra* Breeze 2000, who associates the name with *leod* ('lord', a poetic form) Natan)), which allowed them to gain control of territory as far as Charford,⁵ where there was a battle s. a. 519, their further battle against the British at the unidentified *Cerdicesleag* s. a. 527, and finally the entry for 530 that Cerdic and Cynric took control of Wight. The entry in the *Chronicle* for 501, however, does not mention Cerdic but records the success of newly arrived Saxons, under their leader, the eponymous Port, at Portsmouth. In 514, it is said, Stuf and Wihtgar (the latter of whose names is clearly artificial and synonymous with (the Isle of) Wight),⁶ 'kinsmen' of Cerdic and Cynric, arrived at the unidentified *Cerdicesora* and were successful against the Britons.

Charford, 'Cerdic's ford' (*Cerdices ford*, *Certices ford*: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, respectively mss. 'A' and 'E'), may also have been close to the northern boundary of Jutish territory. The place lies on the River Avon about 12 km to the south of Old Sarum, in Hampshire but on the present county boundary with Wiltshire, a limit which may also have divided them from the lands of the *Wilsæte*, the 'dwellers by the Wylle', recorded in the *Chronicle* s. a. 800 and 878 (see also Paper 6 with reference to the name Martin). The place-name Canterton ('the farm of the men of Kent', from Old English **Cantwaratūn* (*Cantortun* in Domesday Book: Coates 1989, 49), at the northern limit

of Minstead parish, too, may be significant in the further definition of Jutish territory, for it again lies on the former county boundary between Hampshire and Wiltshire, between Charford and Netley (the Revd. W. H. V. Elliott, pers. comm.: archaeological connections between Kent and the Jutes are discussed below).

The separate mention by Bede (*HE* iv. 13) of the *provincia* of the *Meonwara* suggests that they were a distinct group (Paper 12, n. 36). In pre-Roman times, the River Meon had served as a major boundary, which arguably continued as the western limit of the Roman *civitas Regnorum*, centred upon Chichester (Paper 1). The lands of the *Meonwara* lay to the east of the river (Paper 12).⁷ If any credence may be given to the 501 entry in the *Chronicle*, it should relate to the *Meonwara*, for Portsmouth belonged to them. The primacy given to Cerdic and Cynric *s. a.* 495 here may be pure

invention, designed to link the traditions of the *Gewisse* with those of the *Meonwara* and the Jutes in order to emphasise later domination of the region by the house of Cerdic.⁸ It is notable that, apparently, no genuine names of Jutish kings, apart from, possibly, Stuf (but note Yorke 1989, 86), survive in the *Chronicle* – though Bede (*HE* iv. 16) records that of Aruald at the time of Cædwalla's conquest. It is as if both the *Meonwara* and the Jutes had been expunged from the record.⁹ In 661 Wulfhere of Mercia (658–675) inflicted heavy defeats upon the *Gewisse* and also conquered the Isle of Wight, the *Meonwara* and, presumably, the Jutes in the former lands of the *Hyltingas*. As Blair (1994, 44) points out, the *Gewisse* were now doubtless under tribute to Mercia. It was only many years later that Wulfhere granted, though still under his overlordship, both the Isle of Wight and the *Meonwara* to the South Saxons on the baptism of

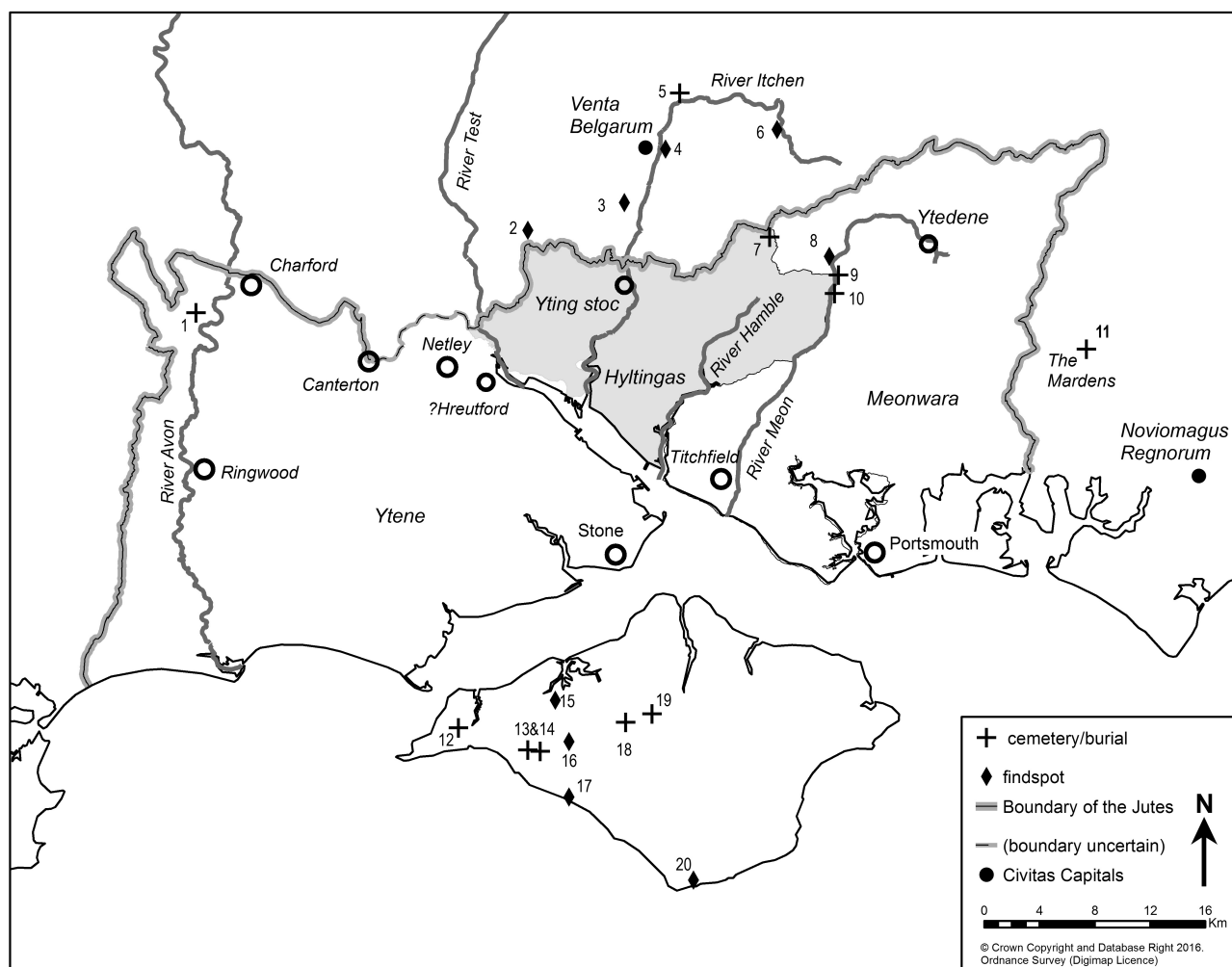


Figure 21 The 'province' of the Jutes (Harry Manley): Key to numbered sites with Jutish and/or Frankish/Kentish associations: 1. Breamore; 2. Ampfield; 3. Twyford; 4. Winchester; 5. Worthy Park, King's Worthy; 6. Tichborne; 7. Preshaw; 8. Exton; 9. Meonstoke; 10. Droxford; 11. Apple Down; 12. Freshwater; 13, Shalcombe; 14, Chessell Down; 15, Shalfleet; 16, Calbourne; 17, Brighstone; 18. Bowcombe Down; 19. Carisbrooke; 20. Niton.

their king Æthelwealh, for Bede (*HE* iv. 13) says that that occurred *non multo ante* (not long before) the arrival of Bishop Wilfrid in Sussex in 681.¹⁰

The transfer of the *Meonwara* was arguably made the easier if that people had earlier been a part of the South Saxon kingdom, territorially essentially the successor of the *civitas Regnorum*. The name *Ytedene* will have come into use during a period of Jutish dominance of that people.¹¹ The statement of Bede (*HE* iv. 16) that the River Hamble flowed through the lands of the Jutes (*per terras Iutorum quae ad regionem Geuissorum pertinent*) is also consonant with this phase in their history, for the River Hamble had marked both the eastern boundary of the *Hyltingas* and the western limit of the Titchfield minster *parochia*, which served the lower Meon valley and must certainly have lain within the territory of the *Meonwara* (Hase 1975, 44–72, 96–123). Titchfield was founded either by Cædwalla (c. 685–688) or just a few years earlier by Wilfrid, when in the service of the South Saxon king, Æthelwealh (Yorke 1995, 183–4, with reference to the work of Michael Hare).

Gewissan authority over the Jutes appears to date no earlier than c. 685; thereafter conquest and complete domination was rapid. Cædwalla, while still an aetheling, had killed Æthelwealh of the South Saxons in c. 685 (*HE* iv. 15), and it was probably at that time that the *Gewisse* gained control of the *Meonwara*. It seems highly likely that Cædwalla had already taken the old lands of the *Hyltingas* from the Jutes – or, rather, from Æthelred I (675–704), Wulfhere's successor, their overlord – at around the same time. Furthermore, a monastery had been founded at *Hreutford* (?Eling) on the west bank of the Test and certainly within Jutish territory, in *Ytene*, by the time of Cædwalla's conquest of Wight in 685/6 (Bede, *HE* iv. 16; Yorke 1989, 90–1).¹² Bede records that the Isle of Wight was then ruled by (pagan) kings. This final defeat of the Jutes could have provided the background to the appearance of a novel title, *Rex occidentalium Saxonum* ('king of the West Saxons'), in recognition of his new, wider, authority, now no longer limited to the *Gewisse*, and also the absorption of Jutish traditions into those of the Cerdicings (Yorke 1989, 93).¹³

It is possible that the Isle of Wight was the original homeland of the Jutes in Wessex, and that it was only subsequently that they had occupied the lands of the *Hyltingas* and, finally, had controlled the *Meonwara*. Jutish power seems likely to have been a maritime one, centred ultimately upon their control of the Solent. The importance of the Solent for the future development of Wessex is seen clearly in the foundation, possibly in the reign of Cædwalla's successor, Ine (Morton 1992, 28), of the port at *Hamwic*, by Southampton. Shared connections between the territories of the Jutes in Wessex and Kent may be reflected in the early appearance of Uecta ('the Isle of Wight'), Uictgisl and Uitta in a genealogy of the kings of Kent (Sims-Williams 1983,

24–5; Yorke 1989, 88), and in the nomenclature of a number of their constituent groupings: *Cæsterwara*, *Weowara*, *Burhwara* and *Limenwara* in Kent, the *Wihtwara* on the Isle of Wight, and the *Meonwara* (Yorke 1995, fig. 13). This usage is absent from Sussex (Blair 1989, fig. 7.1). Possible hints, at the most, of links with the Jutes appear in the Kent origin myth through the figure of Hengest, whose Jutish ancestry seems to be claimed in the *Finnsburgh Fragment* (Sims-Williams 1983, 21–4; Brooks 1989, 58–64; Wood 1997, 43–4; Kruse (née Sørensen) 2007, 250–2; Sowerby 2007).

Kent and the Franks

As early as the first decade of the sixth century there were reciprocal arrangements in the kingdom of the Franks for the return of slaves from 'overseas', which in this context must mean Britain – and in view of the subsequent close relations, most probably Kent (*Pactus Legis Salicae* (very unlikely to be later than 511, the date of the death of Clovis; see also the Introduction), 39, 2; Wood 1997, 47). Procopius seems to say that the Franks claimed overlordship in Britain (*Brittia*) on account of the Angles, Frisians and Britons who had migrated to their own realm. The first two groups will have been those who had come across the English Channel to northern France, and the third, the Britons who were still arriving in Brittany, which he names *Britannia* (Procopius, *Wars*, VIII. xx. 7–10; Thompson 1980a; Wood 1983, 12).¹⁴

By this time Saxons were well established in the Bayeux region (Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, V. 26 (Bessin) and X. 9) and others are said to have been on the lower Loire since c. 470 (Gregory, *Histories*, II. 19; Charles-Edwards 2013, 229; there is some doubt as to the exact location of the latter, MacGeorge 2002, 104, n. 96). These latter Saxons had not necessarily visited Britain at all, but there are Anglo-Saxon button brooches and other artefacts, many of them specifically Kentish, in North Gallic cemeteries in coastal areas between the Somme and Calais and in lower Normandy (Soulat 2012). By 581 Æthelberht of East Kent, not yet king, had married the Frankish princess Bertha (Gregory, *Histories*, IV. 26, IX. 26; Bede, *HE* i. 25, ii. 5; Brooks 1989, 66–7, thereby cementing very close relations between the two kingdoms. In the next generation, his son also married a Frank, Ymme (Yorke 1990, 29).¹⁵

The archaeological perspective

Identifying the Jutes in Kent

Attempts to relate the early medieval archaeology of Jutland and Kent have a long history but have proved to be fraught with difficulty. Archaeological comparison between these areas has centred upon the occurrence of pottery, gold bracteates and elaborately decorated gilded silver small square-headed brooches. The burial rites themselves are not

sufficiently similar to suggest direct contact. Fifth-century cruciform brooches have been found in increasing numbers in Kent through metal-detecting, but their Continental antecedents can only be assigned to a wide area, extending from south Scandinavia to Frisia, just as much of the pottery (Kruse 2007, 267–9, 322–3; Richardson 2011, 74–5).

Pottery

Twelve hand-made pots from East Kent,¹⁶ including two thought to date to the mid-fifth century, from the first backfill of a sunken-featured building at the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, site, ‘may be considered to be Jutlandic’, but even these have parallels in Frisia and may have originated there. Another pot in this group, from the cemetery at Buckland II, Dover, Kent, Grave 392, has an associated sixth-century shield-on-tongue buckle (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: for the buckle type, see below). Some other vessels from the county belong to a more general ‘North Sea Group’. There is, however, only one example, in Kent, of the handled vessels familiar in Jutland in the fifth century but going out of use in the sixth (Kruse 2007, 264–5, 308–9, 322, 359–60: Buckland II, Grave 307 (a child aged between 1 and 6 years, no other goods; the pot is plain and crudely made). Their sole occurrence on the Isle of Wight is from Chessell Down, Grave 103, with a spearhead, a shield-boss, a knife and copper-alloy rivets (Arnold 1982, 36 and fig. 19).

Nydam Style brooches

Two relief-decorated gilt-silver brooches with semicircular head from ‘Canterbury’ and Gillingham, Kent, point to elite contact with southern Scandinavia from the middle third of the fifth century (Welch 2007, 216). The Gillingham brooch was found outside the enclosure of a Roman mausoleum and may have been a votive offering, possibly in a pit (Gaimster 2016).

The ‘Jutlandic group’ of square-headed brooches

Haseloff (1981, 21–173; see also Kruse 2007, 273–5) defined a ‘Jutlandic group’ (which he subdivided into Groups A to C) of square-headed brooches of nielloed silver-gilt, richly decorated with notably individualistic and carefully executed chip-carved designs, and were, he argued, made in Jutland. His grouping includes five brooches from East Kent (Finglesham, Grave D3: Group B, see below; Martyrs Field, Canterbury: Group B, severely worn; Bifrons, Grave 41: Group C, an old brooch; Gilton, Grave 48: Group C, in fresh condition; and Goldstone: Group C, heavily worn), which he considered to be imports (Haseloff 1981, 21). The earliest of these brooches (Finglesham D3) dates to c. 475–480, while that from Bifrons to c. 500–510/520. A further five from and made in Kent, the ‘Jutish-Kentish’

type (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 35), are closely similar (Kruse 2007, 275–8, 324; cf. Haseloff 1981, 450–5).

Grave 14 in the cemetery at *Apple Down* (Fig. 21, no. 11), on the Sussex and Hampshire border, at the Mardens, produced a gilded silver relief-decorated square-headed brooch with Style I animal ornament. This brooch, along with another from Tournai, ‘could be seen as linking the [Jutlandic Groups B and C] forms, but more probably represent[s] a contemporary and parallel development with the Group C brooches’, and therefore datable to c. 500–520. The brooch may have been made either in Jutland or in a Jutish workshop in East Kent. It may be noted that although it was worn with a pair of Saxon saucer brooches, it was used for public display, to fasten an overgown, thus apparently proclaiming the Jutish priority in the woman’s identity (Down and Welch 1984; 1990, 36, 95–6, fig. 2.21, pl. 42).

Gold bracteates

The bracteates are only found in hoards or as offerings to the gods in Jutland, but in graves, generally of women, in East Kent (Kruse 2007, 325–6). Behr (2010) has suggested that Sievern, close to the north German coast and to the north of the River Weser, and probably an early medieval central place, may have played a significant role in the knowledge of bracteates and their iconography in England. Bracteates from five of the seven clusters that are defined by their motifs and styles and are represented among the English finds have been discovered in the Sievern area. Most of the pendants found in England are, however, locally produced copies, imitative of a Scandinavian prototype depicting a griffin with its head turned backwards.

There are 29 gold bracteates (28 of them D-bracteates and one B-bracteate) from Kent. Two D-bracteates are recorded from the Isle of Wight (see below). The earliest bracteates in England date to Axboe’s phase H2, which begins c. 475. Three bracteates, all very worn, suspended, in Frankish fashion, from a string of glass beads attached at either end by two Frankish bird brooches, together with the Jutlandic square-headed brooch, which was old, worn and repaired, and two Frankish radiate-headed brooches, were found in *Finglesham*, Grave D3, a burial datable to c. 525–530 (Chadwick 1958; Hawkes and Pollard 1981; Welch 2007, fig. 6.21), and in Grave 203, of a generation later, two more, die-linked to the others and far less worn. These two burials, it has been argued, may have been those of mother and daughter from a family for whom the bracteates carried a special significance. The designs on these pendants indicate, it has been argued, a close link between the women ‘of the highest rank’ who wore them and a cult of Woden (Behr 2000). They may mark ‘continued links with the Scandinavian and continental homelands through gift exchanges or marriages’ (Behr 2007, 23) and reflect,

through their aristocratic owners, a claim, if a mythical one, to Scandinavian ancestry by the Kentish kings.¹⁷

Kentish square-headed brooches

The Kentish square-headed brooch was developed in East Kent from the Jutish series discussed above, where they might be worn in combination with Frankish jewellery (eg. Finglesham, Grave 203; Mill Hill, Deal, graves 25, 61, 102 and 105: Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, *passim*). They were less elaborate than their Jutish predecessors, and a series in copper alloy was also produced in Kent (Leigh 1980, 100–5, 108, 505).

Kent and the Franks

There is also a notable list of features and accessories of Frankish female dress which were adopted in Kent from the late fifth century into the second half of the sixth. The list includes: gold braid edging to a high status woman's dress; radiate-headed brooches; bird brooches; shield-on-tongue buckles; shoe-shaped rivets; mounted crystal balls and perforated/sieve spoons/skimers. These items might then be copied in Kent. The widespread use of garnet inlays probably also reflects Frankish influence. Not all Frankish dress items were borrowed, however, but when they were they might be worn in Kent in novel ways or in new combinations – only three graves in Kent contain exclusively Frankish brooches (Lucy 2000, 135; Welch 2007, 220). It appears that the women of Kent wished to see themselves as distinct from their Continental neighbours. Richardson (2011, 77) has noted that 'Scandinavian relief, Kentish small square-headed, button and garnet-inlaid disc brooches can be seen as representing an inter-related group of dress accessories, originating out of the Kentish employment of Scandinavian Style I'.¹⁸

Kent and the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire¹⁹

An exceptional link between *Francia* and the Isle of Wight in the last quarter of the fifth century is the appearance of kite-shaped belt rivets in *Bowcombe Down* (no. 18), Grave 13 (Grave 15 in Arnold 1982). Class A1 button brooches from *Calbourne* (no. 16) and *Shalfleet* (no. 15) are evidence of contact with Kent at this time, though Suzuki (2009, 59) has observed, with reference to one of the *Calbourne* examples (PAS, IOW-4AC604), that its decorative punch-marking is used in a different way from Kent. From earlier in the fifth century there are Group I and II cruciform brooches from *Brading*, *Godshill*, *Shalfleet*, *Shorwell* and *Totland* on the Isle of Wight, while the Quoit Brooch Style (see further below) is represented at *Bowcombe Down*, *Chessell Down*, *Newport*, *Shalfleet* and *Shorwell* (for all these, see Site Gazetteer, Paper 2). While the cruciform brooches are strongly represented in Kent, their appearance on Wight

may have been due to influence from elsewhere, whether from England or the Continent.

Carisbrooke (Fig. 21, no. 19)

Two Anglo-Saxon graves on the site of Carisbrooke Castle have produced a number of exceptional items. Grave 1632 included a glass bowl. Grave 1612, of an adult male aged 20–25, contained a drinking-horn with a gilded copper-alloy and base silver Style I decorated mount, from a re-worked, arguably locally, die; one glass and 51 ivory gaming-pieces; a wooden bucket; a gold-plated Visigothic copy of a *tremissis* of c. 509–520 of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I (in the mouth); two glass bowls; and a copper-alloy bowl. The grave may date close to the middle of the sixth century. Grave 1632 is probably of the second quarter of the sixth century. The original die for the drinking-horn mount shows links of the highest quality workmanship with Kent. 'Such a combination of vessels, in number and type, is difficult to parallel in England before the richest barrow burials of the late 6th/7th centuries' (Young 2000, with contributions from Professor V. I. Evison, Dr Tania Dickinson and others).²⁰

Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, Grave 45 (Fig. 21, no. 14)²¹

The grave is 8 ft (2.44 m) long and almost 5 ft (1.52 m) wide. The woman's dress was edged with gold braid. Three Kentish square-headed brooches of nielloed silver-gilt, inlaid with garnets with gold foil backing, were displayed down her chest. On her right shoulder she wore a gilded silver keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooch (Avent 1975, II, 11, pl. 7, Corpus 37, Class 2.2; the six other examples in this group are from Kent, so it is probably an import from there) and a silver-gilt equal-arm brooch with inlaid garnets on her left, bead strings at her neck, a gold ring on her right hand and a silver one on her left. Her grave also contained a runic inscribed Byzantine/East Mediterranean pail decorated with hunting scenes, a wooden cup with silver rim, a mounted crystal ball, a silver-gilt sieve spoon, a weaving batten, a girdle hanger and some items of iron. The square-headed brooches have been dated between 525 and 570 (Hines 1997, 230). The woman arguably arrived on the Isle of Wight from Kent through exogamy.

Freshwater (Fig. 21, no. 12)

Metal-detected finds, probably from disturbed burials: a silver-gilt perforated spoon and a quartz ball, a Kentish square-headed brooch with a garnet disc and silver-gilt fragments of others; a gold D-bracteate, a garnet decorated gilt-silver equal-arm brooch, a gilded copper-alloy miniature disc brooch, a gilded copper-alloy S-brooch – an Anglo-Saxon version of a narrow Scandinavian type; and a fragmentary silver-gilt great square-headed brooch, Hines Group IX (Treasure case no. 2003T208 and Department of

Culture Media and Sport, *Treasure Annual Report 2003*, 88-9, no. 120); PAS, IOW-0AB0D4. Treasure case no. 2009T264; PAS, IOW-BDE1F7. Treasure case 2014T811; PAS, IOW-C8E077).

The remarkable, richly furnished grave at Chessell Down and the finds from Freshwater exhibit, between them, much of the complement of artefacts which define Kentish material culture as it was exported to the Isle of Wight – and, in less marked a form, to Hampshire and southern Wiltshire.

Bracteates

One of the two D-bracteates from the Isle of Wight is from near *Shalfleet* (Behr 2010, 64–5, catalogue no. 16; 71, ?settlement site), the other, above, from *Freshwater* (Behr 2010, 62–3, catalogue no. 15; 71).

There is also a Style II gold bracteate, probably of early seventh-century date, and of Scandinavian inspiration, found with a gold and garnet pendant and both on a gold chain, together with human bones, from *Preshaw* (Fig. 21, no. 7), at the westernmost part of the parish of Exton, Hampshire, in the territory of the *Meonwara* (Hawkes and Kendrick 1937; Speake 1980, 67, 72; Gaimster 1992, 19–20 and n. 129). Dr Märit Gaimster notes that twenty of the 23 known examples indicate independent production in Kent and, as the earlier series, are likely to reflect power, status and perhaps political connections.

Kentish square-headed brooches

These brooches date from *c.* 500–530/540 (Åberg 1926, Type 131) and from *c.* 530/540–560/570 (Åberg 1926, Type 132; Parfitt and Bruggmann 1997, 94–101, fig. 23). On the Isle of Wight they have also been found in *Chessell Down* graves 40 (two, silver-gilt (Åberg Type 131),²² with a crystal ball in a silver sling, a Quoit Brooch Style strap-end (for the Style see Paper 2), a gilt-bronze ‘duck’ brooch, a buckle and beads) and 55 (two, of silver-gilt (Åberg Type 131), with beads, a buckle, an iron ring and a Roman coin), and there are fourteen, two of them with mounted garnets, that are unassociated from the cemetery. Others are from *Calbourne* (PAS, IOW-C2FD34, a fragment of silver-gilt; *Freshwater* (PAS, IOW-272203: a foot fragment of gilded copper-alloy, Åberg Type 131: for its mask cf. three brooches from Chessell Down (Arnold 1982, 30, fig. 15, 39–40, fig. 26); and IOW-0406B1, gilded copper-alloy; *Niton and Whitwell* (Fig. 21, no. 20; PAS, IOW-D94975: Åberg Type 131); *Shalfleet* (PAS, IOW-6FCE43, gilded copper-alloy; and IOW-6D33D5, gilded copper-alloy, iron pin); and *Brighstone* (Fig. 21, no. 17: PAS, IOW-DF8DD7), gilded silver and niello inlaid copper alloy.²³

In southern Hampshire there is an unassociated example of gilded copper alloy from the cemetery at *Droxford* (Fig. 21, no. 10) in the territory of the *Hyltingas*, later *Hamtuncscir* (Aldsworth 1978, fig. 31, 2 (Åberg Type 131);

for *Hamtuncscir* see Paper 12). The horizontal bars on the head plate of another, also of gilded copper alloy, from *Exton* (Fig. 21, no. 8: PAS, HAMP 1796), in the territory of the *Meonwara*, are perhaps comparable (in their simplification) with the brooch from *Niton and Whitwell* above, which has vertical bars instead. A fragmentary brooch from *Exton* (PAS, HAMP 2359, Åberg Type 131), again of gilded copper alloy, has moulded rudimentary Style I animal decoration. A part of another of these brooches is on record from *Shavards Farm, Meonstoke* (Paper 3). There is a gilded copper-alloy buckle plate with Style I decoration and a central garnet from *East Meon* (*Antiquaries Journal* 17 (1937), 199–200, 441–2).

Four of these brooches have also been found in the possible ‘small shire’ of Chilcomb, which abuts *Hamtuncscir* on the north, beyond the territory of the Jutes. A gilded copper-alloy example from *Winchester* (Fig. 21, no. 4: PAS, HAMP 461) may be Kentish, as its Style I animal is similar to that on a brooch from Sarre (Åberg 1926, fig. 130). A copper-alloy one from *Winchester* (PAS, FASW-1A8DC4), however, is possibly a local copy of a Kentish prototype. The others are from *Twyford* (Fig. 21, no. 3: PAS, HAMP-9F9DA2) and *Tichborne* (Fig. 21, no. 6: PAS, SUR-E8F160).²⁴

Kentish keystone garnet-inlaid disc brooches

This type of brooch originated *c.* 525 as a variant of the Frankish garnet-inlaid disc brooch (Bruggmann 1999, 40). Avent (1975) has pointed out that his numbered Classes do not imply a chronological sequence and that production of the various types almost certainly overlapped. Classifiable examples from the Isle of Wight fall within his Class 2, which Richardson (2005, 34) dates between *c.* 530/540 and 580/90. They are also known from *Brighstone*, of gilded silver (PAS, IOW-806E52: S. Marzinzik, Class 2, probably 2.3 rather than 2.4, Treasure case no. 2005 T327); and *Shalcombe Down* (Fig. 21, no. 13), Grave 1, a pair of silver-gilt (Avent 1975, I, 55–6; II, 50–1, Corpus 187–8, Miscellaneous; probably local copies, even though of silver-gilt; with a sword and tweezers (Arnold 1982, 82). There is a further, metal-detected, example, of Class 3.1, a type which begins *c.* 580/590, from *Ampfield* (Fig. 21, no. 2), from an extensive area of *feld*, wood-pasture, at the northern edge of the territory of both the *Hyltingas* and the Jutes (Denford 1986; Paper 12).

Other use of garnet inlay

Sixth-century brooches of other designs and other types of artefact from Chessell Down and elsewhere on the Isle of Wight also incorporate garnets: a gilded copper-alloy disc brooch, *Chessell Down*, Grave 69 (with an S-brooch,²⁵ beads, etc); a silver rosette brooch (*Chessell Down*, unassociated 24: the type dates to 550–580 (Bruggmann 1999, 42). There

is also an ovate belt mount from the cemetery (Grave 66). A gilded equal-arm brooch from *Calbourne* is of very unusual form (PAS, IOW-985B51: cf. Gammertingen, South Germany (Kühn 1974, pl. 270, 71–3). It may be a local product. There are also two disc brooches from *Shalcombe Down* (Arnold 1982, fig. 59).

Brooches and dress accessories of types not represented in Chessell Down Grave 45 or at Freshwater

RADIATE-HEADED BROOCHES

Chessell Down, Grave 108, produced the upper part of a silver radiate-headed brooch, probably of the Hahnheim type (Legoux *et al.* 2006, Type 265, 20 and 56, of 470/480–520/530). It was accompanied by a knife. The silver foot of another is recorded from *Droxford* (Aldsworth 1978, 142, fig. 48.12) and there is also a radiate-headed brooch from *Corhampton and Meonstoke* (Paper 3). A copper-alloy, miniature, example from *Calbourne* (PAS, IOW-65CDF2) is distinguishable from Frankish brooches by the double knob at the apex, for which cf. *Chessell Down*, unprovenanced find 1 (Arnold 1982, fig. 23; see also Paper 4).

BIRD AND ‘DUCK’ BROOCHES

The gilded-silver bird brooch in *Chessell Down*, Grave 23 (a child: with miniature tweezers etc) is a Continental import of the second half of the sixth century (Arnold 1982, 57). The gilded copper-alloy ‘duck’ brooches in graves 3 (with a Style I mount, for which see also Paper 4, etc); and 40 (with a Quoit Brooch Style strap-end, a crystal ball in a silver sling, two silver-gilt small square-headed brooches, beads and a copper-alloy buckle) appear to be an insular development. There is another from *Milston* in the valley of the Salisbury Avon (Paper 4).²⁶

SHIELD-ON-TONGUE BUCKLES AND SHOE-SHAPED RIVETS²⁷

These buckles appear to have been developed from fifth-century Roman types. They were in use by the Franks from the early sixth century and are regularly accompanied by shoe-shaped rivets (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 71). Shield-on-tongue buckles are found in *Chessell Down* graves 22 (with a great square-headed brooch, disc pendants, a knife and tweezers) and 37 (a sword burial). There are also unassociated examples from the cemetery. Nine unprovenanced shoe-shaped belt rivets have also been recorded from *Chessell Down*. There are a shield-on-tongue buckle and two shoe-shaped rivets, both unassociated, from *Droxford* (Aldsworth 1978, respectively, fig. 32, 9, and 12–13), and two further rivets with the weapon burial at *Meonstoke* (Fig. 21, no. 9: Devenish and Champion 1978). At *Worthy Park, Kings Worthy* (Fig. 21, no. 5), Grave 30 (an

adult female), shield-shaped rivets and a shield-on-tongue buckle were associated with a button brooch, a large number of beads, Roman coins in a bag etc.

‘Jutish’ and ‘Frankish’/Kentish material culture on the Isle of Wight and in southern Hampshire in its sixth-century context

The ‘Frankish’/Kentish material on the Isle of Wight and in southern Hampshire discussed above represents only a part, though perhaps a very significant part, of the overall material culture of those areas in the sixth century. Furthermore, the cemetery at *Chessell Down* dominates the early Anglo-Saxon archaeological record for this period on the Isle of Wight. It is the case, too, that only 12 or 13 of the 113 grave-groups recorded at *Chessell Down* produced grave goods with this cultural background,²⁸ if one includes the *francisca* in Grave 80, though there are also some 30 unassociated comparable brooches and other artefacts. There were three graves with button brooches. A copper-alloy mount decorated in Style I animal ornament (cf. the one in Grave 77 at *Worthy Park, Kings Worthy*) also appears to show Kentish influence (Arnold 1982, 68). Glass cone beakers, copper-alloy vessels and a wheel-thrown pot from *Chessell Down* and a *Perlrandbecken* from *Bowcombe Down* (Stedman 1998) are likely to have been imported from Kent.

A further 25 graves at *Chessell Down*, however, produced nothing diagnostically Kentish or Frankish, 24 were weapon graves, 37 more had no grave goods and six were cremations (the records of many of the graves are too poor for any analysis to be made). The only circular ‘Saxon’ brooch from *Chessell Down* is the back of an applied brooch (SF 2). A hand-made pot with linear decoration would not be out of place in either a Saxon or Anglian context. From *Shalcombe Down*, Grave 2, there are ‘Saxon’ disc brooches with ring-and-dot decoration, together with a boar’s tusk and a bone button. A hand-made pot with long bosses and stamps cannot be assigned to a grave. There is another, but without stamps, from *Bowcombe Down*, and that cemetery also has a plain disc brooch in Grave 13. Graves 22 and 60 at *Chessell Down* produced ‘Anglian’ great square-headed brooches, the former, as noticed above, together with a ‘Frankish’ shield-on-tongue buckle.

The cemeteries at *Bowcombe Down* and *Chessell Down* may have commenced before AD 500 and both were in use in the sixth century. New burial grounds are recorded on *Arreton Down* (inhumations certainly intrusive in one Bronze Age round barrow and possibly intrusive in another); on *Rancombe Down*; at *Shorwell* (plain cremation urns); on *Shalcombe Down* (a sword burial and another interment intrusive in Bronze Age round barrows); and at *Shalfleet* (a sword burial: for all of these sites, Arnold 1982).

There have been numerous records of metal-detected finds in recent years: from *Brighstone*: PAS, IOW-8B81A1,

a disc brooch with concentric rings; *Calbourne*: button brooches, A2 and D2/ PAS, IOW-D0C117, a bow brooch (comment by Barry Ager)/and PAS, IOW-C2FD34 and IOW-72BA16, silver-gilt great square-headed brooches; *Shalfleet*: button brooches, A2, B3, H and L: for B3 and L, respectively, Suzuki 2009, 61 (PAS, IOW-7105F4) and 64, (IOW-AABE51)/disc brooches with ring-and-dot decoration, PAS, IOW-8E7490 and IOW- A173D6/ and IOW-08DCB1, ? an Anglo-Saxon version of the Scandinavian type of equal-arm brooch – sixth century (comment by Barry Ager); and *Yarmouth*: a saucer brooch (PAS, IOW-235E85) and an S-brooch (IOW-22A124).

Just as Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight, so *Droxford* in the territory of the *Hyltingas* plays a dominant role in the archaeological record. The fifth-century silver wire-inlaid iron firesteel/pursemount of Krefeld type in Grave 35 and the unassociated similarly inlaid iron buckle (respectively, Aldsworth 1978, figs 29 and 48, 11) may either have been manufactured in, or imported from, northern Gaul (Evison 1965, 76, pl. 6c, buckle; for firesteel, Brown 1977, 461–2; Welch 1983, 102–4: cf. Blacknall Field, Grave 95: Annable and Eagles 2010, 274). The grave goods in approximately half of the 41 recoverable graves at Droxford lack diagnostic cultural traits. Nine of the others are weapon burials and nine more have no grave goods. Grave 13 contained two ‘Saxon’ saucer brooches, a penannular brooch and a stamped hand-made pot with long bosses, and Grave 36 ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches. Two ‘Anglian’ annular brooches, two applied saucer brooches (only their back-plates), a plain disc brooch, a five-spiral saucer brooch, button brooches, a small-long brooch, a glass cone beaker, and a ‘Saxon’ pot with faceted carination, from the cemetery lack association.

Early Anglo-Saxon material from elsewhere in the lands of the *Hyltingas* is very limited. There is an unstratified ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch from *Bitterne* (Cotton and Gathercole 1958, 45 and fig. 12, 5), a great square-headed brooch fragment from *Hound* (PAS, HAMP-232965), and a Class C button brooch from *Upham* (Paper 3).

This mixing of cultural traditions is also evident in sixth-century Kent. In a survey of metal detector finds between 1997 and 2007, Richardson (2011, fig. 33) has noted:

East and West Kent (together):²⁹ the brooches record is dominated by button, small-long and Continental and Kentish square-headed types, which together make up almost one half of all the brooch types; the remainder very largely comprise the radiate-headed, rosette, bird, disc, saucer, S-form, equal-armed and garnet-inlaid brooches and ‘Anglian’ great square-headed and annular forms. Some of these are represented by only a single brooch or by very few examples.

The appearance of a Jutlandic brooch in Grave 14 at Apple Down is unexpected. Almost 150 cremation burials have been identified or excavated there and 121 inhumation graves excavated. Burial began in the later fifth century.

Cremation continued into the second half of the seventh century, unlike in Wessex but well paralleled in Sussex.³⁰ The only other signs of links with Kent or the Isle of Wight in the cemetery are a garnet-inset buckle in weapon burial 63 and an unstratified shield-shaped buckle tongue (Down and Welch 1990, 101). Few of the grave goods are in any way culturally indicative: one annular brooch; two saucer brooches; one button brooch; and one penannular brooch.

The cemetery at Apple Down lies on the eastern border of the *Meonwara*. Elsewhere in their territory, items from *Shavards Farm*, *Meonstoke*, include two button brooches, a small square-headed brooch and a small-long brooch. Another site in the parish has also produced small-long brooches. From *Warnford*, also in the Meon valley, there is a button brooch; from *Soberton*, a ring-and-dot ornamented disc brooch (PAS, HAMP-8D1103, also with stamped decoration), a cruciform brooch (PAS, HAMP-F23424) and a saucer brooch with seven-spiral design; from *Exton* a ring-and-dot disc brooch (PAS, HAMP 3531), button brooches and two small square-headed brooches.³¹ There is a Class C button brooch from *Petersfield* (see also Papers 2 and 3).

The only early Anglo-Saxon artefact from the New Forest is a spearhead from *Bank*, *Lyndhurst*. It was found in a Gas Board trench in 1978 and is now in God’s House Tower Museum, Southampton (accession no., Southampton City Museum A.3099.79: information from Gill Woodrich). There is also a *foliis* of Justinian I from *New Milton* (PAS, WAW-C7E3F6).

Overview

There is no evidence for large-scale Jutish immigration into Kent, the Isle of Wight or southern Hampshire. The artefacts with strong links to Scandinavia, the Jutlandic brooches and the gold bracteates, have elite associations. Such northern influences are first evident in the middle third of the fifth century through the Nydam brooches from Canterbury and Gillingham in Kent. They are followed there by the Jutlandic brooches of the last quarter of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth century. The bracteates appear in graves in Kent at this same time.

These artefacts had been carefully selected for the deceased, in order to provide them with significant, or what were regarded as appropriate, links to southern Scandinavia. These brooches and bracteates have been deemed distinctive of ‘Jutish’ elite display and identity in East Kent in the last quarter of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. It is to be noted, however, that in five of the Kent burials where they occur they are associated with high-status Frankish imports (glass bell and claw beakers, radiate-headed brooches, a bird brooch, garnet disc brooches and a crystal ball) and local products which reflect the same cultural emphasis (gold braids and Kentish square-headed brooches). Thus whatever the exact nature of a Jutish connection, it

could be argued that the high-status women who wore them also wished, through their dress, to be distinguished from their Continental counterparts. It is as if a new identity was being forged in Kent – one in which both a Jutish and a Frankish element played an important part. A number of these square-headed brooches and bracteates can be shown to have been in use, presumably in Kent, for a long time, on account of the amount of wear that they exhibit when buried. Some of these fashions may have spread from Kent, where there were insular versions of Continental Frankish dress (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 113). It might also be the case, however, as Dr Charlotte Behr points out (pers. comm.), that ‘identity’ did not play any role here and that the changes in costume came about through, for instance, the wish to wear items which had been received as gifts in order to display their owners’ links with the donors; or religious allegiances might be implied; or the ready accessibility to workshops might have been a factor.

Their worn state at burial may, perhaps, indicate that they had originally belonged to Jutish immigrants who had played a key role in the establishment of new groups in Kent, the items being subsequently passed down through the females of leading families. The small number of graves with these brooches and bracteates in any one cemetery could also support the view that the right to wear these items was restricted to women in those families. That leading role may have been underpinned by adoption of the Hengest foundation legend, with its Jutish component and military connotations. A possible reason for some people to leave Jutland at this time, Kruse considers, was changes in farming practice there, with the amalgamation of farms and landless young men in consequence seeking their fortune abroad (Kruse 2007, 328–9).

Richardson (2011, 78) has argued that:

systematic recording of detector finds has strengthened the case for seeing a relationship between the material culture of east Kent, the Isle of Wight and parts of Hampshire and its immediate environs from the mid fifth to second half of the sixth centuries AD. This material culture is predominantly characterised by a mixture of southern Scandinavian, North Sea coastal, continental Frankish and Kentish/Kentish-style dress accessories. This contrasts with the material culture of areas such as the Upper Thames, Sussex and Surrey/west Kent, which is predominantly characterised by north German dress accessories and art styles, and their insular descendants. It is true that at least one example of virtually every brooch type has been found in Kent, but this is largely a product of the wealth of the Kentish archaeological record compared to other areas of southern Britain.³²

He further (p. 79) considers that the apex families in Kent may well have been from Jutland.

The recent recovery of two gold bracteates on the Isle of Wight, and the grave with the Jutlandic brooch at Apple

Down, seem to allow for the possibility that Jutlandic brooches too may yet be found on Wight itself. The ‘signal’ location of the Apple Down burial on the eastern border of the *Meonwara* may also be significant in this context, as their territory may have formed a separate *pagus* of the *civitas Regnorum*.³³ The woman buried may have come to the South Saxons through exogamy. In southern Hampshire there are place-names which refer to the Jutes, which do not occur in Kent or on the Isle of Wight. Furthermore, it is suggested here that those places lie at and define the boundaries of Jutish mainland territory. The need to mark the mainland territory of the Jutes in this way, it may be suggested, arose because it was secondary to the Jutes’ original home in Wessex on the Isle of Wight and had been acquired as a result of conquest. That conquest, it is argued here, came about in at least two phases. The first was the acquisition of the ‘small shire’ of the *Hyltingas*³⁴ and the second when they conquered the *Meonwara*. It would seem possible that the claim of the Isle of Wight to be Jutish was based, essentially, upon the transfer of such an assertion from Kent, presumably by their ruling elite, rather than as the result of any direct connections with southern Scandinavia – at least as far as appears visible to us today. The success of such a concept, however, is evident from its later currency, both as recorded by Bede and even as late as the late ninth century when Alfred considered it important to incorporate the myth into his own genealogy, as a part of his and his family’s personal prestige. The name *Ytene* for the New Forest was still current in the twelfth century.

The early Anglo-Saxon archaeology of southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight indicates populations of very diverse origins and the ‘Jutish’ and Kentish links – and also direct cross-Channel connections with the Isle of Wight, which are perhaps too often underplayed – present only a part of their overall archaeology in the fifth and sixth centuries (see also Paper 3). It looks as if female regional dress styles, utilising a combination of brooch types and ways of wearing them, and carrying specific cultural messages, were developing alongside each other, thereby distinguishing, at least for a time, one group, especially its elite, from another. Such differences could have come about through a desire by the upper echelons of ‘Jutish’ society (for it was they who defined that society) in Wessex to distinguish themselves from the Jutes in East Kent. Dr Nick Stoodley (pers. comm.), on the basis of his analysis of costume as evidenced in sixth-century furnished graves, has identified a distinctive female dress at the cemeteries at Droxford, in the Meon valley and at the eastern limit of the territory of the *Hyltingas*, at Apple Down, and at Worthy Park, Kings Worthy, near Winchester. Unlike the typical Saxon ‘peplos’ dress, which was fastened at the shoulders by a pair of brooches, some burials in these cemeteries display a garment secured by a central brooch and/or pin worn at the neck or on the upper chest. This dress style is paralleled

in East Kent and, seemingly, on the Isle of Wight, where the minimal antiquarian reports at least appear to indicate that often only a single brooch was present in the grave. Furthermore, and significantly, this costume is found again in Jutland itself.

The virtual absence on the Isle of Wight of both wheel-thrown pottery and late sixth- and seventh-century graves and artefacts, such as amethyst beads, has been noted, but not explained, by both Arnold (1982, 109) and Kruse (2007, 338). Two recent, metal-detected finds fall into this period. One is a Style II copper-alloy Pressblech die from Chillerton and Gatcombe parish (PAS, NARC-EE9CC3), the other a gold pendant with red glass setting and repaired loop from Calbourne (PAS, IOW-05E330/Treasure case no. 2014 T586). The seventh-century gold bracteate from the territory of the *Meonwara*, noticed above, has implications for some ongoing elite association with Scandinavia there.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Barry Ager, Dr Charlotte Behr and Professor Barbara Yorke for taking the time to read and comment upon this paper in draft, to its great improvement.

Appendix: ‘Frankish’/Kentish artefacts in Berkshire, further parts of Hampshire and Wiltshire

Attention has been drawn above to the extent of ‘Frankish’/Kentish influence in southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in the sixth century. This influence is reflected in material culture, notably in dress accessories, and also appears, but on a much reduced scale, in such items widely but sparsely recorded from elsewhere in Wessex, where it has been noticed in ‘Berkshire’ and ‘Hampshire’ (Paper 3) and Wiltshire (Papers 6 and 11). Only a small proportion of these artefacts are likely to have been imported from *Francia*. Others will have reached Wessex through Kent, but many others are local copies. The Salisbury Avon provided, as has been seen, an important conduit into southern ‘Wiltshire’ (Paper 4).

There is³⁵ a shield-on-tongue buckle and shoe-shaped studs from *Watchfield* and a shield-on-tongue buckle pin from ‘*East Shefford*’ in Berkshire. In Hampshire there are records of small square-headed brooches from *Bramdean* and *Hinton Ampner*, and from *Alresford* and *Vernham Dean*; a shield-on-tongue buckle pin from *Ropley*; a ‘Frankish’ scabbard chape from *Greywell*; and keystone garnet disc brooches from *Over Wallop* and *Grateley*. From Wiltshire others of this latter type of brooch are known from *Warminster*, *West Ashton* and *Bedwyn*; a shield-on-tongue buckle pin from *Hindon*; and a small square-headed brooch from *Shalbourne*. The *Marlborough area* has produced a *Gotlandkessel* and there is a fragment of a *Westlandkessel*

from *West Overton*. At *Market Lavington* the cemetery provided evidence of a woman’s open woollen tabby outer garment of Frankish style. The dress accessories of a female buried at *Collingbourne Ducis* are suggestive of a type of Kentish costume.

Notes

- 1 Wallace-Hadrill (1988, 22) for a discussion about this important passage.
- 2 The name ‘Jutland’ is not recorded until the late ninth century and may have come into use only because it was then believed that it had formerly been the homeland of the Jutes. The Jutes’ own name may, but does not certainly, relate to the people known to the Romans as the *Eudoses*, whom Tacitus appears to place in the Jutish peninsula (Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 40; Genrich 1981, Abb.1; Kruse 2007, 252–3).
- 3 Local place-names, all in Fawley parish, suggest that Stone was an area name, given to the south-eastern part of the peninsula between the Beaulieu River and Southampton Water: Stone Farm (SZ 458994); Stanswood Farm (SU 463004), and Stanswood to its north-east; and, on the coast, Stone Point (SZ 465987) and Stanswood House (SU 473005) on Stanswood Bay (Coates 1989, 155, 156; Stanswood Manor is in Domesday Book).
- 4 *Ytene* seems to have come into Gewissan hands only very recently – see further below – and it may have been considered that the princes would find safe refuge there. Bede makes the point that they were captured only after betrayal.
- 5 *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (Campbell 1962) identifies Charford as the place on the Salisbury Avon. For the significance of the river as a link between the Isle of Wight and southern Wiltshire, and also for the sixth-century cemetery at Breamore, adjacent to Charford on its south, as arguably that of a border community, see Paper 4.
- 6 The Roman name of the Isle of Wight was *Vectis*.
- 7 Bede (*HE* i. 15) states that Wight lay ‘contra medium Australium Saxonum et Gewissorum’. Welch (1989, 75) considered that here ‘medium’ implied a buffer zone, but we might note that the River Meon itself lies directly opposite the middle of the Isle of Wight.
- 8 Entries in this part of the *Chronicle* (eg. the landings of ‘495’ and ‘514’ and the battles of ‘508’ and ‘527’) are further complicated by duplication, which, it has been suggested, has most probably arisen through transfer from one lunar Dionysiac cycle of 19 years to another (Harrison 1971; see also Sims-Williams 1983, 36–7).
- 9 Asser (Stevenson 1904), c. 2, says that Alfred’s mother, Osburh, was the descendant of the Jutes Stuf and Wihthgar through her father Oslac, the *pincerna* (butler) in the household of Æthelwulf (839–858) (Yorke 1989, 95; 1995, 281).
- 10 Welch (1983, 260) suggests that Æthelwealh may have afforded Wulfhere military assistance.
- 11 Exton (*East Seaxnātune*: Sawyer 1968, no. 283) appears to mean ‘the eastern *tun* of the (West) Saxons’ (Yorke 1989, 260, n. 65), rather than ‘*tun* of the East Saxons’ [ie. East Saxons who had settled in the upper Meon valley] (Coates 1989, 74) and therefore refer to the post-Jutish phase.

- 12 Redbridge itself lay on the east bank of the River Test, between Millbrook, in Mansbridge hundred, and Nursling in the Bishop of Winchester's hundred of Buddlesgate (Munby 1982, map of the southern hundreds). The Domesday hundred of Redbridge, however, was to the west of the river. Its earlier name, *Hreutford*, 'reed ford' (Coates 1989, 137) could presumably have been applied to either side of the crossing and Hase 1975, 73–95 suggests the monastery was at Eling. Other monastic foundations followed at Nursling, St. Mary's, Southampton and (Bishop's) Waltham in the former 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas* (Paper 12).
- 13 Bede (*HE* iii. 7) tells us that the West Saxons were formerly known as the *Gewisse*.
- 14 Procopius is the first to refer to Brittany as *Britannia* and the naming of Britain as *Brittia* may have come about because of the need to distinguish it from the new name for Brittany (see also Paper 2). Wood (1983, 12) notes that 'In no Frankish source do the English appear as subject to the Merovingians, unless they are subsumed under Jutes or Saxons, which is not impossible'. Thompson (1980a) emphasises the woeful limitations of knowledge of Britain in Byzantium in the mid-sixth century. Procopius is here, apparently, dependent upon information from a Frankish embassy to Byzantium of c. 550. Such a degree of ignorance might be thought surprising in the light of eastern Mediterranean exports to western Britain at this time (Paper 2: and see also Morrisson 2014 (Paper 3) that rather more of the finds of Byzantine coins of the fifth to seventh centuries in Britain may be ancient, rather than modern, losses – for examples from the Isle of Wight and New Milton, see below). But see also Campbell 2000, 75–9.
- 15 Yorke (1990, 28–9) points out, however, that Æthelberht was baptised by Augustine, rather than by a Frankish cleric such as the Bishop Liudhard, who served Bertha, and was thereby asserting a certain independence from Merovingian authority. Wood (1983, 15), however, with reference to chronological inconsistencies in Bede's account, suggests that Æthelberht may have been converted earlier.
- 16 West Kent, west of the Medway, was united with the much richer East Kent by the end of the sixth century.
- 17 A fine sixth-century sword from Chessell Down, Grave 76, is also to be linked to Scandinavia (Arnold 1982, 75–6).
- 18 '[I]t seems plausible to conclude that class A1 button brooches and some Jutlandic Group brooches would have been produced concurrently in the same region, East Kent': Suzuki 2008, 284 – see also 245–63. Suzuki (2008, 269–74) has also argued that the Quoit Brooch Style too was influential in the development in the designs on the button brooches.
- 19 The Isle of Wight also developed strong, though not culturally Jutish, links with the valley of the Salisbury Avon in the sixth century (Paper 4: finds at Breamore (Fig. 21, no. 1) reflect the border role of this place).
- 20 The following fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine coins are on record from the Isle of Wight: a bronze 16 *nummi* of Justinian I (527–565), a metal-detector find from the 'Isle of Wight', and a gold *solidus* of Tiberius II (574–582), metal-detected at *Shalfleet*: Morrisson 2014 (see Paper 3 for her view as to her view of the reliability of these and other records of Byzantine coins found in Britain), respectively, nos 38 and 57; other bronze coins – a *folles* of Anastasius (Ruth Waller, pers. comm.), a coin of 538–552 of Justinian I: PAS, IOW-0FD7D6; a *folles* of 527–537 of Justinian I: PAS, 6B083E; and a *folles* of Tiberius II: PAS, IOW-0518E0. There is also a gold *tremissis* (?Visigothic) of before 580 (PAS, IOW-715794) and a Visigothic copy of a gold coin of Anastasius from *Shorwell* (British Museum online database, 'Shorwell Merovingian').
- 21 The numbering of the graves in this cemetery follows Arnold 1982.
- 22 It is not always possible to assign these brooches to a specific Åberg Type.
- 23 Unpublished finds from *Shorwell* include square-headed and radiate-headed brooches, a 'Merovingian' helmet, buckles and a brooch, together with a Visigothic belt-mount and a Saxon disc brooch (British Museum online database: and see also above).
- 24 I am grateful to Barry Ager for his comments on parallels to some of these brooches. For the overall occurrence in Wessex of Kentish square-headed brooches and other artefacts with links to Kent see the Appendix.
- 25 There is another from Bowcombe Down, Grave 23 (Arnold 1982, 93 and fig. 67; the type has been discussed by Briscoe (1968), but her study requires re-evaluation in the light of the discovery of further examples in England).
- 26 A sixth-century copper-alloy equal-arm brooch from the 'Isle of Wight' (PAS, IOW-FE1124) belongs to a group which is also recorded in Kent, Hampshire and Wiltshire (Paper 6).
- 27 Devenish and Champion (1978) suggest that these 'rivets' should rather be described as 'studs' on account of their means of attachment.
- 28 A further four burials produced 'silver brooches' which might imply a Kentish connection.
- 29 East Kentish items first appear in West Kent only in the sixth century, but contact was limited (Welch 2007, 230–4).
- 30 There are other sixth-century cremation burials at Fareham in the territory of the *Meonwara* (Paper 3).
- 31 Information on sites in the Meon valley has been kindly supplied by Dr N. Stoodley, if not cited otherwise.
- 32 Richardson (2011, 76) considers that there is already a clear Kent/Isle of Wight/South Wessex patterning by the very early sixth century.
- 33 'Signal' burials are well known in more westerly parts of Wessex in the seventh century (Papers 6, 9 and 10).
- 34 These conquests *might* have been going on from the middle of the sixth century – there was certainly one powerful male figure at Carisbrooke at that time. Is it possible that the name *Hyltingas* was given to the British population of that area? The name appears to mean 'the dwellers at the *hylte*/woodland' (Coates 1989, 92–3), with no reference to an individual English leader, as so often with this type of name.
- 35 This is not a comprehensive list, but is intended only to indicate the scale of the circulation of these items.

The Saxon settlement and takeover of Dorset and the conquest of Somerset

Dorset

It has been argued in Paper 1 that the east-facing *Bokerley Dyke*, on the present county boundary with Hampshire, was also probably on the border between the *civitas Durotrigum* and the *civitas Belgarum*, and that the Roman division with the northern Durotriges may have approximated to the present county boundary line between Dorset and Somerset.

The distribution of fifth-, sixth- and seventh-century sites is shown on Figures 22–24 and British and related place-names on Figure 3.

The Britons on the Isle of Purbeck and elsewhere in Dorset

In the Roman period the greater part of Dorset lay within the *civitas Durotrigum* (Paper 1). The Isle of Purbeck retained a distinctive British culture until long into the Anglo-Saxon period. There are no furnished ‘Anglo-Saxon’ style burials. The Roman villa at *Bucknowle* (20061) is located between the chalk of Corfe Ridge to the north and the coastal limestone escarpment to the south, and lies close to Corfe River which flows north to Poole Harbour. Shortly after the end of the third century there was a period of major architectural investment as the existing buildings developed into a courtyard villa. The complex was notable for simple rather than fine mosaic flooring, though other indications of status are noted by the range and quantity of coinage and fish bones. Based upon coin and pottery evidence the settlement may have been abandoned by the last quarter of the fourth century. At *Worth Matravers* the late structural sequence at a farm site proved as impossible to date as that at the sites in Dorchester discussed below, in spite of the most careful excavation. The use of mortar, even though limited – possibly to pointing or rendering the stone walls of the latest buildings – however, does not suggest post-Roman construction (Graham *et al.* 2002, 17–25 and 77–80). A Roman pottery production (black-burnished ware) and shale-working site at *Bestwall Quarry, Wareham*, appears to have continued in production into the fifth century. It

may also be noted that it was only through a programme of radiocarbon dating there that the excavators were able to recognise late Roman pottery as residual and assign the intensive charcoal and iron industry there from the sixth to the late ninth or early tenth centuries AD (Ladle 2012, 119–20).

An inhumation cemetery, partly excavated in 1982, at *Ullwell*, near Swanage, in Purbeck contained about 58 burials of men, women and children, a number of them in limestone cists or in graves defined by kerbstones, orientated west–east and arranged in north–south rows. One grave contained an iron knife. The burial ground was in use throughout the seventh century and possibly into the eighth (there is a combined date of cal AD 635–780 from four burials) taking into account the re-opening of graves for additional interments and that some graves intersected each other; the radiocarbon dates allow for the longer chronology (Cox 1988).¹

At the western end of Poole harbour, between the River Piddle and the River Frome and on the northern edge of Purbeck, lies *Wareham*. There, five memorial stones, inscribed in different styles on pieces of probably re-used Roman limestone masonry, and four uninscribed stones, all of them most probably local, were recovered from the rebuilding of the *church of Lady St Mary* in the nineteenth century (RCHME 1970a, 308, 310–2). All nine stones were probably grave-markers. The series has been considered to begin in the fifth century (from the form of the uninscribed pieces: Cramp 2006, 31, 116–18). The names recorded in the inscriptions are all British bar one, which is biblical, and may well be those of clergy. Charles-Edwards (2013, 129, 428) dates the earliest of these to the late seventh century on the grounds of the use of Insular letter forms and also considers that none of them is likely to date any later either (Hinton 1992; Sims-Williams 2003; and Higgitt 2006 would extend the date range).² These memorials point to a continuing and flourishing and influential British element in the Church in Dorset, with contact maintained with other

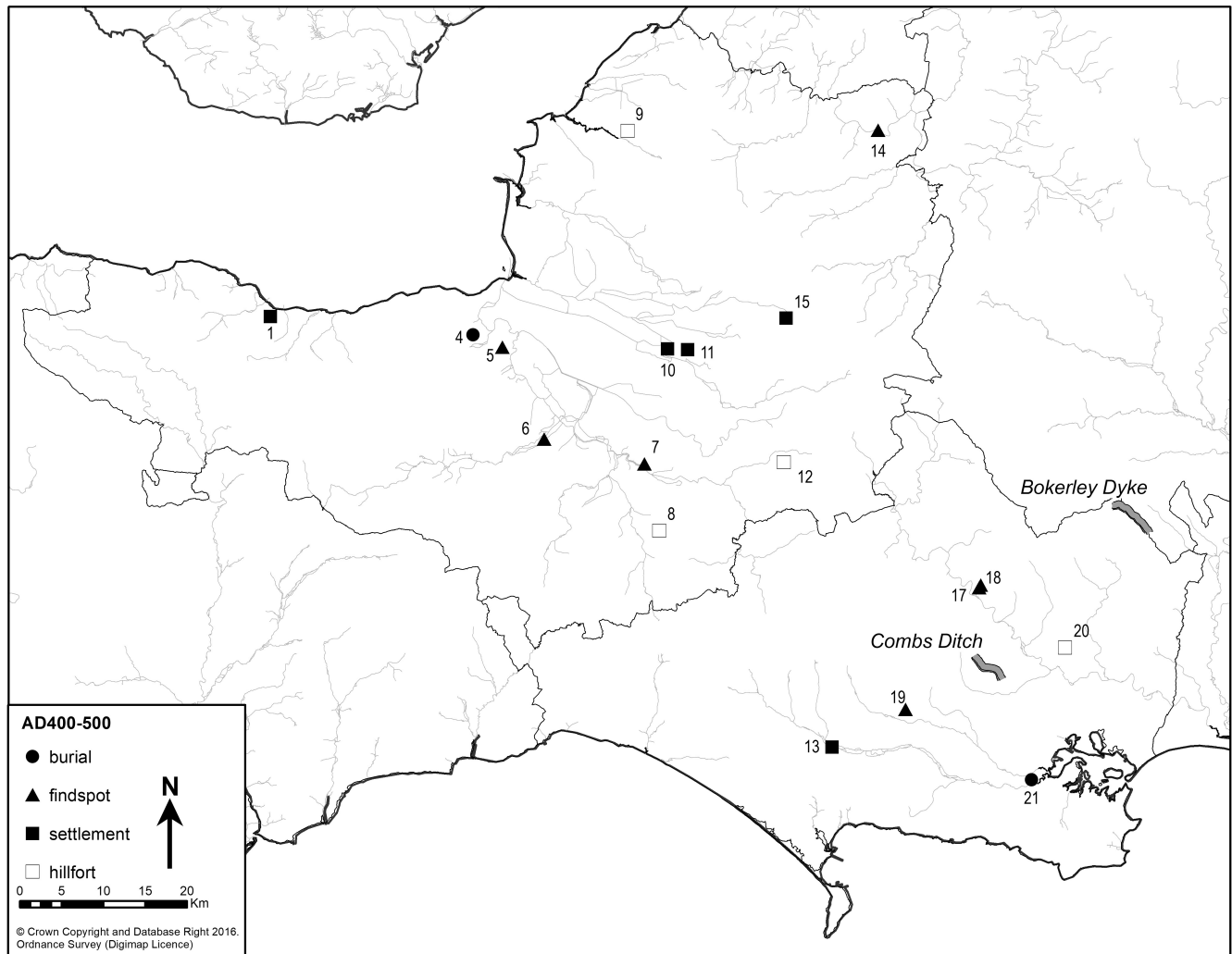


Figure 22 Sites of the fifth century in Dorset and Somerset. For site numbers see the Appendix in Paper 2 (Harry Manley)

churches in British areas, until after the time of the Anglo-Saxon takeover in the seventh century (see also below).

Elsewhere in the county, but outside Purbeck, a cemetery comparable to Ulwell is known at *Tolpuddle*, north-east of Dorchester and on the Roman road to Badbury, where 50 unaccompanied west–east inhumations, thought to represent the whole burial ground, were again arranged in north to south rows; one radiocarbon date is of cal AD 250–450 and four others belong to the later sixth and the late seventh centuries. Skeletal analysis suggested continuity of population and the excavators considered it probable that the burial ground had remained in continuous use from the late Roman period until the late seventh century (Hearne and Birbeck 1999, 55–63, 161–72, 226–31). West–east graves – two of them superimposed upon others – have been recorded at *Portesham*, south-west of Dorchester. In one of the graves a probable iron saw appears to have been deliberately placed with the burial. Two of the skeletons were radiocarbon-dated and the cemetery seems to have been in use in the

late seventh or early eighth century (Valentin 2003, 51–7). Another probable example of a cemetery of this type is one near *Langham* (see below). Four west–east burials without grave goods, perhaps part of a larger cemetery, in the fill of a ditch of the ‘Long Mound’ and within the suggested precinct of a late fourth-century temple inside *Maiden Castle* (Pl. 10) may also be post-Roman (Wheeler 1943, 72–8; Rahtz and Watts 1979, 194).

An altogether exceptional grave of this period, if the radiocarbon date is to be trusted, has been found at *Tinney’s Lane, Sherborne*. There, one of four spaced out interments, all in pits, flexed, on their right sides and with their heads to the north, has been dated between cal AD 430 and 660. The only other one whose date has been similarly determined falls between 370 BC and AD 10 (McKinley 1999).³

The Saxon presence in the sixth century⁴

In the sixth century furnished, Anglo-Saxon style, burial spread across the whole of south Wiltshire, with the

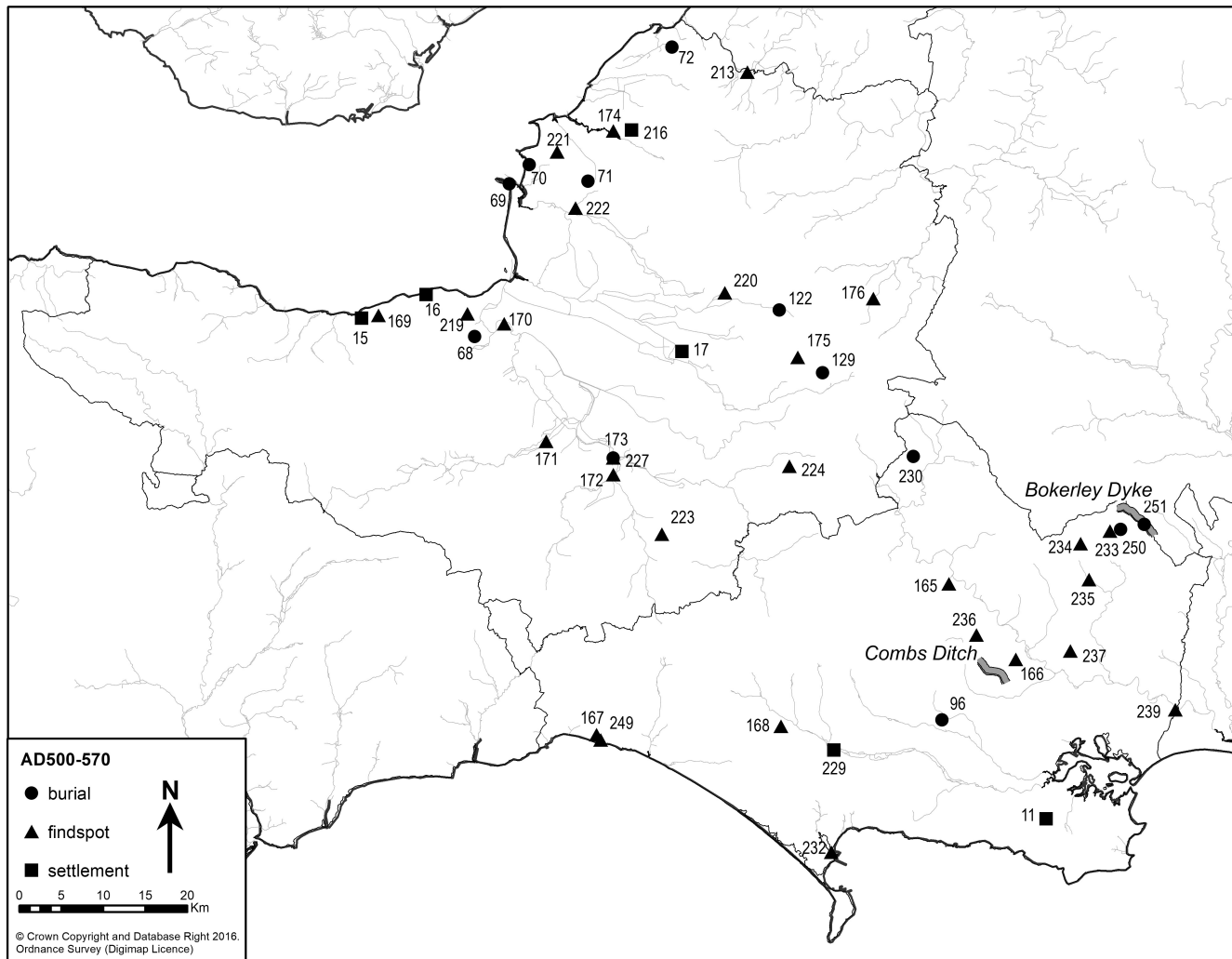


Figure 23 Dorset and Somerset in the sixth century. For the identification of site numbers see key to Fig. 10 (Harry Manley)

exception of the south-west of the county (Paper 6). There are also clear signs of sixth-century ‘Anglo-Saxons’ in east Dorset (Figs 23 and 25). Close by Ackling Dyke, a burial, whose accompaniments included a button brooch of Suzuki’s Class B1 and amber beads, was intrusive in a Bronze Age round barrow on *Oakley Down* in the parish of Wimborne St Giles. The button brooch has close similarities with one from Petersfinger near Salisbury and dates to the early decades of the sixth century (Hoare 1812, 236–7; Suzuki 2008, 171, 343). A burnt saucer brooch, possibly from a cremation, is recorded from *Gussage St Michael* (Green 2000, 138–9 and Martin Green, pers. comm., for this and other finds from this area). Other stray finds include a sixth-century harness mount from a Neolithic long barrow, *Wor Barrow* (Pitt Rivers 1898, pl. 258, 15) and a spearhead from *Dean* (Swanton Type C1⁵; Matthew Parker, pers. comm: now in the Dorset County Museum). A type E1 spearhead, a surface find from *Badbury Rings* (acquired by the British Museum in 1892; information from Leslie

Webster: cf. T. M. Dickinson in Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 119) is unlikely to date later than the mid-sixth century. This find assumes additional interest from excavations conducted by the National Trust in 2005 within the inner rampart of the hill-fort (see Pl. 5), 30 m to the west of the west entrance (Papworth 2004; M. Papworth, pers. comm.). These revealed a chalk floor with occupational debris which included abraded New Forest and Oxfordshire potsherds and part of a turned Kimmeridge shale bowl. Radiocarbon dating of associated charcoal provided a date of 1540±40 BP, cal AD 420–610 for one sample (SUERC-28323 (GU-21050) and 1580±40BP, cal AD 400–570 for another (SUERC-28325). There is also a button brooch from near *Blandford*, Suzuki Class F, the latter not more closely provenanced, and another from *Shillingstone*, also in the Stour valley, to the north-west of Blandford (PAS, DOR-CD2B42). These Dorset button brooches are the most westerly recorded from southern England, apart from a singleton from South Cadbury hill-fort in Somerset (Paper 2). An Anglo-Saxon spearhead and two

knives from a barrow close to Bokerley Dyke at *Pentridge* appear to point to an intrusive interment there (RCHME 1975, 57). The cemetery at *Bargates, Christchurch*, began around the end of the sixth century (Jarvis 1983, 104–33). It was sited, on the south coast, near the confluence of the rivers Stour and Avon. Bronze Age barrows there were the focus of a partly excavated mixed cemetery of four cremation deposits in urns and more than 30 inhumations. Eleven male burials were accompanied by weapons. This is a further example, as noted in Paper 3 in regard to several cemeteries near the coast in the southern part of the territory of the *Meonwara* in Hampshire, of a burial ground with a notable emphasis on the male burials and the deposition of weapons in their graves at a time when the practice was in general decline. The male graves were also marked out in a other ways, one in a penannular ditch and with a post, two with planks, one in a coffin and two with a bed of grass or bracken – the only graves in the cemetery with these features.⁶

Another cremation deposit, in a hand-made, ‘grass-tempered’ plain urn, was found in 1938 at *Iford Bridge*, on the Stour not much more than 1.5 km to the west (Reed 1947, 283–4; Myres 1977, I, 144, fig. 39, 3663).⁷ An undecorated pot recovered ‘3–4ft [1–1.3m] down, in sand, resting on charcoal’, in 1930 at *Redhill*, in Bournemouth, near the west bank of the Stour but further upstream, may indicate another, similar, burial (Calkin, Catalogue I, 100, 105, 125: B(ritish) M(useum) reg.no. 1940, 7-1, 1025). The association of some of these burial sites with prehistoric monuments is notable and is a well known feature of the furnished burial rite (see the Introduction). There are hints of the extent of territory taken by the Saxons at this time. At the north-west, Pen Hill, on the boundary between the parishes of Fontmell Magna and Sutton Waldron, about 10 km north of Blandford Forum, was called *Seaxpenn* in a Fontmell Magna charter of 932 (Sawyer 1968 (hereafter S) 419; Kelly 1996, 30–5). This name (unique in Wessex), whose second element is Primitive Welsh ‘*penn*’ (‘hill’), in all probability means ‘the hill of the Saxons’ and may well have marked a limit of a territorial unit (Mills 1989, 81, 104–5; a boundary position had already been postulated by Anderson 1939, 140–1). The name would have carried no obvious meaning at a later date, when the whole of Dorset was in Anglo-Saxon hands.

Furthermore, compound names such as *Seaxpenn*, where the qualifier precedes the generic, are thought generally to have gone out of use after the sixth century (Jackson 1953, 225–7; Gelling 1997, 99; Padel 1985, xiv–xvi; cf. the later *Pensax* (Worcestershire: Coates and Breeze 2000, 11) and *Pennersax* near Hoddum, Dumfriesshire: Crowe 2003, 204). In the west their boundary may have been the east-facing *Combs Ditch*, whose name is of British origin (Mills 1980, 70–1). This linear earthwork, with a long and complex history beginning in the pre-Roman Iron Age, extends south-

eastwards for at least 4 km and marks the northern bounds of the parishes of Winterborne Whitechurch, Winterborne Kingston and Anderson, from which it veers only for short stretches at either extremity. These parish limits are shared with those of Charlton Marshall and Spetisbury in the Stour valley (themselves coincident with hundred boundaries) some 4.5 km to the east. Anglo-Saxon advances at this time may provide a context for the final refurbishment, to significant defensive proportions, of late Roman or subsequent date, of Combs Ditch (RCHME 1970b, 313, Winterborne Whitechurch (19); Sparey-Green 1992; cf. Bowen 1990, 40).

The dyke now terminates at the south approximately 1 km north of the Roman road from Badbury Rings to Dorchester. In regard to the overall occurrence of ancient (pre-British) and British place-names in Dorset it may be noted that these are as numerous in this part of the county, the earliest to have been settled by the English, as in areas at the south and west; indeed, there are rather more such names in this region than in the central part of the shire (Fig. 3: Mills 1998 and David Mills, pers. comm.).

There is, therefore, suggestive evidence for a significant Anglo-Saxon encroachment into east Dorset beginning in the first half of the sixth century. It is possible that this area had been a Roman *pagus* centred on a large Roman settlement close to the Roman road junction at Badbury Rings, whose probable name, *Vindocladia*, appears to refer to the white chalk defences of the hill-fort. A hint that Gillingham, to the north of Pen Hill, lay outside this English territory is afforded by the early discovery nearby, near *Langham*, of an ill-recorded cemetery of 100 or more extended west–east inhumations, apparently unaccompanied and arranged in a regular way, and therefore typical of probably Christian British communities in other parts of Dorset and elsewhere, which were uninfluenced by the early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ furnished burial rite (RCHME 1972, 35).⁸

Further examples of such cemeteries in Somerset are discussed below. In the light of all of the above it is of particular interest to note that it has been suggested that much of this territory may have lain within an ancient and extensive royal ‘proto-hundred’. The later Anglo-Saxon hundreds of Knowlton, Handley and *Albretesberge*, at the north and reaching as far as Bokerley Dyke, appear to have become detached, but perhaps only as late as the tenth century, from a once compact territorial unit of Badbury hundred (Lavelle 2003, 65–6). At the south this former, larger hundred was, it has been argued, bounded by the Stour and on the west by the River Tarrant, leaving the cremation burial at Iford and the possible one at Redhill (both perhaps contemporary with the cremations nearby at Bargates), the button brooches from Blandford and Shillingstone, and also *Seaxpenn* beyond its limits at, respectively, the south, south-west and north-west. It may also be noted that the only other early Anglo-Saxon site south of the Stour is the

seventh-century 'bronze' vessel from *Boscombe Chine*, referred to below. Furthermore, Iford, Redhill, Christchurch (and Boscombe) all lay in Hampshire before the local government reorganisation of 1974 (see Figs 10, 11) and whereas the only hint of the cremation rite in the early Anglo-Saxon period in Dorset is the possible example already noticed at Gussage St Michael, cremations are well known to the east in both 'Jutish' territory (formerly part of the *civitas Belgarum*, centred upon Winchester) in southern Hampshire and in western Sussex, which was part of the *civitas Regnorum*, whose capital was at Chichester (Evison 1988, fig. 10: Paper 8).

The presence of Saxons in a substantial part of east Dorset from the early sixth century suggests that Bokerley Dyke had ceased to be an imposing barrier between Britons and Saxons by that time. The continuation of a major boundary on the Bokerley line, even to the present day, however, appears to indicate that these Saxons were incorporated into, rather than separate from, the rest of British territory in Dorset. It is possible that the Saxon presence here came about by peaceful means, such as a marriage settlement with a leading British family.

Outside the area of east Dorset defined above, there are some other signs of Saxons in the county before the seventh century: the fifth-century brooches from *Hod Hill* and the saucer brooch from *Puddletown*, noted in Paper 2; a sixth-century copper-alloy harness mount from *Frampton*, to the north-west of Dorchester (PAS, WILT-993D7E); a sixth-century copper-alloy bell-shaped pendant, gilded and with silver appliqué, and decorated with Style I animal ornament, from *Weymouth* (PAS, SOMDOR-A8DD87); and a deposit, perhaps of a ritual nature (Semple 2013, 249),⁹ of Anglo-Saxon copper-alloy (a small-long brooch) and iron objects (eight spearheads and a fragment of another, a ferrule, a shield boss, a knife with a blade length of 142 mm, an axehead and a perforated flint pebble) on *Hardown Hill*, *Whitechurch Canonicorum* (Austin 2014; formerly interpreted as a small sixth-century burial ground: Evison 1968a). A burial of a male near the eastern end of a *Neolithic bank barrow* (the 'Long Mound') inside the Iron Age hill-fort of *Maiden Castle*, 3 km south-west of Dorchester, was accompanied by a narrow *seax*, of the mid-sixth century, and a knife, the *seax* indicating his high status (Austin 2014, 61: also fragmentary belt-fittings).

Both the site at Hardown Hill – like Puddletown, by a Roman road, in this case the one from Dorchester to Exeter (though its precise course hereabouts is uncertain) – and the pendant from Weymouth, it may be noted, are coastal locations, comparable to the sixth-century Anglo-Saxon finds along the north Somerset coast (see further below). In the case of Weymouth, it is of particular interest to note that a recent re-examination of the late Anglo-Saxon charter (S 938) for Wyke Regis, immediately to the west of the town, has emphasised that as its bounds extended across

the Wey as far as Lodmoor, they defined, in effect, the northern limit of a strategically important territory which embraced both the formerly navigable river and Portland itself. Furthermore, as the place-names Wyke and Port(land) may both be borrowings from, respectively, Latin *vicus* and *portus*, it is possible that we are dealing here with an earlier, Roman, land-unit. Lodmoor appears to have been the southern part of a much larger, adjacent, territory to the east, which reached Chalbury hill-fort: the first element in its name is British (Jenkyns 2008, with full references). Similar considerations might be thought to lie behind the sites close to the Old Sarum to Badbury road in east Dorset; if so, Saxon settlement there too may have begun in a controlled fashion. The mechanisms, however, whereby early Anglo-Saxon material reached the far west are uncertain. Occurrences of such sixth-century Anglo-Saxon finds elsewhere in Somerset and even, in one instance, in Devon, much earlier than the time when these areas came under Anglo-Saxon control, are mapped on Figure 10. Some of these items may have arrived through intermarriage, the establishment of a few Saxon communities deep within British territory, and even as loot with British soldiers returning from campaigns against the English further east (Redknap 2007, with reference to some of the finds from south Wales).

Stray finds and burials, some of high status, of the seventh century are also recorded in that part of east Dorset which appears to have come under strong Saxon influence, and possibly control (though if so still as a part of the territory known to the Romans as the *civitas Durotrigum*) a century earlier. One of these is an axe-shaped gilded bronze harness mount, decorated with interlace, of the late sixth or early seventh century, from *Gussage St Michael* (PAS, DOR-5C1D49). A second piece, of the same date, is a pyramidal belt-fitting, once inlaid, from a sword strap and similar to the one from Kingston Deverill (Paper 6), from *Cranborne* (Green 2000, 138–9, pl. 27 and Martin Green, pers. comm.), and there is a copper-alloy example from *Wimborne St Giles* (PAS, DOR-E105ED). The third is a 'bronze' bowl, now lost but known from a drawing, of east Mediterranean origin from *Boscombe Chine*. It was found in 1807 'near the surface of a piece of sandy barren ground, on the sea shore', where coastal erosion is particularly marked (Steers 1964, 290–5). This type of 'Coptic' vessel is considered to have been produced between the late sixth and, possibly, the mid-seventh century (*Archaeologia* 16 (1812), 363, pl. lii, 4; Richards 1980, 51–2, 237; Koch 2001). Other burials are of a more ordinary nature. Excavation of a Bronze Age round barrow at *Long Crichel*, on Launceston Down, also within the area first acquired by the Saxons in the sixth century, produced three seventh-century intrusive interments, two males and a child (Cook 1982). Twelve burials of comparable date are also known at the Neolithic causewayed enclosure complex on *Hambleton Hill*, immediately north of Hod Hill (Mercer 1980, 53–5),

which lay, arguably, near the edge of this territory. These burials and finds may mark consolidation by the Saxon settlers of the sixth century.

Just as there may have been a military push by the Saxons into British territory in south-west Wiltshire, argued to have been formerly a part of the *civitas Durotrigum*, in the first half of the seventh century (Papers 1 and 6), so also at *Spetisbury* (Pl. 11), on the west bank of the Stour, there are hints of Anglo-Saxon military activity on the western border of the territory that they had acquired in the sixth century. There, four unassociated spearheads found in the last century when the railway line was constructed have been claimed to be of early Anglo-Saxon date (RCHME 1970b, 246; Swanton 1973, *passim*; Swanton 1974, 83). Typologically, two of these, however, seem more likely to date to the Iron Age, the date of almost all the other finds from the site, or perhaps the Roman conquest (Stead 2006, 33–4; A. Fitzpatrick, pers. comm.), but the two others might be accepted, with reservations, as belonging to Swanton's types B1 and C1.¹⁰ This accords with the record of a further five spearheads, three of them of type B1, one of F2 and one of E2, which were found at the hill-fort in c. 1945, along with two *seaxes*.¹¹ It is possible that all these finds of weaponry from Spetisbury relate to seventh-century graves, but there is also a gilded copper-alloy shield mount of the sixth century from Spetisbury (PAS, DOR-1C5D40). The smaller *seax* (blade length 32 cm) appears to date between c. 600/610 and 700/710 (Legoux *et al.* 2006, code 60; cf. Westphal 1991, 281, *Kurzsaxe*). The other one is exceptionally long (64 cm), and its 16 cm tang indicates that it could have been used as a two-handed weapon. These attributes suggest a date range of c. 630/640–700/710 (though mainly 660/670–700/710) and a Continental origin in this case (Westphal 1991, 284 (*Langsaxe*) and Legoux *et al.* 2006, 54, code 62: B. Ager, pers. comm., for both *seaxes*). A silver pyramidal mount with millefiori glass inlay is recorded from *Hinton St Mary*, which is located on a tributary of the Stour (PAS, DOR-A7E806). Other archaeological evidence for the presence of the Anglo-Saxons in Dorset in the seventh century is to be found in and around Dorchester.

Dorchester and its immediate environs

An account of the Roman town is given in Paper 2, as is that of the nearby post-Roman, British settlement at Poundbury.

Along with other, larger, post-built structures another building (Building 01466, undated) terraced as those at Poundbury, especially PR10 (Sparey-Green 1987, 82) has been recorded at *St Georges Road*, to the east of Roman Dorchester (Smith *et al.* 1997, 21–2). This, and one of the other buildings found there, is aligned on enclosure ditches of probable late Roman date, one of which produced a 'cigar-shaped' bone pin beater (for use with a warp-weighted loom), of either the Roman or early medieval period (MacGregor 1985, 188). Further simple, again slightly

irregular, timber buildings have been excavated at another settlement site, nearby, at *Alington Avenue* (Davies *et al.* 2002, 171–9). There the larger buildings share a variety of internal divisions but lack well defined and regularly placed entrances, which is in sharp contrast to Anglo-Saxon examples as seen, for instance, at Chalton and Cowdery's Down in Hampshire (Hamerow 2002, 20, 98). There is no sign here of the opposed doorways of many early Anglo-Saxon buildings, centrally placed in the middle of the long sides, as described so graphically by Bede (*HE* ii. 13). The settlement at Alington Avenue, in marked contrast to that at Poundbury (Paper 2), does, however, exhibit a regular and axial plan and there are signs there of fenced enclosures, seen also at seventh-century Anglo-Saxon settlements (Hamerow 2002, 97–9).¹²

There are casual finds of seventh-century 'Anglo-Saxon' spiral-headed pins from *Dorchester* at *South Street* and *Somerleigh Court* (Sparey-Green 1984a)¹³ and a gilded copper-alloy axe-shaped harness fitting, decorated with Style II interlace, with a suspension loop, possibly for its secondary use as a pendant, but otherwise similar to the one noticed above at Gussage St Michael (PAS, SOMDOR-1440D6; Geake 2004, 233). Anglo-Saxon style furnished burials of this date are known from a number of sites. At *The Trumpet Major*, *Alington Avenue*, there are inhumations with glass beads, silver wire rings, knives and a comb (Sparey-Green 1984a). At *Bradford Peverell*, in the Frome valley 4 km north-west of Dorchester, excavations have uncovered 16, mostly unaccompanied, burials. They are arranged in regular rows, reminiscent of the British cemeteries discussed above. One of the graves is that of a young girl with jewellery which included a pendant with a stone set *en cabochon* in gold, a silver pendant, two silver discs and a gold bead. Items such as these belonged to the new costume, ultimately of Mediterranean inspiration, which became fashionable across much of eastern and southern England in the seventh century and replaced Saxon and other regional styles of dress (interim reports: Keen 1977, 120; 1978, 112; 1979, 133; Hawthorne 1981, 126; Hawthorne and Pinder 1989: see also Paper 3). Other seventh-century burial places in the environs of Dorchester include two graves, one with a knife and a buckle, at a *Neolithic henge* at *Mount Pleasant*, less than 2 km to the east (Schwieso 1979, 181–3). These burials were made in relation to the bank of the henge, the stone settings having been already removed (I owe this point to Dr Sarah Semple). There is also a second interment near the eastern end of a *Neolithic bank barrow* inside the Iron Age hill-fort of *Maiden Castle*, 3 km south-west of Dorchester. There, one male, with a radiocarbon date of cal AD 578–892, had been dismembered (Brothwell 1971; Austin 2014, 62, n. 47). The location of this mutilated corpse on the boundary between the Domesday hundreds of Cullingford Tree and St George points to an early execution site, of a type which at least later in the Anglo-Saxon period

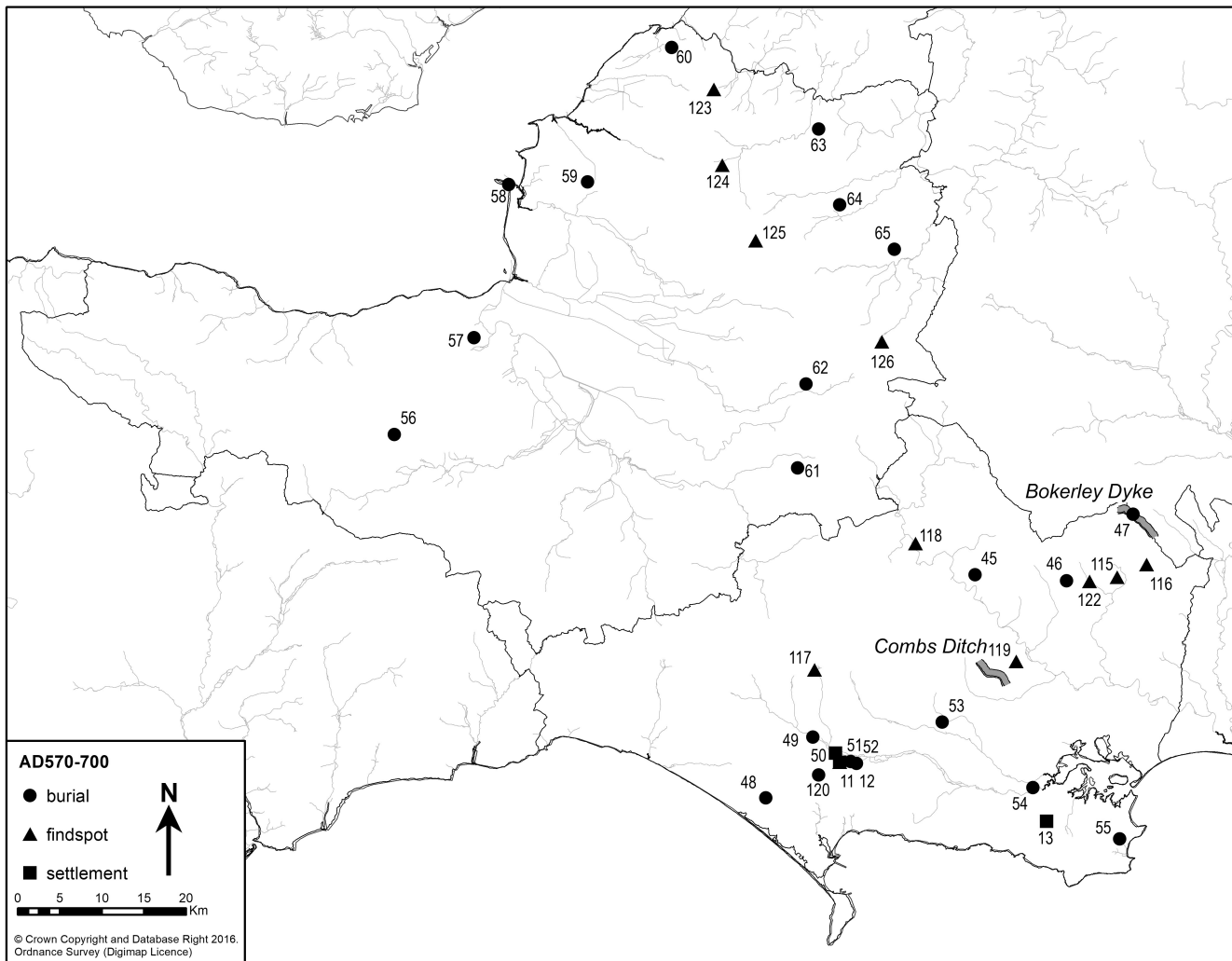


Figure 24 Dorset and Somerset in the seventh century. For the identification of site numbers see key to Fig. 11 (Harry Manley)

was certainly associated with the administration of justice, as noticed above at Bokerley Dyke (Wheeler 1943, 78–9; Reynolds and Semple 2002, 140–1). Apart from the mangled corpse, none of these ‘Anglo-Saxon’ sites in the environs of Dorchester can be certainly assigned to the first half of the seventh century on the available evidence, but the axe-shaped harness fitting from Dorchester itself dates to this time, though for this particular item allowance should be made for its possible subsequent adaptation as a pendant. There is, however, the burial with a *seax* at *Maiden Castle*, above, of the mid-sixth century. A further hint of an Anglo-Saxon presence around Dorchester before the middle of the seventh century is provided by the remarkable, recent find of a gold and garnet-inlaid pyramidal mount of exceptional quality from ‘the north-east of Dorchester’ (Evans 2004; Woodward 2005). This discovery would appear to suggest that there is very little difference in date between the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in south-west Wiltshire and their appearance around Dorchester (but see also below).

Somerset

In the Roman period, most of Somerset lay within the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensem*, with Ilchester (*Lindinis*) in the south as its probable capital (Paper 1). In the fifth century, it is suggested in Paper 2, the *civitas* of the northern Durotriges was enlarged at the north by its incorporation of the former Belgic area between the rivers Axe and the Avon. From the last quarter of the fifth century this latter area was dominated by the hill-fort of *Cadbury-Congresbury*, while *South Cadbury* (see Pl. 6) and *Ham Hill* commanded the south (see Figs 5 and 6). These hill-forts, and also *Athelney* and *Glastonbury*, are notable for the presence in the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century of amphorae, which contained wine and also possibly oil, brought from the eastern Mediterranean, imports which do not appear in southern Durotrigan territory (Paper 2). There is evidence for the continuity of Roman settlement, most notably at the ‘small town’ of *Shepton Mallet* on the Fosse Way, where burials have been dated to the fifth and sixth centuries AD (Paper 2).

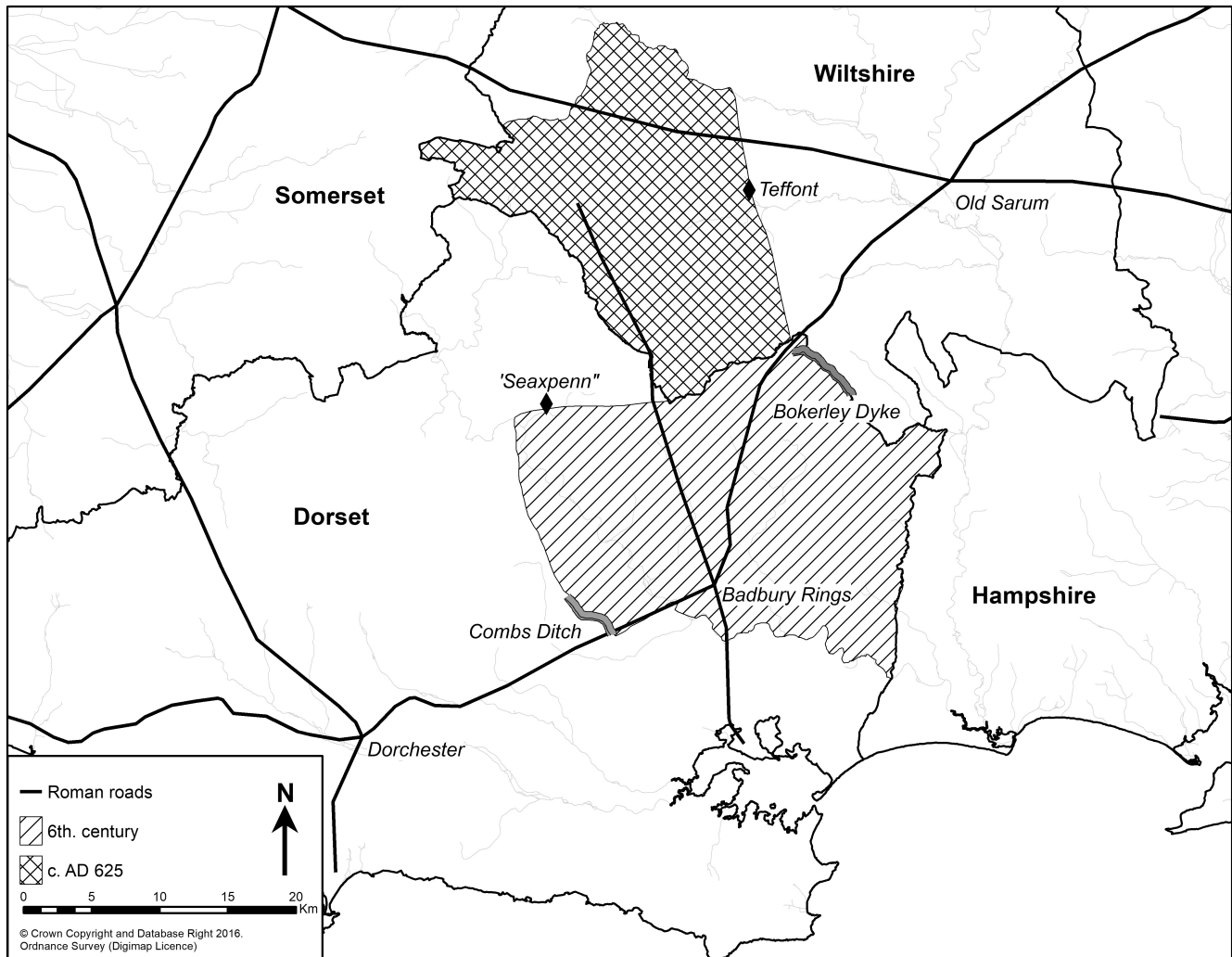


Figure 25 The spread of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture in Dorset in the sixth and seventh centuries (Harry Manley)

Inhumation cemeteries with, very largely, unaccompanied burials of the fifth–seventh centuries and later are also well in evidence in the county (similar burial grounds in Dorset have been discussed above). The very large cemetery at *Cannington*, on the west bank of the Parrett, has been noticed in the Introduction (and see also the entry in the Site Gazetteer in Paper 2). Others are known at: *Winthill*, *Banwell*, uncoffined and unaccompanied west–east burials, some of them 'circled with stones' and some cut through the walls of a Roman villa. Two radiocarbon dates are of cal AD 430–610 and 660–810 (Aston 2010, who notes three Walcott names (cf. Fig. 3) in the parish of Banwell; North Somerset Council, Monuments nos 105, 106; and see also 225); *Brean Down*, in a sandcliff, one grave contained a triangular knife – for radiocarbon dates see the entry in the Site Gazetteer, Paper 2; *Portbury*: four of the 15 recorded burials, including two males with cut wounds, produced radiocarbon dates which ranged from cal AD 530–685 (Aston 2010; North Somerset Council, Monument 797);

Portishead: 43 west–east unaccompanied inhumations (North Somerset Council, Monument 440); *Stoneage Barton*, *Bishop's Lydeard* (of the seventh century; see the Introduction); *Ashcombe*, *Weston-super-Mare*, a burial radiocarbon dated to cal AD 428–580 (Aston *et al.* 2012, 163–4); and beside, but post-dating, the Romano-British temple site at *Henley Wood*, *Yatton*, only 170 m to the north of the hill-fort at Cadbury-Congresbury. The latest coins at the temple at *Henley Wood* date to 388–402. The date of the cemetery there, of the unaccompanied west–east burials, in approximate rows, of at least 75 men, women and children, is somewhat problematical, but it is suggested to have been in use in the fifth and sixth centuries, and perhaps into the seventh (Watts and Leach 1996). Two of the unaccompanied burials, oriented west–east or south-west to north-east, at the temple at *Lamyatt Beacon*, where the coin series also runs to 388–402, have radiocarbon dates of cal AD 450–690 and 670–1000 (Leech 1986, 270, 272; Jordan *et al.* 1994, 86, respectively, HAR-2670 and HAR-2593). The cemetery

at *Wembdon*, with at least two rows of west–east burials, with partial stone linings to the graves, is located just to the west of the Parrett and close to Cannington: radiocarbon dates begin in the seventh century and continue to the tenth (Langdon 1986; Croft and Woods 1987; Croft 1988; Hollinrake and Hollinrake 1989; R. Croft, pers. comm.). At another temple site, that at *Pagans Hill, Chew Stoke*, an almost complete Anglo-Saxon blue glass squat jar of the seventh century has been recovered from a Roman well (Evison in Rahtz and Watts 1989, 341–5: see also Rahtz and Harris 1956–57). The burial with a knife at *Evercreech* (Dobson 1935) and others, without grave goods except for one with a knife, at *Saltford, Keynsham* (Crook 1938) may be of later Romano-British date. There is a hanging-bowl escutcheon from *Cerne Abbas* (PAS, DOR-14E382).

The Type G penannular brooches are a notable element in the post-Roman archaeology of Somerset. They have been subdivided into specific groups (G1–4). More than half of them fall into group G1, which itself has been split into sub-groups G1.1–8. They appear to date to the sixth century (the only datable contexts are from ‘Anglo-Saxon’ graves (as the example below), but the type may well have begun earlier). Their largest concentration is in the territory of the northern Durotriges, and especially in the area acquired from the Belgae in the fifth century (Dickinson 1982, fig. 2), where the G1 subgroup is recorded from the hill-forts of *Cadbury-Congresbury* (4: 2 G1.1, 1 G1.2, 1 G1.7) and *Worlebury* (1 G1.8), and from *Camerton* (1, G1.2) and the cemetery at *Wembdon* (1: G1.6, not from a grave (Rahtz *et al.* 2000, 22: radiocarbon dates here begin in the seventh century, see above). It is possible that these brooches were worn as a badge of identity by the local elite – the one from *Worlebury* is of silver. Only one other, very worn, example (a G1.6) is known from elsewhere in Wessex, and that was found in Grave 53, of a female, in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at *Harnham Hill* in south Wiltshire, together with a South Wessex variant of an ansate brooch (Akerman 1855, 264, 278 and pl. xii; Youngs 2007, 90; Paper 6). There is another Group G brooch, not further specified, from *Yatton* (PAS, GLO-FDF237). Two others are from *Otterhampton* (PAS, SOMDOR-AB3935), on the west bank of the Parrett, near its mouth, and *Bishop’s Hull*, on the west side of Taunton (PAS, SOM-0B1693).

There is also evidence of ‘Anglo-Saxon’ material culture in Somerset, as in Dorset, in the sixth century (see Fig. 23). It is to be found both along the northern coast and also at a number of places across the county, even as far west as the River Parrett. On the coast itself, there is a Type L spearhead from *Worle* (Weston-super-Mare Museum, WESTM: 1955.43; Swanton 1974, 89), and to the south-east, a Style I decorated gilded copper-alloy harness mount from *Loxton* (PAS, SOMDOR-305381). A small-long brooch (PAS, SOMDOR-DEA564) is recorded from *Wells, St Cuthbert Out*. From *Evercreech* there is an ‘Anglo-Saxon’

‘Candy’ bead, datable between c. 450 and 550 (PAS, SOM-4B0603). A Class C button brooch is recorded from *Pawlett* (PAS, SOM-A3C7D6) on the east bank of the Parrett, not far from its mouth. A burial with tweezers is on record at *Huish Episcopi*, to the east of Langport (Leech 1976; not seventh century, as Eagles 1994, 18), and a gilded copper-alloy mount with Style I decoration from *Muchelney* (PAS, SOM-92E674). A Style I decorated gilded and copper-alloy pendant from *Cannington* (PAS, SOM-977DOB) and another, but in this case also enamelled, from *Kilve* (PAS, SOM-07C798), are further finds of a similar nature, but to the west of the Parrett. Kilve is at the foot of the Quantocks, the western limit of a Romanised landscape (Paper 1). A unique variant of a repaired silvered/tinned disc brooch, decorated with concentric rings and annulets, is recorded from *Otterhampton* (PAS, SOMDOR-BC1877). Other sixth-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ artefacts from the hill-forts of *Cadbury-Congresbury*, *Ham Hill* and *South Cadbury* are noted in Paper 2.¹⁴

Several cemeteries and burial sites of the seventh century with ‘Anglo-Saxon’ items amongst their grave goods are on record in the north and east of the county (Rahtz *et al.* 1992, fig. 1; Fig. 24). At *Camerton*, near the Roman ‘small town’ on the Fosse Way, excavation has uncovered 109 west–east graves, with 115 men, women, adolescents, children and infants. Other burials there have been lost to a limestone quarry. One female adult was buried in a re-used Roman coffin. At least 62 of these graves lacked grave goods of any kind, and 17 others had just a knife – in one case, two of them. The most significant item with the burials was the gold bracteate with Style II decoration in Grave 5, of an infant. Other grave goods included three detached enamelled escutcheons and other fragments of one or more hanging-bowls, two pairs of shears, a spearhead, a whetstone, a cowrie shell, spindle-whorls, silver wire rings and *bullae*, a comb and beads, including one of amethyst. There were no brooches. Many of the iron objects could not be identified. Fragments of charcoal had been scattered over at least 42 of the bodies (Horne 1928, 1933; Geake 1997, *passim*; 1999a, where it is argued that hanging-bowls were deposited in graves only in the seventh and early eighth centuries). Radiocarbon dates of cal AD 665–774, 712–767 and 694–765 obtained from, respectively, skeletons in the unfurnished graves 12, 16 and 28 show the continuation of burial well into the eighth century (Aston *et al.* 2012, 164).

Burials, probably of the late seventh century, have been excavated at *Hicknoll Slait, Compton Pauncefoot* (in the south-eastern part of the county, 1 km east of South Cadbury hill-fort). Four were oriented west–east, one north–south (with a knife, and a flint in the mouth) and one north-west to south-east (with copper flecks and a fragment of glass bead). All were rock-cut. A Swanton Type C4 spearhead and a sugar-loaf shield-boss were also recovered but without context (Taylor 1967; Davey 2005, 112–21; isotope analysis

of teeth from the north–south and north–west to south–east skeletons showed that those individuals were born locally). A grave orientated north–west to south–east at *Buckland Dinham* was furnished with silver wire rings and beads of amethyst, glass and shell (Horne 1926). At *Queen Camel* a burial is reported to have been accompanied by an Anglo-Saxon sword (Anon. 1946). All these sites are east of the Fosse Way. Finally, an Anglo-Saxon gold pendant with filigree decoration, beads and bone fragments have been found at *Burnett*, near Keynsham, between the River Avon and West Wansdyke (Bulleid 1922; Leighton 1937, 244–5). The grave dates to the late seventh or early eighth century (Geake 1997, 38). An enamelled copper-alloy bird appliqué from a hanging bowl is reported from *Chewton Mendip* (PAS, SOM-7F2AO1), a mount from another from *Long Ashton* (PAS, GLO-B8CAD4) and there is a pyramidal mount of silver-gilt with a gold setting, probably for a garnet (PAS, WILT-A0D7F2) from *Witham Friary*.

Conclusion

Before the Gewisse

Excavations in the *civitas Durotrigum Lendeniensium* have revealed the significance of hill-fort reoccupation and the wide contacts of the elite in the fifth and sixth centuries. The western trading network in which the northern Durotriges played a significant role, however, was not shared by their southern neighbours (Paper 2).

It has been argued that the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Dorset came about piecemeal (Fig. 25). The first, quite exceptional, indications of Saxons in the county are at Hod Hill, around the middle of the fifth century. From the first half of the sixth century a Saxon presence, which may have arisen peacefully, is clear in a definable area in the east. There is also a scatter of sixth-century Anglo-Saxon artefacts further to the west, particularly near the coast, and the burial with a *seax* inside Maiden Castle may be that of an Anglo-Saxon. The same pattern, but more marked, may be detected in Somerset. It seems clear that from the first half of the sixth century pieces of Anglo-Saxon jewellery and other items of similar origin were becoming widespread throughout Somerset, particularly near the coast. Anglo-Saxon control of Somerset was still a very long time off, but it seems that either there were now immigrant groups of Anglo-Saxons living amongst the Britons, or that some Britons were acquiring a taste for ‘things Saxon’, obtaining them from traders, and making use of them. Two Byzantine coins, a bronze half-*folles* of Justinian I (527–565) from *Langport* (a metal-detected find: Morrisson 2014, no. 34; see Paper 3, n. 6) and a half-*folles* of Heraclius of 616–617 from *Nunney* (PAS, SOM-656532), could have arrived either through the trading links with the east Mediterranean or perhaps through the clearly ever-increasing contacts with

the Anglo-Saxon world to the east. It is suggested that the (male?) elite in north Somerset, an area which had been acquired by the northern Durotriges only in the fifth century, were, probably in the sixth century, identifiable by their display of G-type penannular brooches.

The date of the arrival of the Gewisse

Although the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no explicit mention of the county in the sixth or seventh centuries, the group of burials with sugar-loaf shield bosses in south-west Wiltshire and the *seaxes* from *Spetisbury* might be evidence for the military conquest of some areas before the middle of the seventh century. The archaeological evidence for Saxons around Dorchester itself dates to around the mid-seventh century, and by that time the whole shire appears to have fallen into Anglo-Saxon hands. It is possible that some of these inroads came about within the framework of existing territorial units. The isolated cluster of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burial grounds near Dorchester, however, requires a different explanation, for these cemeteries appear to mark a deliberate, specific, policy of domination directed towards the site of the Roman *civitas* capital (as noted above, the place itself had probably been long very largely or even wholly deserted) and all for which it had stood. There is no evidence of particular interest in the place by the Church at this time, as happened at Winchester, but there in the context of quite recent conversion.

It is also possible that the richly furnished bed-burial of a woman, intrusive in a long barrow which had been incorporated into a prehistoric linear earthwork, itself an element in the complex and multi-phase Bokerley boundary ‘line’, was deliberately so placed to ‘mark’ the final appropriation of the whole of the territory of the southern Durotriges (Bowen 1991, 5: monument Pentridge 23; Speake 1989, 107, ‘Woodyates’; probably of the second half of the seventh century, supersedes Eagles 2001, 222). Martin 28, a primary barrow with a weapon burial, is sited beside linear Martin 80A and 100 m or so to the east of Bokerley Dyke, where 80A terminates (Bowen 1990, fig. 6; 1991, 16).

Two Old English names on the Dorset/Somerset border, *Ryme* (in Dorset, near Yeovil) and *Rimpton* (in Somerset), contain the element *rima*, meaning edge or border (Costen 1992, 85). *Mere* in south-west Wiltshire may be added to this list (Gover *et al.* 1939, 178; but Ekwall 1960, 322 for the derivation of the place-name from OE ‘*mere*’, a pool: the Revd. W. H. V. Elliott has drawn my attention to the numerous natural springs in the parish). The alignment marked by these names is arguably an English re-emphasis of the ancient border between the two cantons of the Durotriges. As suggested here, however, from Mere the pre-English boundary continued northwards to the Deverills and Cold Kitchen Hill (Paper 1), the present county boundary

between the sharp southerly turn at Mere, as far as the similar one at Bowerchalke, being of later, pre-Domesday date.

The former territorial cohesiveness of this area is further suggested by the acquisition, probably in the late seventh or early eighth century, by a minster ('*monasterium*') at Tisbury in south-west Wiltshire (of some standing, with a *parochia*, by c. 700: Dr J. Pitt, pers. comm.), of a 30-hide estate near the River Fontmell, about 14 km away in Dorset, both places considered here to have been within the *civitas Durotrigum* (a charter of 759 (S 1256), adapted from an earlier one datable between 669/670 and 675/676 (S 1164); Edwards 1988, 229–34; Kelly 1996, 3–10). The Fontmell Brook, it may be noted, follows a north to south course along the eastern foot of Pen Hill (*Seaxpenn*). This transaction appears to point, therefore, to the close ties which had already developed between these two places, the one of which, Tisbury, may have only recently come into English hands, the other, near Fontmell, which had perhaps been in Anglo-Saxon territory a century earlier. The grant was made by Coenred, presumably the father of Ine (688–726), but whose status in Wessex at that time is unclear, to abbot Bectun. This is the first written confirmation of Gewissan control of Dorset. Bectun was succeeded as abbot by a Briton, Catwali (Finberg 1964a, 155–6). A late tenth-century charter (S 850) confirmed the gift of land at Tisbury, where the monastery appears to have ceased by the early tenth century, to Shaftesbury (Edwards 1988, 230). The scale of disruption, local or widespread, secular or ecclesiastical, brought about by English control has yet to be assessed.

The Anglo-Saxon see at *Sherborne*, founded c. 705, had a British predecessor in *Lanprobi*, a British name, meaning 'the church-enclosure of [Saint] Probus' (Finberg 1964b, 98–9).¹⁵ Cenwalh (642–673) was said to have transferred a 100 hide estate from this British monastery to new Sherborne in AD 671 (O'Donovan 1988, 82–8; Hall 2005; 2009, 160).¹⁶

In regard to Somerset the first unambiguous written reference to a West Saxon advance south-westwards beyond Wiltshire is that in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which records the battle of *Peonnan*, possibly at Penselwood, on the Somerset border, in 658 when the Britons were driven back to the Parrett (Yorke 1995, 53; cf. Barker 1986). There is no mention of Dorset and the annal may relate only to the former northern part of Durotrigan territory. In AD 682, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, Centwine of the Gewisse (676–685/6), whose successes may have been underestimated, put the Britons to flight as far as the sea (Yorke 1990, 136), and it is to his reign that the first charters of Glastonbury abbey may be assigned (Paper 2). The very small number of furnished, 'Anglo-Saxon' style burials in the county may be a reflection of the late date of Anglo-Saxon conquest here. The grave at *Burnett, Keynsham*, is arguably a 'signal' burial, marking this conquest at the

boundary of the newly acquired lands and comparable to similar interments on the Bokerley line.¹⁷

Gildas's divortium

In Chapter 10.2 of the *De Excidio* Gildas writes of the present [ie. c. 540] 'unhappy partition with the barbarians', but notes that it had afforded a 'generation of peace' in his time (c. 26).

By the mid-sixth century, 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and burial rites had spread as far westwards as Teffont in south Wiltshire, on the eastern boundary of the *civitas Durotrigum*, within a definable area immediately beyond Bokerley Dyke in east Dorset, where it has been argued above that the Saxon settlement took place *within* the *civitas Durotrigum*, and across Wiltshire, as far as Charlton and Kemble in the north-west and West Ashton in the west (Figs 10, 11, 26: for the area between Charlton and West Ashton see Paper 10).¹⁸ Though it is recognised that there can be no direct and easy correlation, or indeed there may even be no linkage, between material culture and burial rites and proclaimed ethnic identity (an important issue which is discussed in the Introduction), the contrast with areas further to the west is notable. There, only a very small number of artefacts of Germanic heritage of the fifth century are known from further Dorset, and there is a very limited scatter of them in the sixth century from both Dorset and Somerset (see above). It has been suggested above that little of this scatter, much of it as presently understood focused upon the coasts, is the result of immigrant settlement, but due to trade and some take-up of novel 'Saxon' fashions by some Britons in those areas.

In contrast, the widespread adoption of 'Saxon' material culture and burial practice and, most probably, language across much of Wiltshire by the middle of the sixth century most likely implies the local presence and influence there of immigrant English speakers in some numbers (see the Introduction). If these fundamental changes occurred, as arguably they may, *within* the limits of the demarcation agreed after Badon they could have been regarded by Gildas, and no doubt others, as not infringing the 'peace'.

If the distinct break in the archaeology has relevance to the demarcation of Gildas, his division might therefore relate to the eastern borders of the Durotriges and to Selwood, which, it has been suggested, formed, from the fifth century, a new limit of an expanded territory of the northern Durotriges, at the expense of the Belgae (Paper 2). If so, it would indicate that English *influence* had spread this far west by AD 500. Certainly, an Anglo-Saxon presence is evident at both the cemetery at *Blacknall Field*, towards the eastern end of the Vale of Pewsey and the settlement and burial ground at *Market Lavington* on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain by c. 475, the latter only some 11 km to the east of *West Ashton*. Perhaps Gildas's statement that the

Saxon revolt of c. 441 had ‘licked the western ocean’ (c. 24) should be taken seriously.

This division, Gildas tells us, prevented ‘our citizens’ from visiting the Christian shrines of St. Alban at Verulamium and of Aaron and Julius at Caerleon and also others, unspecified, elsewhere. His advanced education is traditionally attributed to Llantwit Major (see the Introduction), but if he were still there or if, as has been suggested, he were in Somerset when he wrote the *De Excidio*, he himself would not have been cut off at least from Caerleon as a result of Anglo-Saxon land-taking (Sharpe 2002, 106–8; see Fig. 10), see also Paper 10). To the east of the north Durotrigan boundary there are only limited archaeological indications of ‘Anglo-Saxons’ in western Wiltshire throughout the sixth century (see Figs 10 and 11), which suggests that acculturation here was slow. We may note, however, the very small number of Brittonic place-names in this area, in contrast to north-west Wiltshire, where, it is argued, the Britons remained independent until the later seventh century. In north-west Wiltshire they appear, indeed, to have retained control across the Belgic/Dobunnic divide (Paper 10).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Barry Ager, Dr Birte Brugmann, the Revd W. H. V. Elliott, the late Dr John Ellis, Professor Andrew Fitzpatrick, Christopher Sparey-Green, Dr Jillian Hawkins, Professor Martin Henig, Jane Hill, Dr Ursula Koch, Cat Lodge, Jo Mills, David Mullin, Matthew Parker, Ian Riddler, Dr Jörn Schuster, Dr Sarah Semple, Daniel Smith, the late Peter Woodward, Professor Barbara Yorke and Susan Youngs for help with a number of the sites and artefacts discussed in this paper and generally for other valued discussion. David Mills kindly discussed the pre-English names in the county. I am also much obliged to David Ashworth who provided copies of correspondence in Dorset County Museum relating to spearheads and seaxes found at Spetisbury hill-fort and to David Evans and Anna Morris who supplied information from, respectively, the South Gloucestershire and Gloucestershire Sites and Monuments Records.

Notes

- 1 A farm site at Cleavel Point, on the south shore of Poole harbour, produced two glass beads which have been claimed to be of sixth- or seventh-century ‘Frankish’ type. One (246) is from a gully (which also produced third- and fourth-century finds) associated with a timber building, only partially recovered, and a cobbled yard; the other (245, a millefiori type) was found nearby (Sunter and Woodward 1987, 64 and 100–3, a report on the beads by the late Margaret Guido and others; see also Evison 1987, 70). Re-examination of the millefiori bead by Professor Jennifer Price, following initial comments from Dr Birte Brugmann and Dr Ursula Koch, however, indicates that the bead is of early Roman date, belonging to the first half of the first century AD. Dr Brugmann suggests that bead 246 is an undatable, highly individual product.
- 2 Cf. Hall 2009, 155: ‘In Dorset, Somerset and Devon, evidence suggests that the West Saxons initially supported the existing centres of the British church which they encountered [see below for the Briton Catwili as successor to the English abbot Bectun at Fontmell]. However, by the end of the 7th century a totally different picture seems to have emerged. Most of the British sites had lost their early status: they had been downgraded and subsumed within the West Saxon church hierarchy. This process seems to have been so draconian that for many churches and monasteries any British Christian origin was consigned to the realms of mythology’.
- 3 See also below for occupation inside Badbury Rings hill-fort which may date to the fifth century.
- 4 Fifth-century finds from the Deverills in south-west Wiltshire and from the vicinity of Hod Hill and from Puddletown are discussed in Paper 2.
- 5 As Susan Youngs has pointed out to me, we know so little about ‘British’ spearheads at this time that a ‘Germanic’ attribution cannot be assumed, though ‘British’ ones generally appear to have closed sockets, in the main Celtic (Swanton 1973, 8) and Roman traditions (White 2007, fig. 23, for two examples from Four Crosses, Llandysilio, Powys; Bishop and Coulston 2006, fig. 127), rather than the open sockets of most of the Anglo-Saxon spearheads. Swanton 1973, 8: ‘Welded sockets are characteristic of only a limited number of early Anglo-Saxon spear types. They occur in the barbed darts of series A and in the ‘midribbed’ groups B1 and B2, but all these involved welding in their manufacture in any case. All immediately derived from pre-migration continental forms, and none seems ever to have gained favour with the Anglo-Saxons.’ See also below for spearheads with closed sockets from Spetisbury which have been considered Anglo-Saxon. There are two spearheads with open sockets from the British coastal trading settlement at Bantham, Devon (see Paper 2, Site gazetteer) which have been classified by Swanton (1974, 31) as FI (Fox 1955, 61, fig. 4, 3 and 4).
- 6 In addition, Swanton (1974, 88) notes an E2 spearhead from a ‘Barrow, West Lodge, nr. Shaftesbury’, BM reg. no. 92 9-1 1732 (comment by the entry in the Register); this may refer to West Lodge at Iwerne Minster, some 5 m (8 km) to the south-east of the town. There are a number of prehistoric barrows in Iwerne Minster parish to the west and south-west of West Lodge (RCHME 1972, 41).
- 7 J. B. Calkin, ms. Catalogue of Antiquities, Volume I, from the Bournemouth District (1929–); held by Hampshire County Council Museums Service, Winchester), 226, ‘Summer 1938. Iford, less than 1ft [30 cm] below surface an upright urn covered by small sarsen and containing bones and charcoal. Presented to B(ritish). M(useum). by T. Dayrell Reed’; pencilled ms. note by TDR in Dept. of Medieval and Modern Europe archives in the British Museum; BM reg. no. 1939,5–7,1.
- 8 The demonstration of this Saxon territory and frontier in Dorset, apparently being established before the mid-sixth century, might be thought, perhaps, to add weight to the

arguments in favour of the identification of Badbury Rings with Mount Badon, whose siege is recorded by Gildas (26.1) as almost the last victory of the Britons against the Saxons in his lifetime, and which led to the present ‘unhappy partition with the barbarians’ (Gildas 10.2; Jackson 1958). Note, however, that the Welsh Annals record not only this siege of Badon (s. a. 516) – which indicates how widespread was its fame – but also a second battle of Badon (*‘bellum Badonis secundo’*), surely the same place, in 665, at a time when not only this region but, as discussed below, the rest of Dorset was in Anglo-Saxon hands (*Annales Cambriae* (Morris 1980, s. a. 665; and cf. Thomas 1981, 251 and Sims-Williams 1983, 38–9). Higham (1994, 96–117) suggests that Gildas was writing in Wiltshire or Dorset and may have been referring to a famous local battle; Dark (1994a, 258–66) favours Gildas’s location in Dorset; and Sharpe (2002, 108) argues for his being in Gloucestershire or Somerset.

9 The deposit would also have served as a useful collection for re-forging and recycling (Fleming 2012).

10 Spetisbury spearheads; Barry Ager notes:

‘Probably not Anglo-Saxon

British Museum reg. no. (18)62,6–27,6 – has a long, closed socket; length, 24.8 cm. Swanton calls it E2, but it has very rounded ‘angles’ and it doesn’t really fit into his typology, as it is not an angular blade by comparison with his illustrations; nor is it properly straight-sided, but slightly convex-edged.

62,6–27,7 – has a closed socket; length, 12.7 cm, but as the end is missing (and was when acquired) it is not clear how long it was originally and it is difficult to accept Swanton’s E1 classification, especially as, again, it is not an angular blade. The outline is more leaf-shaped and he himself notes that simple, leaf-shaped blades were ubiquitous in pre-migration times (Swanton 1973, 46).

?Anglo-Saxon

62,6–27,8 – has a small, leaf-shaped blade and a damaged, cleft socket; length, 10.2 cm. But the blade is even more ovoid than the C1 example from Bulford shown by Swanton (1973, fig. 9b), so it does not particularly stand out as an Anglo-Saxon spearhead.

62,627,9 – has a closed socket; length, 24.5 cm; illustrated by Swanton, 1973, fig. 6d, Type B1. Swanton refers to Roman Iron Age antecedents and the closed socket being a ‘pre-migration continental feature’ (Swanton 1973, 37–8), so I should hesitate to call even this one Anglo-Saxon on typological grounds alone. This is the only one of these four spearheads which is recorded on the BM’s database as Anglo-Saxon.

11 Spearheads, D(orset) C(ounty) M(useum) accession nos 2005.4.3–4.7, *seaxes* 2005.4.1–4.2. Correspondence relating to these finds in Museum archive.

12 A circular lead-alloy pendant with a central red glass setting found in the upper fill of a late Roman well (Feature 1791) located immediately by the postulated west wall of one of the larger post-Roman buildings, Building 4435, is of late Roman date, closely paralleled by examples from the late Roman site at Ickham Mill, Kent (M. Henig in Bennett *et al.* 2010, 190–6: ‘The pendants are of a rare type, hardly attested in ‘Roman’ Britain and which I believe to be later. The Ickham finds may be evidence for Roman continuity and the metamorphosis of classical culture in late antiquity’) and affords no evidence for the date of the buildings in this settlement (see also Henig and Morris 2002, and cf. Davies *et al.* 2002, figs 27 and 77).

13 Sparey-Green (1984a) also draws attention to a third such pin excavated from a bowl barrow near Muckleford (Grinsell 1959, 96, Bradford Peverell 7a). The excavation, the finds from which included a pin 6 in (15 cm) long with a ‘double head’, is described, anonymously, but not illustrated, in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1832, August, 165; an almost identical account appears in Warne 1866, ‘Tumuli opened at various periods’, no. 61, 37. The object cannot be traced in the Dorset County Museum (the late Peter Woodward, pers. comm.); it may of Late Bronze Age date (cf. British Museum 1953, fig. 13.11, though Grinsell 1982, 35 that it is probably not this pin).

14 There is doubt as to the provenance of ring-and-dot decorated disc brooches and a small-long brooch which are said to have been found in *Ilchester* (see Paper 2, also for two fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine coins).

15 Discussions of the location of *Lanprobi* are: Barker 1977; 1982; 1984; Keen 1984, 208–12; Hall 2000, 11, 33, 35 and 53 and see also Paper 1. See too Grimmer 2005 (I owe this reference to the late Dr John Ellis, Bournemouth University). A critical analysis of the early Church in Dorset is beyond the scope of this paper.

16 See also Paper 1 for the possibility that Sherborne was deliberately sited on the boundary between the southern and northern Durotriges.

17 There is part of an ‘Anglian’ wrist-clasp of the sixth century from *Denbury*, in the south of Devon (not mapped; Read 1995, 48–9; Hines 2000, 95, n.43; see also the Site Gazetteer in Paper 2 for sites in Devon whose radiocarbon dates span both the fifth and the sixth centuries). Wynfrith/Boniface, aged 7, entered a monastery at Exeter c. 679x682, with the implication that his parents were already resident in the county, having moved there from ‘Hampshire’(?) as one of the pioneering West Saxon families who arrived in the wake of the conquest of the area by the Gewisse (Yorke 2007).

18 Cultural assimilation by communities farming the chalkland landscape might, if anywhere, be thought likely.

Augustine's Oak¹

The purpose of this short paper is to revisit the question of the identity of the meeting-place of Augustine and British church leaders who had assembled, Bede tells us, at a place known to the English as Augustine's Oak, on the boundary that in his time divided the West Saxons from the Hwicce. Bede reports that the meeting took place in *c.* AD 602/603 between Augustine, the missionary to the Anglo-Saxons, and teachers and bishops of the nearest kingdom of the Britons.²

Attempts to identify the location have long proved to be in vain. Thus Plummer (1896, II, 74) notes 'Aust, on the Severn, opposite Chepstow, has been most commonly suggested' and refers to proposed alternatives near Malmesbury and Down Ampney. More recently, Charles Thomas (1981, 209) has written that 'Augustine's Oak ... has been traditionally identified as Aust-on-Severn but is probably a now-untraceable locality presumably in the west of England'. Mayr-Harting (1991, 71) writes 'Augustine arranged a conference with [the British bishops] on the borders of their own territory somewhere near the River Severn'.

Research on the nature and extent of early 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and burial rites in Wiltshire (Paper 6), together with a re-examination of Brittonic place-names (Coates 2000b) has led to the identification of a possible boundary between the Britons and the Saxons in the north-west of that county.

Archaeological sites in north-west Wiltshire indicate a westerly limit to early 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture, most evident in furnished burials, in both the sixth and the seventh centuries (Figs 10, 11, 26). In the sixth century this limit is marked by burials and findspots at *Kemble*, on the Gloucestershire border, *Charlton*, *Purton*, *Basset Down* (*Lydiard Tregoze*), *Clyffe Pypard*, *Bishop's Cannings* and *West Ashton*. Even in the later seventh century the distribution is only a little different. By that date we may add, in the southerly sector, *Winterbourne Bassett*, *Yatesbury* (a burial with a work/relict-box of the last quarter of the seventh century) and *Worton*, and the three seventh-century burials at *Hedington* and *Roundway*, which include the

richly accompanied female of the late seventh century at *Roundway Down*. It is also notable that two large Celtic zoomorphic penannular brooches, dress items of British men of rank, intended for display, have been recovered from 'near *Calne*' and *Oldbury Castle*, in the parish of Cherhill: they date to the fifth century. Both items are probably from the hill-fort, which lies very close to the suggested boundary and was, with little doubt, a fifth-century stronghold of the Britons (Youngs 2010). *Oldbury Castle* is also situated a little to the north of Morgan's Hill, where the north-facing East Wansdyke cut the Roman road from Bath to Silchester. The Roman road and East Wansdyke, it has been argued, marked the northern boundary of the *civitas Belgarum*, dividing it from the Dobunni. A particularly significant find to the west of the Kemble-West Ashton 'line' is an unfinished escutcheon of a mid- to late seventh-century Celtic hanging-bowl from *Seagry*, on the Bristol Avon south of Malmesbury; evidence for the manufacture of these bowls is otherwise known only in Scotland (Youngs with Eagles 1998). The absence of early 'Anglo-Saxon' burials and artefacts in this part of north-west Wiltshire is equally noticeable in South Gloucestershire, where the most southerly cemetery, of the late sixth or early seventh century, and also a sixth-century saucer brooch, are recorded at *Avening*, just north of Tetbury. There is also an annular brooch from *Bristol*.³

Additional support for a boundary between the Britons and the Saxons here is to be found in the exceptional number of Brittonic place-names in north-west Wiltshire. These names point to the likelihood that the language continued to be spoken in this area into the seventh century (Coates 2000b). The names *Kemble* (British), *Minety* suggested to have been Brittonic, and *Keevil*, probably British, may all refer to their location on a boundary (but see also Breeze 2007 for an English origin for Minety, with reference to the (water) mint). Kemble, by the source of the Thames – marked, in all likelihood, and typically, by a Romano-British temple site, possibly lay on an internal division of the Dobunni.⁴ Kemble retained its liminal location, being

transferred from Wiltshire to Gloucestershire only in 1897. Minety is nearby. Keevil is close to West Ashton, on the north-east. Brittonic names to the west of the boundary are mapped on Figure 3.

Such a boundary could have defined the eastern limit of a British territory which extended westwards to the River Severn and southwards to Bath. Anglo-Saxon control of

this area seems to have been achieved c. 675. The earliest charters for the monasteries at Bath (Sawyer 1968 (S) 51: a grant by the king of the Hwicce) and Malmesbury (S 71/73, 1169, 1170 and 231/234) date between that year and 688. The latter relate to Mercian grants of estates at Tetbury, in Gloucestershire, and Long Newnton and Somerford Keynes in Wiltshire (the last also transferred to Gloucestershire in

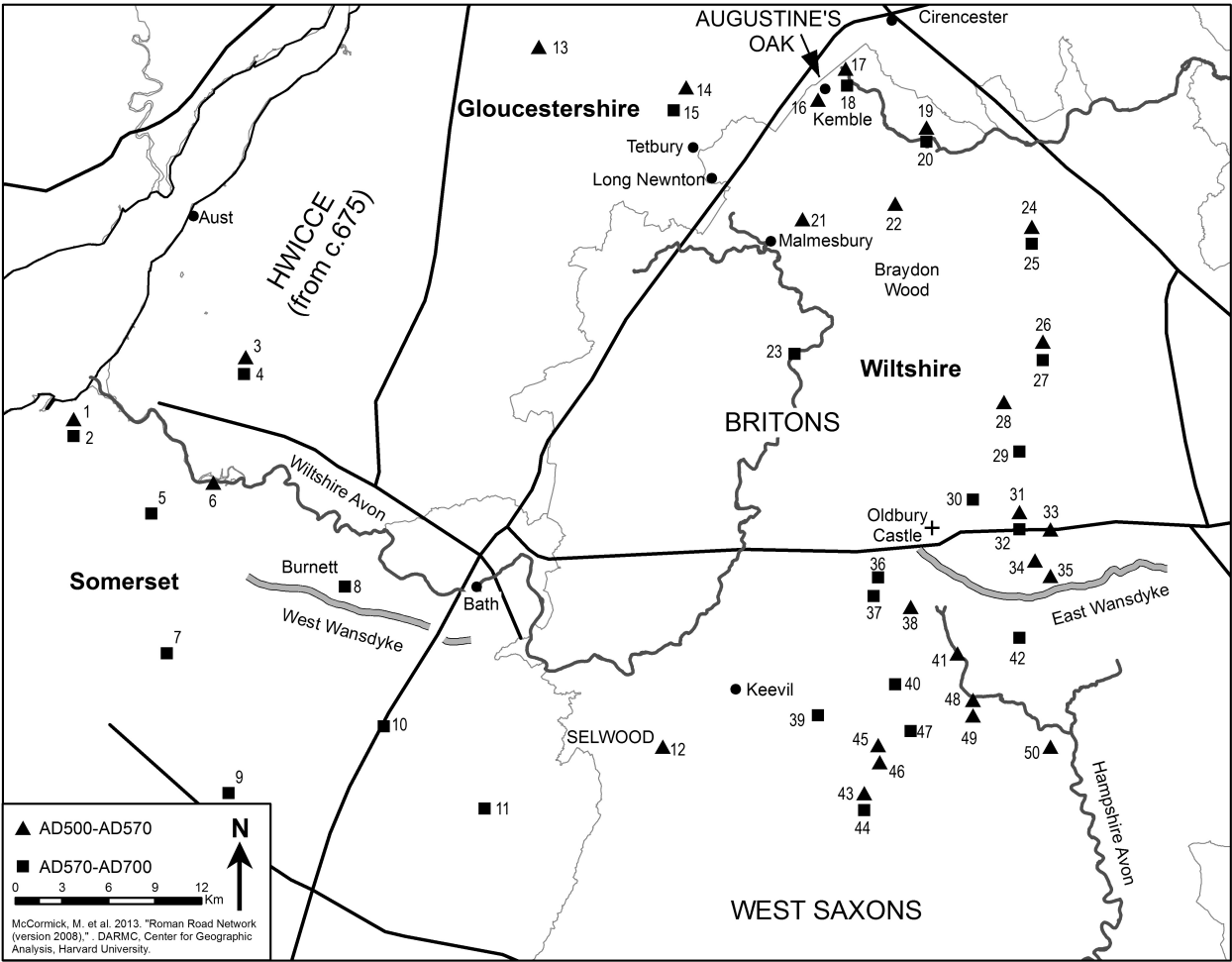


Figure 26 The location of Augustine's Oak (Harry Manley)

Key

Location	ID	Location	ID
Portbury	1	Camerton	10
Portbury	2	Buckland Dinham	11
Filton	3	West Ashton	12
Filton	4	Uley	13
Long Ashton	5	Avening	14
Bristol	6	Chavenage	15
Chew Stoke	7	Kemble II [in Gloucestershire since 1897]	16
Burnett	8	Kemble I	17
Chewton Mendip	9	Kemble (III)	18

<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>ID</i>
Ashton Keynes	19	East Kennett	35
Ashton Keynes	20	Heddington	36
Charlton	21	Roundway Down	37
Minety	22	Bishop's Cannings	38
Seagry	23	Worton	39
Purton	24	Stert	40
Purton	25	All Cannings	41
Basset Down	26	Alton Priors	42
Basset Down	27	West Lavington	43
Clyffe Pypard	28	West Lavington	44
Winterbourne Bassett	29	Market Lavington	45
Yatesbury	30	Market Lavington	46
Avebury	31	Urchfont	47
East Kennett	32	Patney	48
West Overton	33	Chirton	49
East Kennett	34	Rushall	50

1897), and to a West Saxon grant in Wiltshire at Kemble plus an exchange of estates in that county between one near Malmesbury and another east of Braydon Wood where the monastery already held land by *c.* 676/686. The richness of the intrusive burial on Roundway Down, and the probable recurrence there of the bed-burial rite, together with the local grouping and siting of seventh-century graves in that area, is reminiscent of the situation in south-west Wiltshire and on the Bokerley line, which defined the eastern boundary of the *civitas Durotrigum* (Papers 1 and 6), where it has been interpreted as reflecting new Anglo-Saxon conquest in the seventh century. It has also been noted of the Roundway Down burial (Paper 6) that a gold roundel with a blue glass setting in the form of a cross, of probable Irish workmanship, may reflect the influence of the monastery at Malmesbury. It may, perhaps, be argued that these 'signal burials' in north-west Wiltshire also mark 'Anglo-Saxon' intrusion into new territory, in this case that which had once belonged to the Dobunni.

The great majority of the 'boundary' places in north-west Wiltshire noted above lie either on or close to either side of the Kimmeridge and Oxford Clays which, further south, supported Selwood, the eastern limit of the expanded northern Durotriges from the fifth century (Paper 1). Here too, then, it may be suggested that the Britons had been similarly bounded on the east by woodland (and see note 105 in Paper 2). In this area, however, their boundary did not adhere to the former limit between the *civitates* of the Belgae and the Dobunni – indeed it encroached upon Belgic territory at the south – and at the east Dobunnian lands had been steadily lost to the English since the early sixth century.

The diocese of Worcester, which incorporated South Gloucestershire, was established around AD 680. Its boundary

is recorded in full only *c.* 1291, when it followed that of the county of Gloucestershire as it existed until 1897. Its limit generally lay close to the Thames but coincided with the river itself only at South Cerney and from Kempsford eastwards (immediately east of the mapped area) – though the river may have provided a continuous division between the Hwicce and the West Saxons in earlier times (Bassett 1989, 9, fig. I.2). If this information is combined with that of the British boundary names, it is possible to argue that the only district which lay both on a British frontier in Augustine's day and on the West Saxon and Hwiccan boundary in the time of Bede was that around Kemble. Recent discussion of British sources behind Bede's account of the meeting at Augustine's Oak has drawn attention to their possible preservation, on account of their local interest, at Malmesbury, only some 11 km to the south-east.⁵ Around the year 600 a British territory which extended this far eastwards would indeed have been the closest to Canterbury, whence Augustine set out. Bede tells us that Æthelberht afforded the archbishop his protection; perhaps he made most of the journey along the Thames. Perhaps too his oak tree was in the wood of Kemble, which receives a mention in one of the earliest charters (S 234)!

Notes

- 1 This is a revised version of the Note that appeared in *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), 175–8.
- 2 Bede, *HE* ii. 2. The meeting may have taken place by 601: Wood 2000a, 33.
- 3 The sites at *Foxley*, *Chippenham* and *Trowbridge* may date to the period after the absorption of the area into the kingdoms of the Hwicce and the West Saxons (Paper 6). *Chavenage*, a cemetery, ?late sixth/early seventh centuries, Ager 1985, 21; and a saucer brooch from another site, to the north of the burials, in the same parish of *Avening* (*Transactions*

of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (TBGAS) 104 (1986), 23). Other sites of the fifth and sixth centuries to the west and south of Chavenage (citing them from north to south): *Slimbridge*, a Romano-British settlement with finds of organic-tempered pottery (TBGAS 118, (2000), 231); *Frocester Court* villa, occupied in the fifth century and possibly later (Price 2000, I, 111–18, 185; a fifth-century Germanic supporting-arm brooch); *Uley*: a Romano-British temple complex, suggested to have been Christianised and to have been in use until the seventh century or later (Woodward and Leach 1993: nb. the name of the adjacent parish, Nympsfield, which is derived from British *nemeton* (a grove/shrine), refers to it, pp. 303, 342; Smith 1964, 243–4); *Thornbury*, a large zoomorphic penannular brooch (K.

Adams, pers. comm.); *Filton*, 51 west–east unaccompanied inhumation graves, dated by radiocarbon determination to fifth–seventh centuries, or a more limited date range (Cullen *et al.* 2006); and a copper-alloy annular brooch from *Bristol* (PAS, GLO-FC18D7). There is also an Anglo-Saxon gold pendant with inset garnet of the seventh century from *Ham and Stone* (PAS, GLO-9C3FFD).

- 4 Temple complex: RCHM(E) 1976, 99; Moore 2001. Temples sited near river source: Lewis 1966, 129. Internal division of Dobunni: Smith 1964, 75. Temples on boundary: Rivet 1964, 134.
- 5 Stancliffe 1999, 128; cf. Sims-Williams 1990, 78. Green 1885, 224, n.1, long ago suggested the Malmesbury area as a possible location for the meeting.

The area around Bedwyn in the Anglo-Saxon period¹

In the first part of this paper there is a discussion of the evidence from a wide region for the period between the fifth and the seventh centuries, that is from the time of the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in the area until their adoption of Christianity. This broad frame permits a consideration of a sufficient number of the earliest of their sites, which in most cases lie at some considerable distance from each other, for them to be placed in the context of the main developments of Anglo-Saxon settlement and the artefacts from them to be evaluated overall against those recovered elsewhere. Accordingly, for the purpose of this review of the evidence from this period, the geographical limits are taken to extend from the Ridgeway, which attains almost 300 m on Hackpen Hill, south-west of Barbury Castle, on the Upper Chalk, some 18 km north-west of Bedwyn, to the headwaters of the Avon and the Bourne, some 8 km and 6 km respectively from Bedwyn, in the south; at the east, sites as far as Kintbury in Berkshire are taken into account. This large area encompasses a very variable geology and a correspondingly contrasting terrain. At the north there are the high chalklands of the Marlborough Downs. Further south, the southern slopes of the Kennet vale carry extensive spreads of Clay-with-Flints, particularly on the south in Savernake Forest; on the south bank too are the Eocene Beds which offer poor soils of little use for agriculture. At the extreme south-east of the region, the Chalk rises again to form the downs at Wexcombe, one of the Domesday manors which constituted a part of the Bedwyn estate. It is from the eighth century onwards that land charters allow the Bedwyn estate itself to become the focus of attention.

The British population after the Saxon conquest

The British monk Gildas, writing, it is generally thought, in c. AD 540 (Paper 2), vividly describes the slaughter of many Britons at the time of the Saxon revolt in c. 441. Subsequently, and gradually, it is argued here, large numbers of Britons became assimilated into a new 'Saxon' identity, which entailed their adoption of a new language, new burial rites, a new material culture and, quite probably, a

re-division of the land in favour of the newcomers (see the Introduction).

In the area of this study, one river-name and the names of only a very few places have been shown to be of Brittonic origin. However, Wiltshire, unlike its neighbour Berkshire, has not been the subject of a recent survey by the English Place-Name Society and the number of pre-English names which have been identified should be treated as a minimal one (though see Coates and Breeze 2000 and recent papers by Breeze in the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*). *Savernake* is in origin a river-name, possibly of the Bedwyn stream, which was borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons from Primitive Welsh (Gover *et al.* 1939, 15; Jackson 1953, 294). The river-name of this group is that of a major tributary of the Thames, the *Kennet*. The Roman town of *Cunetio* (Paper 2) presumably gained its name from the river (Jackson 1953, 302, 331, 555, 674, 676). It is situated in its valley, immediately to the south of the present village of Mildenhall, a name first recorded, as *Mildenhealh*, in a charter of Cynewulf (757–786: Finberg 1964a, 71, no. 191). The Roman town was clearly a place of some significance, and villas surrounded it (Haslam 1980, fig. 25; Paper 2). The valley was also a focus for early Anglo-Saxon settlement, as is shown below. Chute, too, has a British woodland name, and Chute Forest is still there today.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement (Figs 5, 6, 10, 11 and 18)

Only one settlement site of the pagan period has yet been identified in the area around Bedwyn. This has been recorded at *Collingbourne Ducis* (Pine 2001), its cemetery alongside, probably a typical location, on the Chalk in the valley of the south-flowing Bourne, a tributary of the Avon, to the south of Bedwyn. Thirty-four inhumation graves were excavated there in 1974–75. Notable objects include an oval buckle inlaid with transverse silver wires in Grave 11, applied brooches decorated with six human masks, probably of the second half of the fifth century (the earliest in this area), in graves 20 and 23 (Evison 1978, 266–8; Böhme 1986, 548,

572) and an equal-arm brooch of the Nesse type, which had been repaired, in Grave 6 (Evison 1977, 133; Böhme 1986, 571). Inlaid metalwork is otherwise known in the region only further south, at Salisbury (Evison 1965, map 2; see also Papers 1 and 8). Excavation of a further 82 inhumations and at least four cremation deposits (cremated bone was recovered from a further 24 contexts) in 2007 revealed almost the full extent of the cemetery, with both male and female adults, and adolescents, children and infants. In the main, graves were oriented either north–south or west–east. Eleven male graves contained weaponry, two of them with swords. Interment continued until at least the second half of the seventh century. The bed-burial of a mature female, which contained a ‘placed’ cremation-related deposit, lacked any grave goods. A keystone garnet disc brooch is unstratified (Gingell 1975/76; Dinwiddy and Stoodley 2016: see also Paper 6). Casual finds at *Collingbourne Kingston* (Eagles 1997, fig. 163, 1–3), the parish immediately to the north of Collingbourne Ducis, comprise a gilded copper-alloy saucer brooch decorated with five spirals and two very worn tinned or silvered disc brooches with ring-and-dot decoration (one of which has the remains of sheepskin adhering to it), which possibly indicates another cemetery of a similar date (Evison 1981, 137). A saucer brooch with a five-pointed star design from immediately north-west of *Membury* hill-fort in Ramsbury parish may also belong to the fifth century (Eagles 1997, fig. 163, 4: in the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes, henceforth WM).

Certain other sites also began before AD 500. The cemetery at *Blacknall Field* (known locally as Black Patch), *Pewsey* lies about 13 km south-west of Bedwyn, in the upper part of the Avon valley, south of the river itself and at the southern edge of the Pewsey Vale. Excavations there between 1969 and 1976 uncovered around 100 inhumations and four cremation burials, by far the largest number of graves in any cemetery in this region (Annable and Eagles 2010: for this and the other fifth-century sites mentioned above see Paper 2). An example of the E1 type of spearhead (Swanton 1974, 87), a form which is both widespread and numerous in England and thought to date before rather than after the end of the fifth century (Swanton 1973, 79; 1974, 87) and the upper part of a developed cruciform brooch (in WM) are recorded from *Upper Upham*, a hamlet situated on Clay-with-Flints, which overlies the Upper Chalk at 267 m above OD in Aldbourne parish, north of Ramsbury. This site has also produced Romano-British finds, including a dolphin-headed buckle with a long and narrow plate, a type which was produced in Britain and may date to the earlier fifth century (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 45 and fig. 13g; see also Paper 2). The place-name Upham itself is also of interest. It is recorded as *Uphammere* in AD 955 (Gover *et al.* 1939, 293) and belongs to the *hām* group of Old English settlement names, many of which are considered to be of early date (Gelling 1976, 815–9, following Cox

1972/73; another name of this type occurs at *Tottenham*, in Great Bedwyn parish, close to the Roman road between East Anton and Mildenhall, where a tessellated pavement was uncovered in 1859 (Ward 1859/60, 262). Williamson (1993, 85–8) has noted that some places with the suffix *–hām* were of significance from an early date in the Anglo-Saxon period. Early Anglo-Saxon material recovered from other places in *Aldbourn* comprises a saucer brooch (information from the late Dr P. H. Robinson), and a fragment of a small-long brooch from Holes Field (Anon. 1987, 142; Eagles 1997, fig. 163, 5). An inhumation grave located approximately 1.2 km west of *Cunetio*, near *Savernake Hospital*, contained a spearhead of group K1, of the late fifth or early sixth century (Swanton 1973, 128; 1974, 66).

Most of the early Anglo-Saxon period burials and casual finds in the area belong to the sixth century. There is a Class E button brooch from *Little Bedwyn* (PAS, BERK-249001), a fragment probably of a silver-gilt small square-headed brooch from *Ham* (PAS, BERK-46D21A) and a bronze coin of the Byzantine emperor Justin II (565–574) from *Froxfield* (Morrisson 2014, 55). In the Kennet vale, an inhumation recorded ‘in *Mildenhall* parish’ in 1827 was accompanied by a pair of saucer brooches with a cruciform design, a copper-alloy pin, a knife, a copper-alloy ring and 21 beads (*VCH, Wiltshire*, I.i (1957), 89 gives a full bibliography). A loose find of another saucer brooch is also known from that parish (Passmore 1934, 393, fig. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and there is a fragmentary one from *Ridgeland*s in *Ramsbury* parish (in WM; Eagles 1997, fig. 163, 6). A spearhead is recorded from *Chilton Foliat* (Wiltshire Council SMR). To the north of the Kennet valley, beside one of its tributaries, the River Og, there are records of a saucer brooch decorated with six spirals and a small-long brooch, from two locations at *Ogbourne St Andrew* (Anon. 1988, 185; 1991, 150). Sherds of organic-tempered pottery have been reported from an area of Clay-with-Flints on a Roman site at *Round Hill Down*, *Ogbourne St George* (Paper 2). Immediately to the east of Bedwyn, at *Shalbourne*, to the south-east of the mill, an assemblage of finds of early and later Anglo-Saxon date includes a small-long brooch and part of the head-plate of a gilded square-headed one of Kentish type, together with pins, strap-ends, a buckle, two silver *sceattas*, and, from a different site in the parish, a seventh-century Merovingian gold *tremissis* (Anon. 1991, 150–1; Eagles 1997, figs 164, and 165, where the *sceattas* are wrongly described as of gold). Another small-long brooch, with a square head and a crescentic foot, is known from *Wilton*, in the parish of Grafton, which adjoins Bedwyn on the south (Burchard 1971). At *Easton*, west of Grafton, a burial with a knife and a double-sided bone comb, in a wooden coffin, may be of Roman date (*VCH, Wiltshire*, I.i (1957), 68).

A spearhead of group G2, of the late sixth or early seventh century (Swanton 1973, 101; 1974, 47), was found together

with a copper-alloy buckle in a Bronze Age disc barrow at *Great Boiley Copse* at *East Grafton*. Another spearhead of this date, but of group E3 (Swanton 1973, 83; 1974, 56), is from a burial on *Hinton Down*, *Bishopstone* (see below). A gold *thrymsa*, probably minted in Kent and datable to c. 650–675, has been found at *East Grafton* (WANHM 110 (2017), 267).

The area lacks the rich burials of the seventh century which are such a conspicuous feature of the archaeological record elsewhere in Wiltshire, for instance at Roundway Down north of Devizes (VCH, *Wiltshire*, I.i (1957), 188–9, 243 provides references) and in the southern part of the county at Salisbury Race Course, Coombe Bissett (Evison 1963, 42) and Swallowcliffe (Speake 1989). A seventh-century pendant, however, has been recorded from *Pewsey* (Paper 6).

In any area, the identification of newcomers and the routes by which they reached their destinations are by no means easy to define. The complexities of the links between types of brooches and their findspots in the first half of the sixth century in ‘Berkshire’ and ‘Hampshire’ have been discussed in Paper 3. Warriors were in a special category. Bede (*HE* iii. 14) says that young nobles from many different places attached themselves to the successful king Oswine of Deira. The nobles may well have brought their own followers with them. Thus, at least during periods of fighting, there may have been some movement of this element in the population. The almost universal occurrence of spearheads as grave goods in the later fifth and the sixth centuries is likely to indicate the presence of warriors in most communities, though the weapon burial rite itself in Britain may well have related to a new ‘Germanic’ ethnicity which incorporated increasing numbers of Britons (see the Introduction).

The area had been easily accessible in Roman times. It is traversed by three major Roman roads, which are focused upon a crossing of the Kennet at *Cunetio*. One of these roads led from Wanborough (probably *Durocornovium*), 16 km to the north, where it had left the route between the cantonal capitals of Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunorum*) and Silchester (*Callewa Atrebatum*). A short distance south of *Cunetio* the road bifurcated, one branch leading south to Old Sarum (*Sorviodunum*), the other to the south-east, to Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). Winchester was the administrative centre of the self-governing district of the Belgae, of which the area about Bedwyn was a part. The third road passed from west to east through *Cunetio*, linking Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) with the Cirencester to Silchester highway. A stretch of it has been recorded in Hens Wood, north of Puthall in the parish of Little Bedwyn, whose bounds in a charter of 778 make mention of the road – which suggests that at that time it was still recognisable – and whose northern boundary still lies close beside it (Crawford 1921, 296–7; 1953a, 68–71: for the charter see further below).

The known distribution of early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ sites is, in the main, not particularly related to the network of Roman roads, although there are indications, as in the environs of *Cunetio*, that certain roads, at least in part, were still in use. Some of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity around *Cunetio* is unfortunately only generally located within the large parish of *Mildenhall*, including the burial and a record of a stray find from north of the village, already noted, and fused glass beads in the Wiltshire Museum, Devizes, obtained from the Brooke Collection in 1916. A second, and altogether exceptional, burial from *Poulton Downs* (*Mildenhall*) is of a woman who had been thrown into a Roman well (Meyrick 1949–50). Objects found with her comprise a knife, two iron buckles, a copper-alloy pin, and three beads which are dated to the sixth or early seventh century (information provided by the late Mrs M. Guido). This site lies some 450 m to the west of the Roman road to Wanborough, and 2.5 km north of *Cunetio*. Altogether there is, therefore, considerable evidence for the presence of ‘Anglo-Saxons’ in the area of *Cunetio* between the fifth and seventh centuries, and this is a pattern of occupation which might point to the continuing importance of the river crossing there and the significance of the river itself as a means of access. Elsewhere in the region discussed in this paper, only one site, and that of only probable Anglo-Saxon date, lies close to a Roman road, and that is the burial at *Grafton*, noted above, near the route to Winchester. Some of the graves in a cemetery at *Crofton*, Great Bedwyn, near the same road, were laid out in a spoked-wheel arrangement (Anon. 1922, 312). They may, or may not, be of Anglo-Saxon date (Draper 2004, 56). This unusual setting is paralleled at *Potterne* in Wiltshire (an unpublished discovery of undated burials in the 1920s; information provided by the late Dr P. H. Robinson) and *Cuddesdon* in Oxfordshire (Dickinson 1974, 3, 19–24, also for some other examples) and in intrusive burials in a Bronze Age round barrow at *Kirkburn* (Meaney 1964, 286, Driffield I) in Yorkshire (Mortimer 1905, 271–83). The proximity of these graves to main Roman roads is a feature which they share with a number of other, often richly furnished, seventh-century burials both in Wiltshire and in other parts of the country (see above).

The other important ancient route in the area is the Ridgeway (see above). The Ridgeway is unmetalled and its general, if not its precise, course is likely to be of prehistoric origin (Paper 7). The trackway enters Wiltshire from the north-east, at *Bishopstone*. It certainly appears to have been well used in early Anglo-Saxon times, for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Whitelock *et al.* 1961) records battles at hill-forts along its course, and there are finds of early Anglo-Saxon objects from locations beside it, including *Barbury* itself. In the area under consideration in this paper, the *Chronicle* reports that fighting took place in 556 at *Barbury Castle* and again in 592 and 715 at *Wodnesbeorg*. The latter name

was that given to the Neolithic long barrow now known as Adam's Grave, which lies only 1.5 km south of the point, at Red Shore, Alton Priors, where the Ridgeway passes through the only original gap as yet identified in the East Wansdyke (Green 1971), a linear earthwork which has been discussed in Paper 5. There is an Anglo-Saxon single-edged battle knife (*seax*) from *Barbury* (Paper 6; Eagles 1997, fig. 166). Farther east along the route, an Anglo-Saxon saucer brooch has been recorded at *Bishopstone* (Anon. 1977/78, 207, where the findspot is wrongly given as Wanborough). At *Bishopstone*, too, on *Hinton Down* in the former parish of Little Hinton, Greenwell at some date between 1877 and 1889 opened a Bronze Age bowl barrow which produced an Anglo-Saxon inhumation with a spearhead (*VCH, Wiltshire*, I.i (1957), 159, gives a full bibliography). The other place in the region on this highway where there is an early Anglo-Saxon site is at *West Overton*, where Bronze Age round barrows and Roman tombs on Overton Hill, immediately east of the Ridgeway and above the River Kennet, were found to contain early Saxon intrusive burials. One of those interments may belong to the fifth century, but others are certainly of sixth-century date (Eagles 1986; cf. White 1988, 17). Taken together, the historical and the archaeological information thus suggest the use of the Ridgeway throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period. However, this record should perhaps be seen mainly in the context of the passage of armies across the region, rather than directly related to the establishment of settlements (but see also the Introduction for the view of Sims-Williams, with reference to his paper of 1983).

The Anglo-Saxon estate at Bedwyn is brought into focus for the first time in a charter of 778 (Fig. 27). This grant, by King Cynewulf to his *comes* and *minister* Bica, relates to an area of 13 *manentes* (hides) in *Bedewindan* (Sawyer 1968, no. 264; Dumville 1992, 82–3). The bounds of this charter make it clear that the grant corresponds to the parish of Little Bedwyn (Crawford 1921, 292–7; cf. Grundy 1919, 151–5 and *VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 5). The name Bedwyn, however, was shared with Great Bedwyn, a vast Saxon estate adjacent to Little Bedwyn on the south, and therefore appears to have been given to all the land at the headwaters of this stream (cf. Haslam 1980, 62). It has been suggested that the name, which seems to be of Old English origin, described a place where bindweed flourished (Gover *et al.* 1939, 332).

The parish of Little Bedwyn is dominated by the Iron Age hill-fort of Chisbury, 'Cissa's *burh*' (Gover *et al.* 1939, 334–5), which is situated to the west of Little Bedwyn village (for Cissa, see Paper 1). Several dykes lie in the vicinity of the hill-fort. The longest of them adjoins its defences, in an as yet undetermined sequential relationship, at the south-east and thence falls from a height of 167 m above OD to cross and thereby block the Bedwyn valley, before rising to a comparable height on the far side; at its

southern end, the dyke continues through a sharp westerly turn and, it may be noted, across the parish boundary with Great Bedwyn, to traverse the valley called *Harandene* and finally to rise again, today flattened and seen only as a crop or soil-mark, until it enters and finally disappears in Bedwyn Brail (information from E. Hostetter and T. N. Howe). The name 'Borough (Burridge) Heath' appears on Andrews and Dury's map of 1773, and 'West Borough' on other maps of 1792 and 1842 (information from Dr J. Chandler) and probably refers to the dyke. It has been suggested (Fox and Fox 1958, 18–20) that the dyke may have been built to strengthen the defences of Cissa's 'metropolis'. The charter of 778 shows that, at least at that time, it was not considered necessary for the full length of the dyke to lie within a single estate: indeed it shows that the area where Chisbury itself and the greater part of the main dyke were situated could pass out of royal hands altogether. At some date in the ninth century, royal control was regained of Little Bedwyn (Dumville 1992, 107; see further below) and thereby all the defensive works that were still considered effective; as will be seen below, King Alfred, in all probability, utilised Chisbury in his system of forts which defended Wessex against the Danes in the late ninth century. It should also be pointed out that the dyke, in any case, may be of solely Iron Age construction and if Cissa built any fortifications at all, they may have been only at the hill-fort itself.

The reign of Cynewulf, the grantor of the Little Bedwyn estate, was a period of some significance in the history of Wessex. Soon after the death of Æthelbald of Mercia (715–757), Cynewulf apparently refused to recognise Mercian supremacy – and indeed the Bedwyn charter makes no mention of any overlord (see also Paper 12). West Saxon control of Berkshire and north Wiltshire was reasserted and he controlled lands on either side of the Thames until the victory of Offa at Bensington in 779 (Stenton 1913, 23–5; and 1971, 209). One of the series of silver *sceattas* (type 49: Gannon 2013, nos 460–68, pl. 20) has been tentatively attributed to Cynewulf (Andrews and Metcalf 1984). Individual specimens have been recorded at *Axford* in Ramsbury parish (Rigold and Metcalf 1984, 246) and at *Summerfield House, Marlborough College*, most probably, and not near Clatford in Preshute parish (Robinson 1979/1980, 59; Metcalf 1984, 37 fig. 7, 54; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, 255).

The likelihood of Alfred's reuse of Chisbury as a burghal fort, noted above, depends upon the occurrence in the *Burghal Hidage* of the name *Cissanbyrig*, which probably refers to Chisbury and which appears in that document's list of forts between the entries for Wilton in south Wiltshire and Shaftesbury in Dorset (Brooks 1964, 75–9; Hill 1969). The extant text of the *Hidage* may date to the reign of Alfred's elder son and successor Edward the Elder (899–924) and may represent a revision of a list originally drawn up by Alfred (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 24–5, cf. 339–40).

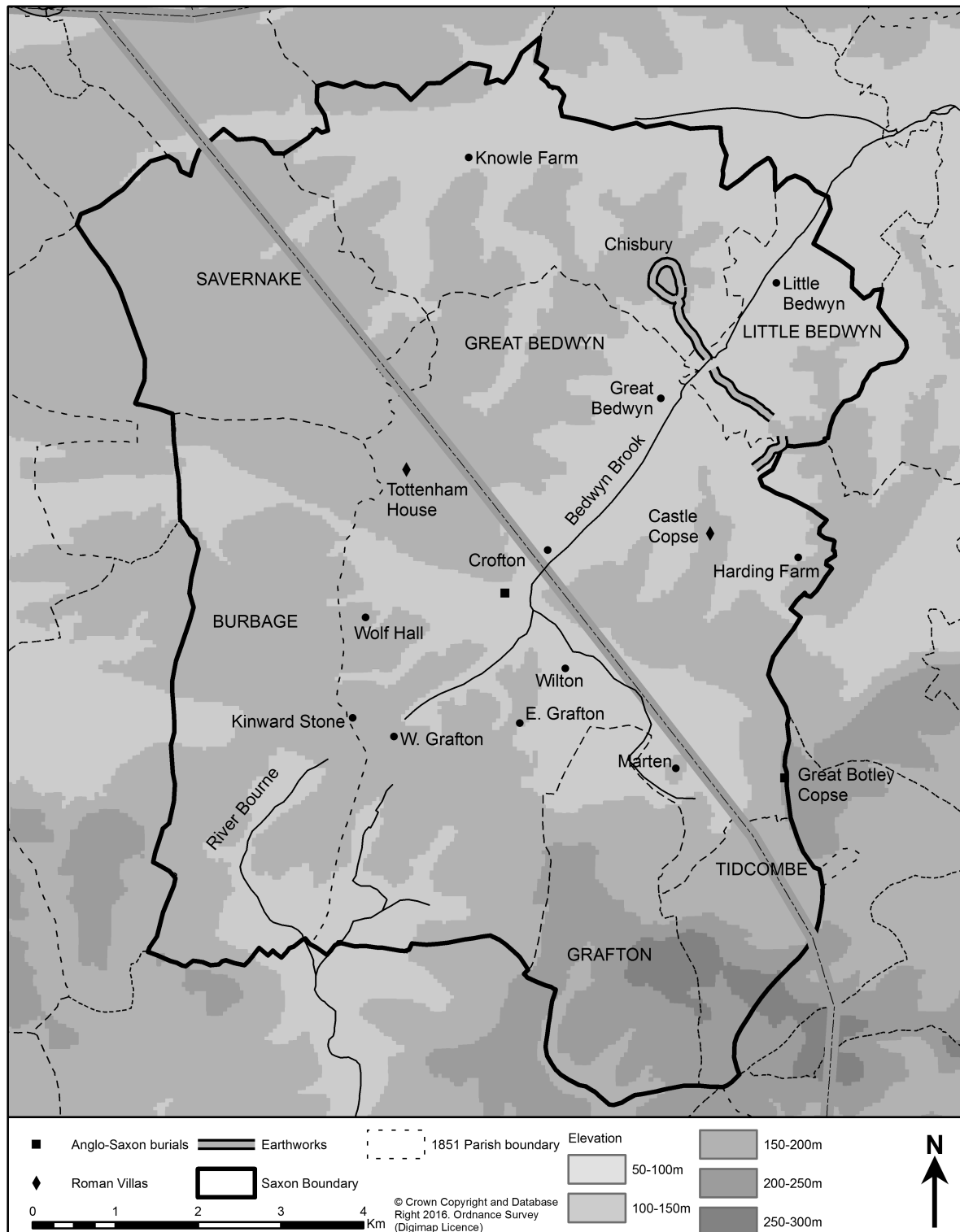


Figure 27 The possible extent of the royal estate at Bedwyn in AD 778 (Harry Manley)

The locations of the listed forts show that they were sited near main roads and that it was intended that most of the population should live within some twenty miles of any one of them. The *Hidage* states that seven hundred men were

required to man its defences; the figure was calculated on the basis of four men for every pole (5 m) of the defended circuit, each man to be provided from one hide of land. An interesting feature of the site which can be seen today is St

Martin's Chapel, possibly a successor to one which served the *burh* (Haslam 1984, 96). In 904, King Edward gained Stoke by Shalbourne, an addition to an already substantial land block, whose acquisition may be related to the establishment of the burghal fort (Dumville 1992, 107–8).

Bedwyn (that is, both Great and Little Bedwyn) is among the estates that are mentioned in Alfred's will, in which the king bequeathed it to his elder son Edward (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175; at some date between 801 and 805, (Little) Bedwyn, along with Wootton Rivers, Mildenhall and Froxfield, had for a time passed into ecclesiastical possession: Dumville 1992, 43, 107–9).

The Great Bedwyn estate is first defined in a charter of 968 (Sawyer 1968 (S), no. 756; for the interpretation of its bounds, Crawford 1921, 282–92; Grundy 1920, 75–80). This charter records the grant by King Edgar of a vast area at Bedwyn to Abingdon Abbey (*VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 97–8; by 975 the estate had been recovered by the crown: Dumville 1992, 109, n. 255). The description of the bounds indicates that the territory included the ancient parish of Great Bedwyn (which until 1844 incorporated Grafton), the greater part of the former parish of Tidcombe, most of Burbage parish, and a part of the former parish of South Savernake. Although the precise location of many of the boundary markers is uncertain, the general course of the boundary is in little doubt. The least certain section lies at the north-west in Savernake Forest, where Crawford's delineation depends largely upon the identification of the present Thornhill Pond with Whalemere, a name still in use locally when Crawford checked the bounds. Grundy (1920, 79), however, did not consider that it was possible to reconstruct the boundary in that area. Ancient boundaries in woodland appear to have been less static in general than those elsewhere (Hooke 1988, 41; see also Paper 1 for Selwood). It has been pointed out (*VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 97) that this estate amounted to 72 hides, and if the 20 hides in Burbage purportedly granted by Edgar in 961 (S 688; see comment by Dumville 1992, n. 256) are added to it, the total is not far short of the ancient fiscal unit of a 'hundred hides' (Stenton 1971, 298–301). The estate may also formerly have included the 5 hides at Little Bedwyn (Chisbury) recorded in Domesday Book (see below).

The importance of Great Bedwyn itself in the tenth century, already hinted at by the construction of a burghal fort nearby, is clear from evidence of a very different and surprising kind. A gospel-book, which is preserved at Berne, but was written in Celtic Britain in the early ninth century and had reached England by c. 900 when two poems on Alfred were added, also contains four other, tenth-century, manuscript additions in Old English, which were made at Bedwyn (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 338; Dumville 1992, 79–82). These four entries relate to the render of tithes, guild statutes and two manumissions (Brentnall 1948; Whitelock 1955, 559).²

Only the first part of the item on the tithes survives; it refers to the provision of two-thirds of the tithes from Bedwyn and Lambourn (in Berkshire, see further below) for the servants of God in Bedwyn. The first obligatory tithe payments date between 926 and c. 930 in Athelstan's reign, with the probable intention both to protect the revenues of old minsters and to endow new ones (Blair 1985, 119), and the evidence for Bedwyn points to the existence there of a college of secular priests and therefore a minster church, a status which is confirmed by later sources. The financial and administrative arrangements for the minster here, as in many other places, were doubtless closely tied to those for the royal estate at whose centre it was located (Blair 1985, 116). In 1086, *Domesday Book* records that the priest Bricward held the church, with one and a half hides and land for one plough, that it was valued at 60 shillings, and that Bricward's father had held it before him in the time of king Edward (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 1. 23j). The nature of this entry, with its separate mention of the church, its priest, a valuation and an endowment in excess of one hide, again indicates a church of minster status – although the community of priests had apparently by now departed, as is known to have happened elsewhere by this date (Blair 1985, 106, 114, 119). The minster often served a hundred and lay at its core (Blair 1985, 118) and this too was the case at Bedwyn, which in 1281 is recorded as the head of Kinwaston Hundred (Cam 1944, 68; Gover *et al.* 1939, map in end pocket, for position of Bedwyn at the geographical heart of 'Kinwardstone' hundred. The Kinwardstone itself is on the boundary between the present parishes of Grafton and Burbage. For the apparently ancient significance of this hundred, see Paper 1). Later, there were dependent chapels at Marten and East Grafton (both of which lie in the nineteenth-century parish of Grafton) and at Knowle, Chisbury and in Little Bedwyn village itself in Little Bedwyn parish (Brentnall 1948, 363). This parish was created in the fifteenth century; some reorganisation of tithing boundaries at this time may to be implied by the contrast in the record of the population at Chisbury where there were 87 polltax payers in 1377, but in 1428 the place had fewer than ten households (*VCH, Wiltshire*, IV (1959), 309, 314: I owe this point to Dr J. Chandler).

The guild statutes point to the status of Great Bedwyn as a 'town', ill-defined as this concept was in Anglo-Saxon England (Pugh 1981). These regulations define religious obligations and arrangements to be made on the death of a member, help to be given if a member's house is burnt down, and compensation to be paid if a guildsman has been accused of lying or cheating by one of his fellows. Further ground for recognising the place's urban character is the existence there in the eleventh century of a mint, where coins were struck by the moneyer Cild; the mint is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, which only includes the one at Malmesbury in Wiltshire (*VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955),

20). *Domesday Book* (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 1.2) records 25 burgesses on the royal demesne at Bedwyn. The rents that burgesses paid to the king were an important source of royal revenue (Wormald 1982, 153). The proximity of the Burghal Hidage fort at Chisbury may also have played a part in Bedwyn's development (Brooks 1964, 78).

Haslam (1976, 23; 1980, 63) has argued that the role played by Bedwyn in the Burghal Hidage, which has been discussed above, and its development as a urban centre, presupposes the existence there of a *villa regalis*. He has pointed out that 'Cissa's burh' may originally have referred to Cissa's 'fortified dwelling' and not to the hill-fort itself and that place-names indicate similar royal residences at Ramsbury, and also at Kintbury and Lambourn in Berkshire, which are discussed below in other contexts.

It has been suggested above that before 778 the Little Bedwyn estate was combined with that at Great Bedwyn, as defined in the charter of 968, to form a large tract of country in royal hands, whose northern border was shared with a similarly large royal estate at Ramsbury, which lay to the north of the Kennet (Haslam 1980, for this and other matters relating to Ramsbury which are discussed below, unless it is noted otherwise).

Important excavations carried out in the High Street at Ramsbury in 1974 have thrown considerable light on the place in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The investigation revealed a thriving and major iron-working industry on the north bank of the River Kennet, whose advanced technology and scale of activities, in all probability serving regional, not merely local needs, had clearly required substantial capital investment. Rhenish lava querns, which had arrived at the site from the port at *Hamwic*, beside Southampton on the south coast, point to long distance contacts (for the significance of *Hamtun* and *Hamwic*, see Paper 12). Although the iron ore itself had to be imported, the industry also relied on abundant local timber, for which the numerous bones of beaver, deer and pig are clear evidence. The fingers of Clay-with-Flints which reach down towards Ramsbury on the northern slopes of the Kennet Vale are a particularly likely location for woodland. Examination of the animal bones also showed the horses to have been under great strain, most probably as a result of pulling carts laden with the ore.

The iron industry at Ramsbury may well have been under royal control. Haslam considered that it is necessary to presuppose a *villa regalis* at Ramsbury to provide a context for the establishment of a bishopric there in AD 909. The see was reunited with that of Sherborne in 1058 and with Old Sarum (Salisbury) in 1078. The bishop of Sarum is listed in *Domesday Book* as the owner of the 90-hide estate of the manor and hundred of Ramsbury. Haslam noted that the shape of Ramsbury Hundred suggests that it was formerly part of a vast royal estate which had included Aldbourne, the Ogbournes, Preshute and Mildenhall.

Notable parallels may also be drawn between the Bedwyn and Ramsbury estates and two others, which were also very large and in royal hands, Kintbury and Lambourn, in west Berkshire. Kintbury was apparently a *villa regalis*, probably with a minster, by the early tenth century (*VCH, Berkshire*, IV (1924), 206, 216). The whole of the hundred of Kintbury was always a royal hundred (*VCH, Berkshire*, IV (1924), 157). Kintbury itself, as Ramsbury, lies in the Kennet valley, and at both places there is evidence of a Roman villa nearby, a contiguity which, it has been thought, may suggest that the Saxon centres directly replaced Roman ones. Lambourn Hundred too, it has been argued, may have been a discrete estate since even the Iron Age (Gelling 1976, 810). Like Bedwyn, Lambourn was referred to in Alfred's will; and it was royal in *Domesday Book*.

There is, therefore, the possibility that in the late Saxon period there were four very large and contiguous royal estates which stretched across the Kennet valley, all with their origins in the Roman period. It should be pointed out, however, that it is also possible that these large land units were only brought together after the Roman period, and did not correspond with earlier estates (cf. Esmonde Cleary 1989, 187).

Haslam (1984, 94–102) has drawn attention to the essentially complementary nature of the evolving roles of the Kennet Vale settlements at Bedwyn, Chisbury and Ramsbury at the end of the Saxon period. Dr John Chandler has pointed to the equally striking variety of function which appears to be indicated in the names of the places which formed parts of the great Bedwyn estate of the tenth century, although the names themselves are of much earlier origin: Grafton, 'the farm by the grove'; Wexcombe, probably '(bees) wax valley'; and Wilton, 'the farm where wool was prepared or kept' (Gover *et al.* 1939, 347).

There is some archaeological evidence for occupation at one particular location at Marlborough in the Saxon period. Finds recorded at Summerfield House, Marlborough College, include the eighth-century *sceatta* already mentioned and a silver-gilt pin of the late ninth or early tenth century. Other probable late Saxon finds are two iron padlock keys that were recovered with the pin (Robinson 1979/80). Marlborough apparently takes its name from The Mount (*Merleberge* (DB), 'Maerla's barrow' (Gover *et al.* 1939, 297–8), landscaped and 18 m or more high, which dates to the second half of the third millennium cal BC and is contemporary with Silbury Hill (Leary *et al.* 2013) and was also the site of the castle built by William I. The Mount lies near the Kennet and some 600 m south of Summerfield. It is of interest to note that, when the parish of Marlborough was defined, its boundary excluded Summerfield, which became part of Preshute. The growth of Marlborough proved to be at the expense of Bedwyn and Ramsbury. William transferred the mint there from Great Bedwyn (*VCH, Wiltshire*, X11 (1983), 165), although

Marlborough already had a moneyer of its own (Haslam 1984, 89).

Domesday Book provides information about the tenure of different estates and the extent of arable, meadow, pasture and woodland on many of them at the end of the eleventh century. These statistics allow us to gain a general impression of the countryside at that time, although it can be difficult to identify some of the smaller holdings.

Little Bedwyn has one entry, under Chisbury, in the Survey (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 29.1), which does not distinguish between the settlements at Chisbury (on the Reading Beds and the London Clay), Little Bedwyn, Knowle (on the Chalk; late Saxon pottery (now in WM) has been found there) and Puthall (also on the Chalk; the place is mentioned in the charter of 778 and is now Puthall Farm). The great estate of Bedwyn that is described in the charter of 968 is divided into its constituent parts. (Great) Bedwyn was held by the king, as it had been by Edward the Confessor (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 1.2); it had never paid tax, nor had it been assessed in hides, but it was subject to the ancient due of a 'night's farm', that is, it was required to supply provisions for the king and his retinue when they were in residence. The terms of the tenure point to the great antiquity of the arrangements and, most probably, the estate itself. King Edward held six very large manors in Wiltshire on these terms – in other counties similar dues fell on a group of estates (*VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 61). There were three other holdings at Great Bedwyn; the largest one was at Crofton (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 26.4; on the Chalk), another went with the church (see above), and the third was at Harding (*Harandene* in 778 and now Harding Farm, also on the Chalk (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 68.6). Grafton was entered separately in the Survey: five estates are listed there, but of these only Wolf Hall is identified by name; the others presumably relate to East and West Grafton (or Wickham; that name and Wick's Mead appear on maps of 1792 and c. 1810 near Manor Farm – information from Dr J. Chandler), Wexcombe and Wilton. Three holdings in Marten, in Grafton parish, also have a distinct mention. All the settlements in Grafton, apart from Wexcombe, which is on the Chalk, lie on the Greensand, where springs and streams are plentiful. At Tidcombe, there is reference to a single estate. Burbage, the other land unit encompassed by the tenth-century charter, had four estates, including a holding of one virgate which went with the church.

The Domesday Survey gives some interesting statistics about the extent of woodland in the region. On the estates mentioned above, the largest woods were in Great Bedwyn itself, where two woods each stretched for two leagues and were one league wide, and another was half a league long and three furlongs broad (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 1.2, 39.1). The Survey uses the term *silva*, which generally describes continuous woodland, for the two larger woods in 1.2 and refers there to the smaller one as *lucus* but in 39.1 this too is called *silva* (*VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 59). At Grafton

one estate contained two 'arpents' of woods; at Wolf Hall (a manor held by the Seymour family in the early fifteenth century) the woods were two furlongs wide and the same long; at Crofton they were three furlongs long and one wide (Thorn and Thorn (eds.), 1979, 26.4); Marten had no woodland. There were 4 acres (1.6 ha) under wood at Tidcombe. Burbage had three woods; one was four furlongs long, the others three furlongs, and all three of them were two furlongs wide. Little Bedwyn had 40 acres (16 ha) of woods.

The exact location of the Domesday woodlands is unknown. Their great extent at Great Bedwyn, however, may well coincide, at least in part, with the eastern stretches of Savernake Forest, which lay within Great Bedwyn parish. Before the deforestation of 1330, the Forest had extended from East Kennet in the west to Hungerford in the east and from the River Kennet in the north as far as Collingbourne in the south (Ailesbury 1962, map on p.10). Great Bedwyn itself lay near the centre of this vast area, although it may be noted that the town was exempt from forest duties (Ailesbury 1962, 9). Local names around Bedwyn, however, attest the impact of forest management; the Castle Copse villa is situated in Bedwyn Brail, the brail being an enclosed deer park within the forest (Gover *et al.* 1939, 332) – an indication, presumably, that the site of the Roman remains has lain in woodland at least since the medieval period.

There was another medieval forest, that of *Barroc*, which gave its name to the county of Berkshire (Gelling 1976, 801), to the east of Bedwyn. Its exact location is uncertain, but it has been suggested that it stretched from Enborne to Hungerford, its heart on the clays in the area of Kintbury (Hooke 1988, 150, following Peake). Romano-British pottery kilns at Kintbury and Hamstead Marshall, as those at Savernake and elsewhere, point to a wooded environment at that time (Swan 1984, 6–8). It seems likely, therefore, that *Barroc* and Savernake forests were almost continuous. Extensive woodland cover in south-west Berkshire in the early Anglo-Saxon period would probably have discouraged newcomers to the area, and, indeed, few sites of the pagan period are known there. Furthermore, study of the place-names has pointed to a marked survival of Brittonic names in that part of the county (Gelling 1976, 801–5). The list of names in this group includes *Barroc* itself, and in this connection it may again be noted that *Savernake* (Forest) too is a pre-English name.

Summary

In the tenth century the enhanced status of Bedwyn is clear from its possession of both a minster church and a guild: the place doubtless benefited from its proximity to the *burh* at Chisbury. The town's prominent position in the eleventh century is marked by a mint and the presence of burgesses, who are mentioned in the *Domesday Book*.

Other evidence indicates Bedwyn's importance at an earlier date. Charters of 961 and 968 define a great royal

estate centred on (Great) Bedwyn, which place-names and the dependence of a chapelry at Little Bedwyn suggest had been combined with a royal estate there, before the latter's alienation in 778. The total extent of these estates appears to have approximated to that of the ancient royal fiscal unit of a hundred hides. The paramount position of Great Bedwyn in this area was retained until the thirteenth century, when it is recorded as the head of Kinwaston Hundred.

A tradition that is preserved in the *History of the Monastery of Abingdon* relates that in the seventh century Chisbury was held by Cissa, who is said to have ruled Wiltshire and much of Berkshire (Paper 1): dykes near the hill-fort have been attributed to him. Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites known within the limits of the greater Bedwyn estate are so far few and none is of a high status. The 'Anglo-Saxons' were certainly present in the general area in the fifth century, notably to the south of Bedwyn at Collingbourne and to the north-east at East Shefford in Berkshire. British resilience is indicated by the survival of their place-names in both south-west Berkshire and Savernake where

extensive woodland may well have inhibited Anglo-Saxon immigration.

Acknowledgements

Professor B. Yorke and Dr J. Chandler, in particular, and also the late A. Borthwick, kindly helped by providing references in the literature to the later Saxon period and to a number of matters relating to the history of the Bedwyn area. The writer would also like to record his thanks to the late Dr P. H. Robinson, who gave information about recent Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon finds.

Notes

- 1 A revised version of Eagles 1991
- 2 In this connection it is of interest to note the finding at *Aughton*, in the parish of Collingbourne Kingston, also in Kinwardstone Hundred, and some 10 km south-west of Bedwyn, of a gilded copper-alloy Irish mount, probably originally with an amber stud, with ecclesiastical connections and probably of the eighth century, that may once have adorned a holy book or shrine (*WANHM* 108 (2015), 226–8; in WM).

‘Small shires’ and *regiones* in Hampshire and the formation of the shires of eastern Wessex¹

Bruce Eagles with Rosamond Faith

Introduction

In the nineteenth century J. M. Kemble popularised the German theory of the ‘mark (*mearc*)’. This argued that in the Continental homelands of the Anglo-Saxon immigrants, royal or other governance was conducted through otherwise independent subdivisions, or ‘marks’, of the people, each of which comprised ‘a voluntary association of free men’, who held the land in common, whose territory was definable within the forest and whose ‘commonable rights’ were protected by ‘the public law’. Kemble considered that this system was then transferred to England during the migrations. It was for long a very influential concept.²

It has also frequently been considered, by eminent historians, that in England the ‘small shires’ represent such social and administrative units and reflect, from the time of the first English settlements, the considerable ability of kings to organise, control and to levy payments from, the resources within their kingdoms. Thus Jolliffe argued that ‘Under whatever name, the free folk, knit province by province into a kingdom, is the norm of English society at its beginning’ and that ‘This is the primary aspect of the ... scir, a free folk, enjoying the same custom and exploiting the soil together, but the folk is perfectly developed as a unit of royal administration, and for this purpose its structure seems to be of immemorial antiquity.’³ To the late Professor James Campbell (pers. comm.), the ‘small shires’ which have been identified in Hampshire in this paper ‘would be consonant with their having formed part of larger shire units and more extensive organisation for an early and powerful kingdom of Wessex’.⁴ It is certainly true that when we first have evidence, in the sixth century, for the financial organisation of the kingdom of the Franks, the nearest neighbour to the Anglo-Saxons on the Continent, it is of a mature form. Some aspects of their finances, however, as might be expected, exhibit archaisms

which point – though much had changed – to the benefit of their inheritance from late Roman taxation practices. Such a tradition, however, as far as we can tell, was wholly lost in Britain in the early fifth century.⁵ In a recent study of early Germanic society away from the frontier and the grip of Rome, and with particular reference to *Gefolgschaft* (*retinue*, *comitatus*) as it appears in *Beowulf*, it has been said that

‘most Early Germanic and Germanic tribes had one or more kings [and] there was no powerful central rule. The tribe consisted of a large number of relatively autonomous elements. These were ... name-bearing groups of disparate size which recruited their members on the basis of kinship and residence in the same geographical area’.⁶

The document known as the Tribal Hidage, of uncertain date and origin,⁷ appears, not least through its title, to endorse the idea of an England still divided into ancient, named, tribal groups, whose assessments are reckoned in stated numbers of hides. Some scholars have laid emphasis on the significance and antiquity of these tribal names.⁸ As Professor Campbell has pointed out (pers. comm.), however, it is important to be aware that the earliest manuscript of the Tribal Hidage, and the only one in Old English, does not have a title.⁹ Birch calls the document ‘Anglo-Saxon list of early territorial names’. The later Latin copies are entitled *De numero hidarum Angliae in Britannia*.¹⁰ The name ‘Tribal Hidage’, indeed, appears to have had no currency before 1897.¹¹ Corbett and Chadwick have given weight to the fiscal basis of this record and the ‘people’-named units which it lists.¹² For Corbett the Tribal Hidage is ‘Edwin’s tribute roll’.¹³ Professor Campbell, too, has noted that such names could be applied by the Anglo-Saxons for administrative purposes and that they do not necessarily represent tribal areas.¹⁴

It is also argued below that the eastern shires (counties) of Wessex (Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire) only came into being in the Viking period. The reference to *Ham tunscir* in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s. a. 755, it is contended here, is to a definable ‘small shire’, the successor to the ‘folk’ territory of the ‘Hyltingas’, and not to the county of Hampshire as it is known today – not least because in that case Sigeberht would have been still left with a very substantial power base. Chadwick, however, has drawn attention to the seven ealdormen of Wessex who witness charters and the seven shires (counties) of Wessex, with the implication that there was one ealdorman for each large shire.¹⁵ This interpretation has carried considerable weight and is widely held today. It is here tentatively suggested, however, that the very limited number of ealdormen that are recorded reflects their role as officers in charge of small shires in the personal possession of the king, of which *Ham tunscir* may be regarded as one, who were also in command of the king’s armies. Klingelhöfer¹⁶ has placed emphasis on the otherwise first and rapid appearance of the names *B(e)arrucscir*, *Ham tunscir* and *Wiltunscir* in entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the decade between 860 and 870. He questioned whether the *Ham tunscir* of 755 was of the same extent as that of 860 and suggested that these shires, as we know them today, only came about as part of a major reorganisation in response to the ever-increasing threat from the Vikings. *Defna/Defena* (‘the men of Devon’, 823) and *Dornsæte* (‘the men of Dorset’, 837 and 845) are indeed recorded in the *Chronicle* earlier and are examples of ‘people’ names used in an administrative context for areas which equated with the counties (as Professor Campbell points out, the *Wilsæte* (800) may possibly be a comparable usage). In this paper, however, Devon and Dorset have been considered to be the undivided successors of, respectively, major and distinct parts of the *civitas Dumnoniorum* and of the *civitas Durotrigum*, a continuity which did not apply in eastern Wessex, where the *civitas Belgarum* and the *civitas Atrebatum* were broken up at an early date.¹⁷ In the assessment of the late date of the shires/counties of eastern Wessex presented here, weight has also been accorded to the notable inclusion and exclusion of certain divided places on their bounds. Thus, for example, on the boundary, artificially straight for most of its course, which separates Hampshire from Berkshire, East Woodhay is in Hampshire but West Woodhay in Berkshire, and on the limit between Hampshire and Wiltshire Cholderton is divided between the two counties. In each case these split communities also have cross-border implications for the extent, as argued here, of the *regiones* of, respectively, ‘The Cleres’ and ‘The Andovers’. It is these aspects of county definition, when combined with the argument that *Ham tunscir* was a significant, re-named, ‘small shire’ in royal hands in the eighth century, that have led to the view expressed in this paper as to the late creation of the eastern counties of Wessex as we know them today.

Ealdormen, shires and ‘small shires’

The first reference to a specific *scir* is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s. a. 755 (*recte* 757) where *Ham tunscir* is the only part of the kingdom of Wessex which the deposed king Sigeberht retained after Cynewulf, his kinsman, had deprived him of the remainder. Sigeberht killed Cumbra, ‘the ealdorman who had stayed faithful to him longer than the rest’. After he had been driven into the Weald, Sigeberht was killed by a herdsman at the stream at Privett in revenge for Cumbra’s death.¹⁸ Old English place-names which include the element *scir* employ the word with a number of different connotations, among which was the division of territory known to us as a shire or county, but it was also used to denote much smaller land units.¹⁹ The question raised in this article is this: was *Ham tunscir[e]* in this passage being used in the sense of a county, or in the sense of a smaller unit, and if a smaller unit was meant, what, if any, other such units did Hampshire contain?²⁰ It may be noted that the entry for 757 is itself an exceptional record in the *Chronicle* as a whole. It incorporates an account of the death of Cynewulf by Sigeberht’s brother some thirty years later and is a much fuller narrative than the usual terse annal (and akin to the sections devoted to the battles of the Lady of the Mercians). Stenton comments, ‘in its written form it can hardly be regarded as earlier than the ninth century. But its character suggests that it took oral shape very soon after the event’.²¹ So we need not assume that the terms in it were used in exactly the same way as they were elsewhere in the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* is thought to have been composed or assembled in Alfred’s reign. The composer/compiler would have used the terminology familiar to him and meant by it what it meant in his own day. The ealdorman of Alfred’s time may have been a different kind of authority from the ealdorman of Cynewulf’s. The modern counties of Wessex may have taken their names from territories which were initially smaller than the modern shires. Yorke follows Chadwick in believing that ‘the shires were themselves based on earlier subkingdoms or other administrative units’.²² She suggests that ‘it appears possible that the three western shires are based around significant subdivisions of the late Roman or sub-Roman periods, perhaps based on districts dependent upon the three *civitas* capitals of Exeter, Dorchester and Ilchester’.²³

Although it is as a military commander that the ealdorman appears in the *Chronicle*, this was not his only role. There is no doubt about the existence of ealdormen, each with wide authority over a *scir* and the people within it in the eighth century. The laws of Ine, king of the West Saxons from 688 to 726, show that that West Saxon kingdom was divided into such units. These laws show a *scir* was under an *ealdorman*, an official who, as laws from the time of Ine onwards indicate, was often of royal rank and who, it has been suggested, in Ine’s reign had replaced the *subreguli*, members of the royal house, who up to that time had ruled

different parts of Wessex, whether conjointly or not.²⁴ It is also necessary to face the question: if 'small shires' were plentiful, as will be argued here, why do we hear about so very few ealdormen? One possible explanation is that the ealdormen who led the king's armies were perhaps themselves, at least in many cases, also the ealdormen of the 'royal' 'small shires', such as that of Sigeberht, men that is who were in a particularly close relationship with the king. If so, this group of royal 'officers' (who might indeed be members of the royal family) is also likely to have been signatories to his charters.²⁵ This could account for the very limited number of them who appear in these documents and who would have been among those who would have been required to accompany the king when he travelled. In eighth- and ninth-century Mercia, it has recently been suggested, the ealdormen were of different 'grades', with personal authority over very varying extents of land. Only those in charge of the larger hidages, it has been argued, appear amongst the restricted group of signatories to the royal charters.²⁶

The ealdorman has responsibilities connected with keeping the peace. If he allows a thief in his custody to escape, he may lose his *scīr* - perhaps in the sense of his office. He has some kind of judicial authority: he may be one of the 'scīrmen or other judges' referred to in Ine 8. In the same collection he is one of the people with whom a *gesithcund mon*, a noble, may intercede on behalf of his dependants, presumably in court (50). In Alfred's laws he appears as the king's deputy in the *folcgemot*, the public meeting or court (38), and he can help a man trying to bring an opponent to justice (42.3). The peaceful operation of the court under his supervision is protected by fines and compensation, and his personal authority there by an additional fine.

It is also in Alfred's laws that the ealdorman's broader authority within a *scīr* appears. 'If a man wishes to go from one *boldgetale* to seek a lord in another he must do it with the knowledge of the ealdorman that he formerly *folgode*, followed, in his *scīr*.' A fine is due from the man who takes such a man *to men feormie*, to sustain him, half payable to the king in the *scīr* where he formerly followed, half in that to which he comes (37). This passage reveals a little about the bonds of society, and for that reason how we translate its terms is crucial. Attenborough's translation of *folgode* as 'served' takes us into the world of the manor, of restraints on subordinates, even of tenants. Yet the language of someone 'following', of 'seeking' a lord who will 'sustain' him is not necessarily the language of economic class. It could equally well be the language of personal loyalty which is rewarded by being 'sustained'. 'No kinsman was dearer to them than to their lord and they would never follow his slayer', as the 757 passage puts it. Is it not also the sentiment which imbues the poem on the battle of Maldon? Falling as it does between the dates of these two law collections the 757 episode is

thus firmly within the period when an area known as a *scīr* under its ealdorman was part of the recognised way in which Wessex was governed. Whether something the size of the modern county was involved, or something much smaller, requires a broader look at the entity which has come to be known as 'the small shire'.

'Small shires' as resource areas

Historians of rural Anglo-Saxon England would now probably agree about the existence before the Conquest of recognised areas of land smaller than a county yet larger than a parish, although it is very unlikely that they would agree about their age, function, what contemporaries called them and what we should call them today. The eventual fracture of such territories into smaller units has become a regular part of current descriptions of the emergence of what can be truly called 'estates': private landed properties granted by charter. Such territories, Patrick Wormald emphasised, were the land-units on which were based fundamental early Anglo-Saxon social groupings, of which early kings had to take full account, not vice-versa.²⁷ Here, too, the question of the origin of such units is approached by regarding them as resulting not from a 'top-down' division of the countryside but as entities which originated as resource territories used by particular groups. Many of these retained their territorial integrity while, over time, they became the basis of political, administrative, judicial and ecclesiastical units, recognisable as hundreds or as 'minster territories' centred on a major minster and often a royal vill.²⁸ 'Small shires' have been recognised in many parts of England and in eastern Scotland. Instances in the south-east of England are Tottenhamshire, so named in 1306 (Middlesex) and Walthamshire (c. 1115) in Essex. These 'small shires' represent 'what seems to have been the oldest system of political and agrarian organisation ['extensive' lordship] in Britain of which we possess historical ... evidence'. Such lordship was sustained through the render, often at considerable distance, of goods and services to defined centres from their dependencies. Some of these land-units survived still so named into the nineteenth century. Examples of this quite recent usage are Howdenshire and Hallamshire in, respectively, the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. Howdenshire was a peculiar of the Bishops of Durham until 1846. Documents of the thirteenth century reveal the archaic customs still prevalent then in some such 'small shires', particularly ecclesiastical ones, in Northumbria, that had proved so troublesome to the compilers of the Domesday Survey, as they tried, unsuccessfully, to relate them to Norman feudalism.²⁹ Some of these northern 'small shires' were of a considerable size; Hallamshire, which incorporated extensive areas of high moor, covered about 300 km².³⁰ This reflects the altogether larger scale on which such a countryside was envisaged, and this in turn the larger scale on which, it is argued here,

it was exploited for its pasture resources. Recent work by Tom Williamson has made a case for examples of the 'small shire' in Suffolk and Hertfordshire. Considering both the 'multiple estate' model of Glanville Jones, and the English 'royal estate' model of districts organised to render food rents at a royal vill, he argues that such territories were 'natural regions, related to topographic structures, they were organic developments from below, rather than simply being artificial impositions from above'.³¹

It may be noted that *scīr* names are even recorded, though as yet ill-understood, in Kent, a county best known for its subdivision into lathes; examples are Higham Upshire (upland pasture), Shirley Moor (marsh-pasture), Shereway/Sherway Wood, and the frequently occurring 'shereway/shireway', interpreted as a route leading to upland pasture.³² Everett regarded the lathes as a subsequent development to the *scīr*, but although Jolliffe had noted that the word 'lathe' is only recorded once in pre-Conquest charters, he had considered that it 'must be the *regio* of the grants of the eighth century'.³³ He regarded the 'folk-shire' or *scīr* and the lathe as the same, 'small by the measure of our later counties, ten miles by ten would perhaps be a fair average for its extent', and the primary and fundamental unit into which territory had been divided.³⁴

Another word, in a Latin context, for a territory whose inhabitants would have described as a *scīr* may have been *regio*.³⁵ Possibly *provincia* carried the same kind of meaning and contemporaries – whose verbatim descriptions are occasionally recorded in the charters – may not have discriminated too finely between these terms.³⁶ In 736 the Mercian king Æthelbald gave ten hides in Worcestershire 'in the *provincia* which was given by the ancients the name *husmerae* (Ismere), by the river now called Stour'. It is quite a small area, described by Dorothy Whitelock as 'one of those ancient districts which were superseded by later administrative arrangements'.³⁷ In a development which seems to have been typical of many such small *regiones* it continued its existence in various guises, as a small hundred, as the *parochia* of a minster church at Kidderminster and it appears in Domesday as a vast royal manor.³⁸ Steven Bassett has reconstructed the *regio* of the *Stoppingas*, where a charter of Æthelbald of Mercia booked land to the benefit of the church established, or about to be established, at Wootton Wawen, Warwickshire.³⁹ The *Stoppingas*' land consisted of small river-valleys and huge swathes of wood-pasture of the Arden. The bounds in a charter of 963 include references to the *scīr holtes weg*, the 'shire wood way', leading north-west from Ullenhall into the heartland of Arden and which appears again as 'the old way' in the accompanying lease of land in Aspley in Tanworth-in-Arden, an area where there are the (later) place-names 'Shirewoldscroft' and 'Shirewoldeshull'.⁴⁰ Bassett's little *regio* seems a good candidate for the *scīr* in question here. Bassett sees such entities as 'early settlement

areas' identified with a particular group which become recognisable to us when they acquire identifiable centres such as a minster or royal vill. The *Stoppingas*' territory and that of the Essex *Rodingas* group which Bassett has also identified⁴¹ are perhaps more realistically seen as 'resource areas' which could well have had only very small and scattered patches of settlement. The economy of areas like these was essentially one which integrated different kinds of land use and in particular the deployment of livestock on riverine meadows, open land interspersed with trees, and denser woodland.

A vital element of the *scīr* was a large area of common pasture – be it open grassland, moorland, woodland or mountain. There are good reasons for thinking that the farmers of early post-Roman Britain, although all were mixed farmers, put much greater emphasis on pastoral than on arable husbandry, in terms of the way they perceived, named, and used the land.⁴² The centrality of grazing land in such an economy appears in the arrangement of resources at the level of the farm, but also on a larger scale. Access to large areas of grazing land often underlies the shape and size of administrative divisions such as hundreds. The southern Devon hundreds which circle Dartmoor, each with a share of the moor itself, or the territories of the Yorkshire Wolds identified by Fenton-Thomas focus on just such open pasture regions, as do the 'lathes' of Kent, equivalent to hundreds, each with its own swine pasture in the Weald.⁴³ The element *scīr* is virtually absent from the place-names of Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset and Devon. It crops up again in Cornwall in the hundred-name Triggshire which incorporates a Brittonic element.⁴⁴ Yet several of the west Devon hundreds have very much the same functional, resource-based character as the 'small shires' of Wessex described here. The Devon hundreds Roborough, Plympton, Ermington, Stanborough, Coleridge and Haytor can be seen as a similar series of large west Devon territories each with a stretch of coastline and access to Dartmoor, their boundaries marked by major rivers.⁴⁵ The west Cornish hundreds, including Triggshire, have the same relationship to moorlands.⁴⁶ In northern England the 'shire moors' are relics of these rights, although the farms of the people whose animals were turned out there may have been many miles away. It could even be said that managing the commons was the *raison d'être* of the hundred. It is clear from the laws relating to hundreds and tithings issued in the tenth century that a great deal of the business of the hundred court was settling disputes and problems that arose from livestock, their sale, purchase and management, and that many of these arose from the practice of keeping animals in open country.⁴⁷

As already noticed, not all pasture was grass, or on open land. The importance of 'shire woods' such as Sherwood (see below) becomes easier to understand when we realise the great importance of wood-pasture in the rural economy: for in many parts of lowland Britain animals were as likely, if

not more likely, to have been turned out to feed in woodland as on open moorland.⁴⁸ Pamber Forest may have been just such an asset for one of the Hampshire 'small shires', that of the *Basingas*, which is discussed below.⁴⁹ Many different communities used the pastures, so that while the regulation of their management and access to them involved a good deal of conflict, it also may have brought about a sense of belonging to a wider community, reinforcing the social identity of the *scīr*: The rather pathetic remnants of Shire Woods, Shire Moors and Shire Heaths that survive as modern place-names in various parts of England are relics of this ancient idea.

Not all territories were focused round a central moor or upland. Some had resources arranged in a more linear way. Chalk downland provided some of the best sheep grazing in England and sheep were essential providers of nutrients for any arable farming that was conducted on the thin soils of the chalk. Many such areas were for a long time only very sparsely settled, if they were settled at all, and the owners of the flocks and herds that grazed there were likely to have lived elsewhere, driving their animals up, or down in the case of large open lowlands, for seasonal grazing from farmsteads a good way off.

Pasture was only part of the 'package' of resources a community needed: land suitable for meadow and arable, likely both to be adjacent or near to the settlement itself and often dictating its location, was also essential. While many different factors, of course, influenced the location and nature of rural settlements, the availability of water was obviously a high priority. But associated with the river, and just as important, were its meadows and its associated higher grazing land. A riverine territory, such as the valley of the River Wylde – whose name lies behind that of the county, as noticed further below – in south Wiltshire, analysed by Della Hooke, is one such.⁵⁰ The 'shire stream' detectable in the stretch of a tributary of the River Loddon, which, as argued below, gave its name to the Sherborne, may have played such a role in the economy of the *Basingas*' land, as did the river once known as the Clere in the territory known as 'the Cleres'.⁵¹ Many large pasture areas were extensive open grazing in comparatively open land. The term *feld*, open land, was used early on, particularly in forest areas, to mean a tract of land cleared of wood. 'Open country', 'unencumbered ground' in literary texts, it was contrasted both with hills and with woodland and was valued for its open character. (Its early meaning had nothing to do with arable or fields.) *Felds* were significant areas of grazing, could be claimed by a large group, and may have had political significance as well. Margaret Gelling drew attention to the group of parishes with *feld* names on the poor soils of south central Berkshire. Catherine Petts' study of the greater part of east Berkshire and north-east Hampshire finds that the parishes whose names have *feld* as a generic are on the boundary of the *regiones* associated

with Sonning, Reading and Basingstoke: a consequence of the beginnings of a formal division of a valuable area of open pasture. Their work is drawn upon in the study of the *Basingas*' territory below.⁵²

The *Wilsæte* and Wiltshire

All this seems to make a case for these smaller territories having had quite a long period of internal coherence and identity, based on their use as resource territories, but also doubtless serving as bases of local power, before they became vital elements in the exercise of wider royal authority.⁵³ In eastern Wessex the *Wilsæte* of the Wylde valley had acquired their name in its earliest English form in a period of contact with Brittonic-speakers.⁵⁴ Wilton lay in an area of sixth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement; it was developed only later as a new royal centre. The territorial limit of the *Wilsæte* is unknown but initially they may have been restricted to the valley itself.⁵⁵ Subsequently East Wansdyke, 33 km to the north, may have marked, for as long as that boundary remained relevant, their area of influence in that direction (for a suggestion as to the date of the formation of the present county of Wiltshire, see below). Both West and East Wansdyke have been argued to have, at least in places, prehistoric origins; to have bounded former Roman *civitates* and, in the case of East Wansdyke, to incorporate two further constructional phases, again probably not continuous, the first of which is no earlier than the late Roman period. If, as is possible, one or both of these latter phases relates to the period of the wars between Wessex and Mercia, then a date, or dates, in the eighth century, when their struggles were at their height, would provide the most likely context. Indeed, the renaming of the River Calne (a Brittonic name) as the River Marden (Marden: Old English 'the boundary valley') for the lower part of the Calne, where it flows westwards from the town which bears its name to its confluence with the Bristol Avon at Chippenham, may indicate that the name of this stretch of the river was deliberately changed when it became part of a new Anglo-Saxon frontier. In such a context it is pertinent to note that the original Calne rises at Calstone Wellington, only 1.5 km north of East Wansdyke at Morgan's Hill. It might thus be argued that the link between East and West Wansdyke was then no longer a part of the Roman road from Silchester to Bath, but the rivers Calne/Marden and Avon to its north. It is the case that parish and hundred boundaries follow the Roman road and not, bar for a short distance, the River Marden, which suggests that the latter's role as a frontier was never integrated into the local pattern of boundaries and was not of very long duration.⁵⁶ The *Gewisse* had made gains in north-west Wiltshire in the 670s but even at that time they were in sharp contention with the Mercians, not least at Malmesbury Abbey, which rival kings continued to provide with grants of land. In 715 Ine himself battled with them on East Wansdyke.⁵⁷

By 731 Æthelbald of Mercia (716–757) had achieved overlordship of all the English south of the Humber.⁵⁸ In 733 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that he had seized the West Saxon stronghold of Somerton.⁵⁹ In 740 Cuthred of Wessex ‘fought stoutly’ against Æthelbald but in 743 he accompanied Æthelbald against the Britons and in 744 Lulla had required the consent of Æthelbald for her grant of land in Somerset to Glastonbury Abbey.⁶⁰ In 745, however, Cuthred was able to make a grant at Wootton Bassett in north Wiltshire to Malmesbury Abbey without the Mercian king’s agreement.⁶¹ The following year Æthelbald himself granted four hides to Glastonbury Abbey.⁶² In 752, as the *Chronicle* relates, Cuthred achieved some military success against Æthelbald. The subservience of the West Saxons to the Mercians again a little later, however, is illustrated by the only known Mercian land grant in Wiltshire, which was issued by Æthelbald at Tockenham, 10 km to the north of this line, in 757. Cynewulf of Wessex (757–786), soon after his accession, appears in its witness list, a demonstration of his submission, also noted in his almost contemporary charter (757 x 758) on behalf of St Peter’s minster, Bath, to which the new Mercian king Offa (757–796), gives his consent.⁶³ Cynewulf thus again made formal his recognition of Mercian overlordship, but he subsequently achieved a considerable degree of independent action, especially in Somerset, but also in Berkshire and even Oxfordshire.⁶⁴ It is thus very difficult to put forward a particular context for this suggested West Saxon Wansdyke/Marden boundary. One possibility which might be proposed, though very hesitantly, is that it resulted from an agreement between Cynewulf and Offa following Cynewulf’s defeat at Bensington (Benson) in 779. Thereafter, it may be, Offa was able to exert considerable influence on ‘his’ side of its line. Indeed, it is possible that Mercian intervention, through the *Hwicce*, at Kempsford (on the Thames) in 802 was an attempt, which failed, by Offa’s successor, Cenwulf, to maintain that degree of influence over the new West Saxon king, Egbert.⁶⁵

***Be(a)rrucscīr* and Berkshire**

Be(a)rrucscīr, too, may originally have been a more limited area than the county which bears its name. Asser says that Alfred was born there, at Wantage, in 849, and that Berkshire ‘is so called from Berroc Wood, where the box-tree grows very abundantly’, a description which well suits the chalk downland near Wantage.⁶⁶ A royal charter of 1199, confirming another of 1179, grants estates at (as well as other, more distant, locations, see below) Challow and Letcombe (both close to Wantage, on the west), and Fawley and South Fawley (to their south); it also refers to rents from *nemus de Barroc*. As Gelling has pointed out, *Be(a)rrucscīr* may have been Ashdown (the Berkshire Downs), or a part of it. Royal control of that area was apparently ancient, if we may judge from the 3000 hides granted there to Cuthred in 648 (the stated

hidage is enormous: Wallingford – effectively the county of Berkshire – was itself assessed at only 2400 hides in the Burghal Hidage). It is also the case that charters record a large number of tenth-century royal grants in the chalklands between Ashbury, on the pre-1974 county boundary with Wiltshire, and Blewbury in the east, an area to which Wantage itself is central – though, it should be said, such grants were also widespread to the north in the Vale of the White Horse and southwards on the Chalk, as far as Welford, Boxford and Chieveley (cf. Hooke 1988, 140: ‘there is some evidence to suggest that the southern side of the Vale of the White Horse, incorporating the scarp face of the north Berkshire Downs, may initially have been appendant to the royal vill of Wantage, just as the eastern part of the Wylve valley in Wiltshire lay within the hinterland of the royal vill of Wilton’). These grants may, as in *Hamtuncscīr*, represent the break-up of once large royal estates. Among other places in Berkshire included in the 1179 charter, however, are Kintbury, Denford, Inglewood and Hamstead (Marshall) in the Kennet valley and Anvilles to the south-west of Kintbury, and reference is also made to Chute Forest and to Rockley in Ogbourne in Wiltshire.⁶⁷

‘Small shires’ and *regiones* in Hampshire⁶⁸ (Figs 28–31)

The initial inspiration for this paper arose from the entries in Professor Richard Coates’ *The Place-Names of Hampshire* (1989) for the names of the medieval parishes of Monk Sherborne, Sherborne St John and Sherfield-on-Loddon, together with those for Shear Down Farm and Shirlen’s Copse, all of them in the north-eastern part of the county, and Shirley, Shirrell Heath and Sherfield English in the south. Each of these place-names contains the Old English element *scīr*, which carried a wide variety of meanings. In his note on the name Sherfield-on-Loddon, Coates comments: ‘OE **Scīr(a) feld* ‘(the) bright open land’... If the name once denoted a larger area than the modern parish, we should reckon with *scīr* ‘shire [county]’ as the first element, as we are not far [5 km] from the Berkshire border. But the bulk of the spellings do suggest the inflected adjective ‘bright’. This difficult problem is even more complex, because consideration of the Clere names seems to lead us in the opposite direction [ie away from the ‘county’ interpretation] and to take *scīr* to mean ‘bright’ after all.’⁶⁹ The interpretation of *scīr* as ‘bright’ would, indeed, seem particularly appropriate for the **scīra burna* ‘(the) bright stream’ at Monk Sherborne and Sherborne St John.⁷⁰ The alternative explanation of the meaning of *scīr* as ‘a larger area than the modern parish’, however, is that argued for here, but in the sense that these Hampshire place-names relate to a ‘small shire’ rather than the county as we know it today.

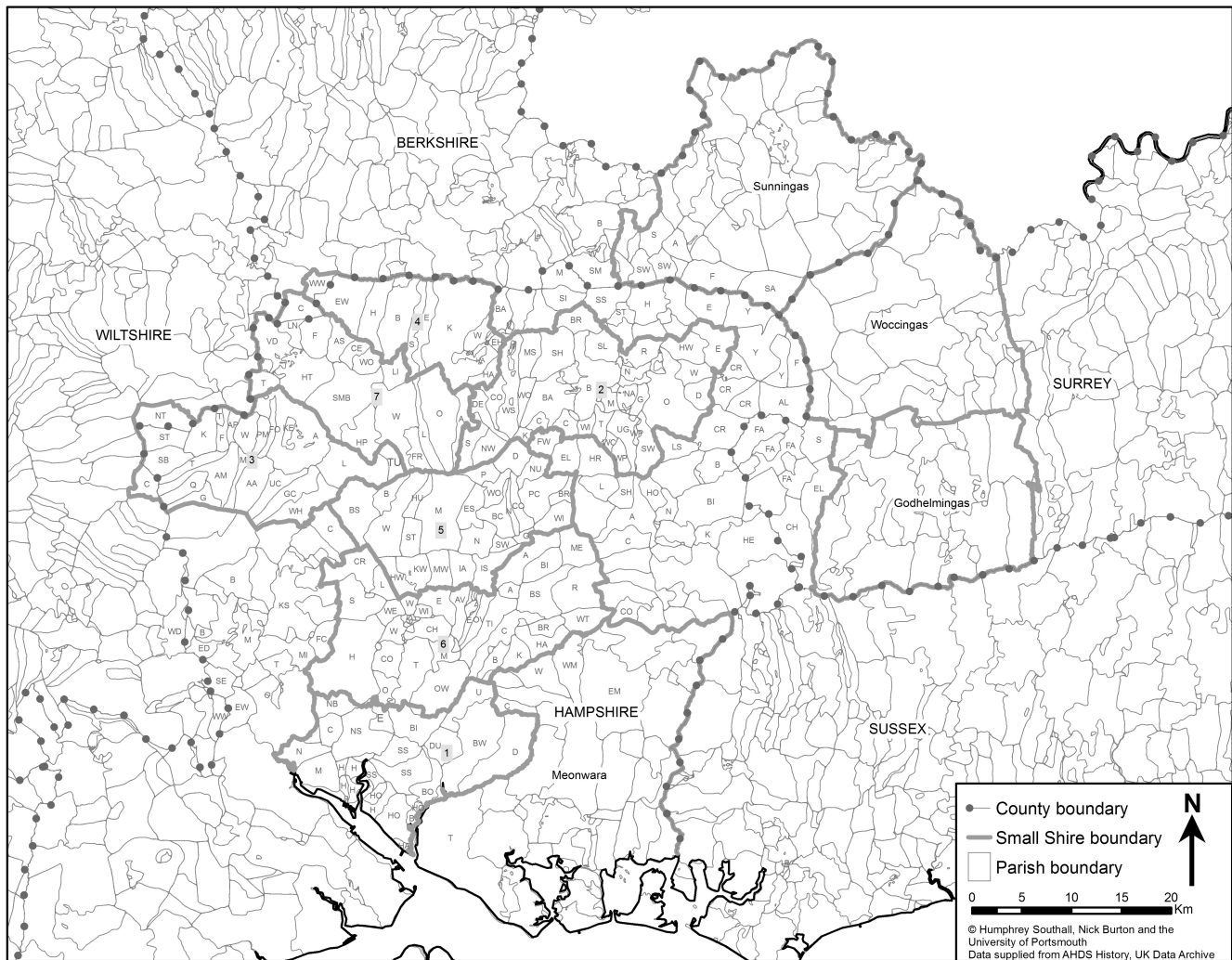


Figure 28 'Small shires' and regiones in Hampshire (Harry Manley)

Key: * Denotes place in Hampshire omitted from Domesday Book; place-names cited are those of parishes which may subsume some smaller places recorded in Domesday Book. Some of the parishes in the key below listed here to show the full complement of each Domesday hundred as outlined in Fig. 31 are not referred to in the article; small unlettered areas are detached parts of other parishes.

Parishes named in the text (Kain and Oliver 2001; Southall and Burton 2004)

1. 'Small shire' of the Hyltingas/Hamtunscīr

B Bursledon*, BI Bishopstoke, BO Botley, BW Bishops Waltham, C Chilworth, D Droxford, DU Durley*, E Eastleigh, H Hamtun*, HO Hound, M Millbrook, N Nursling, NB North Baddesley, NS North Stoneham, SS South Stoneham, U Upham*

2. 'Small shire' of the Basingas

B Basing, BA Basingstoke, BR Bramley, C Cliddesden, CO Church Oakley, D Dogmersfield, DE Deane, E Elvetham, ES Eastrop, G Greywell*, HW Hartley Wintney*, K Kempshott, M Mapledurwell, MS Monk Sherborne, N Newnham, NA Nately, NW North Waltham*, O Odiham, R Rotherwick*, S Steventon, SH Sherborne St John, SL Sherfield-on-Loddon*, SW South Warnborough, T Tunworth, UG Upton Grey*, W Winchfield, WC Weston Corbett*, WI Winslade, WO Worting, WP Weston Patrick, WS Wootton St Lawrence

3. Andeferas

A Andover, AA Abbots Ann, AM Amport, AP Appleshaw*, C Cholderton (Wilts.), F Fyfield, FO Foxcote, G Grateley*, GC Goodworth Clatford, K Kimpton, KE Knights Enham, L Longparish, M Monxton, NT North Tidworth (Wilts.), P Penton Mewsey, Q Quarley, SB Shipton Bellinger, ST South Tedworth, T Thruxton, TU Tufton, UC Upper Clatford, W Weyhill, WH Wherwell

4. Cleras

B Burghclere* (but Earlstone within it was part of the Domesday hundred of Kingsclere), E Ecchinswell, EH Ewhurst, EW East Woodhay*, H Highclere, HA Hannington, K Kingsclere, S Sydmonton, W Wolverton, WW West Woodhay (Berks.)

5. The regio of Micheldever

B Bullington, BC Brown Candover, BR Bradley, BS Barton Stacey, CC Chilton Candover, D Dummer, ES East Stratton, G Godsfield, HU Hunton*, HW Headbourne Worthy, IA Itchen Abbas, IS Itchen Stoke, KW Kings Worthy, M Micheldever, MW Martyr Worthy, N Northington*, NU Nutley, P Popham, PC Preston Candover, ST Stoke Charity*, SW Swarraton*, W Wonston, WI Wield, WO Woodmancott*

6. A possible regio of Chilcomb

A Alresford, AV Avington, B Beauworth, BI Bighton, BS Bishop's Sutton, BR Bramdean, C Cheriton, CH Chilcomb, CO Compton*, CR Crawley, E Easton, H Hursley*, HA Hinton Ampner, K Kilmeston, L Littleton*, M Morestead*, ME Medstead*, O Otterbourne, OV Ovington*, OW Owslebury*, R Ropley*, S Sparsholt*, T Twyford, TI Tichborne*, W Winchester*, WE Weeke*, WI Winnall*, WT West Tisted*

7. A possible regio in the Upper Bourne and Upper Test

A Ashe, AS Ashmansworth, C Combe (Berks.), CE Crux Easton, F Faccombe, FR Freefolk, HP Hurstbourne Priors, HT Hurstbourne Tarrant, L Laverstoke, LI Litchfield, LN Linkenholt, O Overton, SMB St Mary Bourne* (but Upton within it lay within the Domesday hundred of Hurstbourne), T Tangley*, VD Vernhams Dean*, W Whitchurch, WO Woodcote*

Hampshire north and east of the defined 'small shires'

A Alton, AL Aldershot, B Bentley, BA Baughurst, BI Binstead, C Chawton, CO Colemore, CR Crondall, E Eversley, EL Ellisfield, F Farnborough, FW Farleigh Wallop, H Heckfield, HE Headley, HO Holybourne, HR Herriard, K Kingsley, L Lasham, LS Long Sutton, M Mortimer West End, N Neatham, SH Shalden, SI Silchester, SS Stratfield Saye, ST Stratfield Turgis, Y Yateley

Hampshire west of the defined 'small shires'

B Broughton, C Chilbolton, ED East Dean, EW East Wellow, FC Farley Chamberlayne, KS Kings Somborne, M Mottisfont, MI Michelmersh, SE Sherfield English, T Timsbury, WD West Dean, WW West Wellow

South-east Hampshire

Meonwara – EM East Meon, T Titchfield, W Warnford, WM West Meon

Berkshire

Readingas – B Burghfield, SM Stratfield Mortimer

Sunningas – A Arborfield, F Finchampstead, S Shinfield, SA Sandhurst, SW Swallowfield

Surrey

CH Churt, EL Elstead, FA Farnham, S Searle

Their identification: methodology

Each of the 'small shires' and *regiones* postulated below has been identified and defined through a combination of place-names, in particular those which relate to their boundaries; the location of minster and mother churches and their links with their daughter churches, where these can be established; and, topographically, the arrangement of the Domesday hundreds and the siting of the hundredal meeting-places, together with the natural coherence of each of the land units described, appropriate to their definition, above, as 'resource areas'.

The place-names in Hampshire that contain the Old English element '*scīr*' are here reasoned to relate to two 'small shires'. In the one case the two and only occurrences of this word are found, as it is argued below, at the western and eastern limits of a 'small shire of the *Hyltingas*'. Indeed, these two names may have been particularly significant in marking the territorial limits of the 'small shire' and their distinctive locations may have led to their survival. It is argued here that this 'small shire' was re-named *Hamtunscīr* when *Hamton* itself, at its centre, was established, probably through royal initiative, in the late seventh century. Old English boundary names further define this land-unit. Hase⁷¹ has also identified the *parochiae* of a number of minster and mother churches throughout the county, with a greater or lesser degree of completeness.⁷² Those which

are most fully defined lie in the south of Hampshire and, it is contended here, three of them (Nursling, St Mary's, Southampton and Bishop's Waltham) originally subdivided this smaller predecessor from which the later county took its name. The minsters in this area originated in the late seventh century or, in the case of Southampton, very soon after. One minster normally served the needs of one *regio* (or here 'small shire'), so such a subdivision would have been exceptional. The probable minster at Nursling disappeared at a very early date and nothing is known of its *parochia*, but it could have been absorbed into that of St Mary's, which, it has been suggested by Hase, probably extended westwards to the Test. Direct information about St Mary's dependent churches outside the city is limited to South Stoneham; significant documentation for St Mary's begins only in the late twelfth century. The extent of its *parochia*, however, may also be postulated from the charters which record the tenth-century breakup of the great royal estate.⁷³ Bishop's Waltham was also formerly of greater extent, for Bursledon and Hamble were its dependants. This *scīr* is otherwise divided, from west to east, between the Domesday hundreds of Mansbridge, which occupies its western half, and more, Bishop's Waltham and Droxford, none of which extends beyond its limits. Both Waltham and Droxford were held by the Bishop of Winchester, the former since 904, the latter since 826.⁷⁴ There are, however, a couple of anomalies

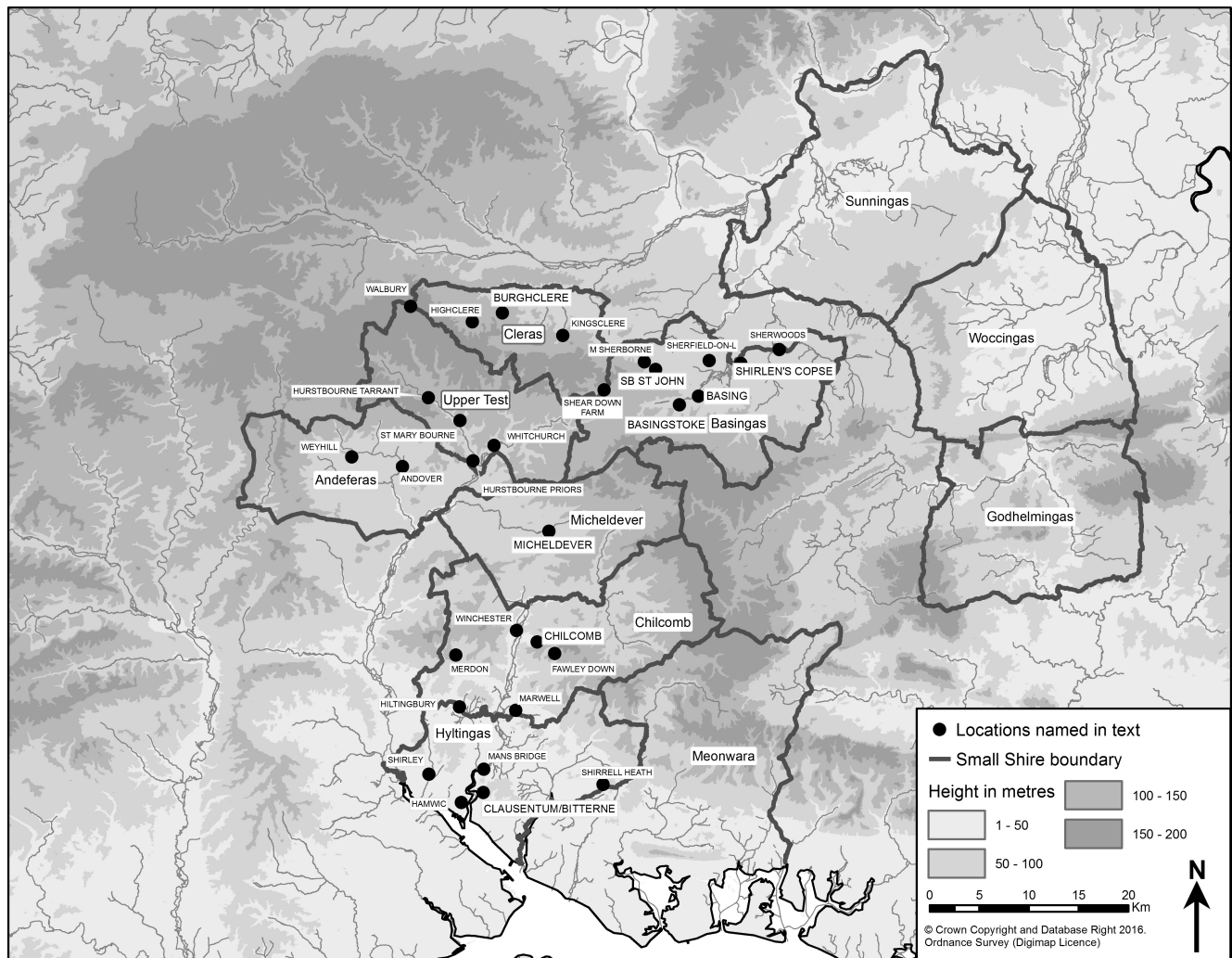


Figure 29 'Small shires' in Hampshire: *scīr* names, significant places, physical relief and surface water (Harry Manley)

to this general pattern. On topographical grounds, Nursling has here been included in the 'small shire', and its minster considered to have been a third foundation in this, as argued in this paper, 'royal' *scīr*: Nursling too was in the bishop's hands - since at least 877⁷⁵ - and was a detached part of the scattered Bishop of Winchester's Domesday hundred of Buddlesgate, that otherwise comprised Otterbourne and Crawley, both here assigned, below, to the '*regio*' of Chilcomb, and Chilbolton, immediately outside the *regio*, abutting Crawley on the north. Similarly, Bishopstoke lay within the bishop's estate of Chilcomb and his hundred of Fawley. The bishop's franchisal hundred of Evingar likewise incorporates Highclere outside its core block of parishes. Such 'private' arrangements and hundreds, with their new associations, disrupted the older, established hundredal pattern and this appears to have been the case here. In the other instance, that of the *Basingas*, we again meet a 'people' name of the '-ingas' type. The widely scattered distribution of the *scīr* names there and their individual

meanings provide significant information as to both the extent of the 'small shire of the *Basingas*' and its farmed landscape. The relationship of this *scīr* to the Domesday hundreds is discussed below. A list of 1274 of six hundreds deemed dependent upon Basingstoke for the payment of the 'farm for one night' can also make a contribution, if not a straightforward one, to the arguable limits of this 'small shire'. In particular, although these dues are always regarded as 'ancient', one of the Hampshire hundreds involved, Holdshot, can only have come into being after the break-up of the great area of pasture which extended northwards *across* the Hampshire/Berkshire border, that is, as argued here, no earlier than the later ninth century. Overton Hundred, another of the six, also looks anomalous, in that it looks to the west and has no other link with the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*. These two 'small shires' take us into the world of Jolliffe's 'folk' - *Wiltunscīr* (Wiltshire), it is suggested, provides a parallel, though that name in origin has a strongly topographical flavour.

Five other land-units, of similar size to these ‘small shires’, have been identified in Hampshire and these are here regarded as ‘*regiones*’. The close correspondence between large parts of very many ‘small shires’ and *regiones* and the hundreds hints that the latter may have much earlier origins than in the tenth century. Hampshire, as we know it today, is here argued to date from the ninth century.

The combined evidence from these sources allows us to peel back layers of the historic landscape, from the present county through the hundreds, the *parochiae* of the minsters – identifiable particularly by their and other churches’ links with their daughter foundations – to the ‘small shires’ and *regiones* of Middle and Early Anglo-Saxon date, that is, close to the time of the English settlements.

The *scīr* of the Hyltingas and Hamtunscīr

The *scīr* of the Hyltingas

A ‘small shire’ in Hampshire is suggested, it is argued here, by the place-names Shirrell Heath and Shirley in the south of the county.⁷⁶ Shirrell Heath is in the parish of Shedfield, formerly in Droxford.⁷⁷ A (suspect) charter of 826 granting land at Droxford to the Old Minster at Winchester has English bounds which may have been copied from one for 939 also granting land there. Both refer to a well-wooded stretch on the west bank of the River Meon, with landmarks which include the phrase ‘*suth on scirhyltæ*’, ‘south to the *scīr* wood’.⁷⁸

The unusual word *hylte* in the boundary mark ‘*scirhyltæ*’ is also found in the name of Hiltingbury, about 20 km to the west of Shirrell Heath. Hiltingbury, an Old English ‘-ingas’ formation that refers to a people and by implication its territory (of whatever extent),⁷⁹ may mean the ‘*burgh* of the Hyltingas’.⁸⁰ Hiltingbury is now a suburb of Chandler’s Ford, but it was formerly on the boundary of the parishes of North Baddesley and Hursley.⁸¹ Hiltingbury lies 8 km to the north of Shirley, ‘*scīr leāh*’, here also translated as ‘shire wood’. Shirley is first recorded in the Domesday Survey, where it is assessed at one hide, a component of the seven *cassati* of Millbrook.⁸²

With these pointers in mind, it is possible to suggest a more precise definition of this ‘small shire’. At the west its boundary may have been the River Test, for Nursling, on its left bank, appears – according to a seventeenth-century estate map of Corpus Christi College, Oxford – to have once extended southwards well into Millbrook.⁸³ At the north-west Hiltingbury overlooked Merdon, ‘the boundary down’ (*gemære doune*) in Hursley,⁸⁴ which was a part of Chilcomb when that great ecclesiastical estate surrounding Winchester is first defined for us (see further below). Another hint as to the northern limit of this *scīr* is provided by the Old English name Marwell (Hall, previously Manor), *gemære wielle* ‘boundary stream’ on the boundary between Bishopstoke and Owslebury, to its north, though

both of these places lay within the Chilcomb estate.⁸⁵ There is no information relevant in this context regarding Durley, Upham and Bishop’s Waltham, which lie between Bishopstoke and Droxford, though their location suggests that they were probably parts of a ‘small shire’ (*scīr*) of the Hyltingas. The northern boundaries of Bishop’s Waltham and Droxford may mark the northern edge of this ‘small shire’ in this area, for Corhampton, immediately to their north, belonged to the Domesday hundred of Meonstoke and had, therefore, arguably belonged to the *Meonwara*.⁸⁶ At the east, Droxford was bounded by the River Meon, which here is likely to have defined the western edge of the lands of the *Meonwara*, though East and West Meon straddle its upper, and Titchfield its lower, reaches.⁸⁷ At the west, Titchfield is bounded by the River Hamble, which arguably marked the limit of a ‘small shire’ of the Hyltingas there.⁸⁸

Hamwic and Hamtun

Apparently as part of the extension of Saxon royal power the *scīr* came to be dominated by a centre known either as *Hamtun*, a name which referred to its administrative functions, or *Hamwic*, with reference to the significance of its trading, for the place had apparently been founded in the late seventh century beside the River Itchen and the Solent as an international emporium.⁸⁹ This was already something of an important place, for within the eastern part of the slightly later *wic*, at St Mary’s football stadium, there is a cemetery, with both cremation deposits and inhumations, which begins in the mid-seventh century and whose grave goods include a sword, seaxes, gold and silver pendants and sceattas.⁹⁰ This sequence of cemetery and *wic*, and also the presence of higher status burials, are paralleled at *Lundenwic* and Ipswich, the two other emporia about which we have the most information.⁹¹ Evidence of an earlier Anglo-Saxon presence round Southampton is very limited. There is a ring-and-dot decorated disc brooch of the late fifth or early sixth century from Bitterne, a complete wheel-thrown Frankish bottle from Tanners Bridge, Millbrook and a great square-headed brooch fragment from Hound.⁹² All three findspots may indicate burial grounds. The late seventh-century activity at *Hamwic* appears to have been a new phenomenon and it seems to have occurred at about the same time as the foundation of three minster churches. Royal initiative is likely to have played a major role in all of this. Indeed, it may have been only in the latter part of the seventh century that the *Gewisse* gained control of the southernmost part of the Hampshire mainland from the Jutes.⁹³ Dr Patrick Hase has emphasised the ancient royal associations of the *parochiae* of both St Mary’s, Southampton, and Bishop’s Waltham (in which he includes, somewhat cautiously, Droxford).⁹⁴ These *parochiae*, together with that of *Nutselle*, Nursling, where Boniface trained in the late seventh century,⁹⁵ appear to have been secondary subdivisions of the original *scīr*. As already noticed, this partitioning is also generally,

though not precisely, reflected in the arrangement of the Domesday hundreds. The area from North Baddesley to the Hamble belonged to Mansbridge, Bishop's Waltham and Droxford each formed its own hundred, but Nursling was a detached part of Buddlesgate. The meeting place of Mansbridge Hundred was at an ash-tree at Swaythling in South Stoneham.⁹⁶ It may be noted that South Stoneham lies centrally within the *scīr* of the *Hyltingas*. *Hamwic* suffered serious decline in the ninth century owing to Viking raids. Its immediate successor was a *burgh*, founded on a new site about 1 km to the south-west.⁹⁷

The economy of the 'small shire' of the Hyltingas

Much of the area of this '*scīr*', particularly at South Stoneham, Durley and Botley, is covered by the sands and clays of the Bracklesham Beds. Shirley is largely on Plateau Gravel, Shirrell Heath on the London Clay. The largest stretch of surviving woodland is Bere Forest, in what had been *Meonwara* territory. Its name derives from an Old English term, *bær*, which indicates the traditional use of woodland as wood-pasture and the importance of these soils, rather intractable for cultivation, as a pasture resource.⁹⁸ The woodlands in the southern part of the *scīr* were probably once broken by more open extensive heaths and commons belonging to the whole *scīr*, like *scīr leāh* at Shirley. Those which survived long enough to appear on the 1810 Ordnance Survey, had by then been whittled down to the commons attached to a particular vill or parish like Netley (to the west of Hamble) or Chilworth, and others may now be part of the park or the chase of a great house. Examination of tenth- and eleventh-century charters for Durley, North and South Stoneham, Bishopstoke and Horton (to its south-east) has demonstrated the great extents of pasture and considerable woodland in those areas at that time, though there was also some arable.⁹⁹ Cattle were probably the main users and *Hamwic* was an emerging market for meat. By the tenth century the ecclesiastical landowners here had begun to specialise in production.¹⁰⁰ The northern part of the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas* and the *Meon* territory took in some of the chalk downland: prime sheep country. Both thus had access to the same range of resources as did the people of the Basing territory - river land, downland and wood-pasture.

'The Basings', 'The Andovers' and 'The Cleres'

Two pre-Conquest documents provide us with some information about how units of land in Hampshire were referred to. By an abortive will drawn up between 951 and 955 King Eadred granted three *hamas*: Wherwell, *Andeferas*, and *Cleras*.¹⁰¹ They are likely to have been places of importance. Tom Williamson considers similar East Anglian places with the suffix *-hām* to have been the centres of large 'multiple estates'.¹⁰² Eadred also willed land *aet Basingum*. By a charter of 945 Edmund gives this to

his priest, who gives it to the New Minster at Winchester.¹⁰³ In the following sections 'the Basings', 'the Andovers' and 'the Cleres' are considered in more detail and suggestions are made as to some other similar land units in Hampshire. Wherwell is not further specified in Eadred's will, but may have comprised the Domesday hundred of Welford (later known as Wherwell), as discussed below, and is here argued to have been a part of 'the Andovers'.

The 'scīr' of the Basings

Basing (or Old Basing) in Hampshire has long been recognised as another Old English place-name of the *-ingas* type. It is therefore of particular interest to note a group of Hampshire place-names respectively to its west, north and north-east which shares the Old English element *scīr*: *Shear Down Farm*, on the Hannington/Church Oakley boundary, *Monk Sherborne*, *Sherborne St John*, *Sherfield-on-Loddon*, *Shirlen's Copse*, *Newnham* and *Sherwood Farm* and *Sherwoods*, *Hartley Wintney*.¹⁰⁴ Although, as already noticed, it has been suggested that these *scīr* names may relate in some way to the northern boundary of modern Hampshire, they occur only within a restricted area and do not together connect with any obvious boundary line. An alternative explanation, which is explored in this paper, is that, as with the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas*, the combination of the '*-ingas*' name and the *scīr* names reflects a former 'small shire'. This possibility has also been raised by Catherine Petts.¹⁰⁵

It is argued here that this group of *scīr* names relates to different aspects of the farming regime of the territory of the *Basings*. Thus *Shear Down Farm*, Old English *Scirdoune*, refers to the shire down; *Monk Sherborne* and *Sherborne St John*, probably **Scīra burna*, the shire stream; *Sherfield-on-Loddon*, probably **Scīr(a) feld*, its open pasture;¹⁰⁶ *Shirlen's Copse*, *Shirlond*, to the shire's land; and *Sherwood*, if an ancient name, to the shire's woodland (*scīr wudu*). In the west, *Shear Down Farm* is high on the Upper Chalk, which is covered in places by spreads of Clay-with-Flints, carrying a natural tree cover. The chalklands extend south eastwards across the full extent of the southern part of the 'small shire' of the *Basings*. To their north *Sherfield-on-Loddon* is on the London Clay, which is overlain in many places, as at *Sherwood*, by the Bagshot Sands and patches of valley and plateau gravels. This area is broken up by numerous rivers and streams. The most important of these is the Loddon, which rises in the Chalk, then flows by Basing and Basingstoke, before cutting through the Tertiary deposits beyond. Neither *Sherborne St John* nor *Monk Sherborne*, however, is on the Loddon, and the **Scīra burna* is most probably the Bow Brook, its tributary, which forms their northern boundary. Catherine Petts has noted the location of *Sherfield-on-Loddon* at the southern limit of a vast *feld*, evident from the names of the contiguous parishes,

extending into Berkshire, of Stratfield Turgis/Saye and Mortimer, Heckfield, Swallowfield, Arborfield, Wokefield, Shinfield and Burghfield.¹⁰⁷ As already noticed, Petts locates this *feld* on the boundary of the *regiones* associated with Sonning and Reading and a third which she identifies at Basingstoke. There are also further indications, even today, of important pasture land within the area of the *feld* of the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*, seen in the names, among others, Rotherwick ('*hrider wic*'), and also Bull Lane and Cowfold Lane in that parish. Well-watered and on clay the area is likely to have supported more broad-leafed woodland than the heathy *feld*, better feeding for cattle than for sheep.

There is no direct information about the eastern and southern limits of this 'small shire'. The only hints may be found in the arrangement of the Domesday hundreds. The area discussed above falls within two and, probably, three hundreds. Chutely and Basingstoke formed a cohesive territory which stretched from Deane and Steventon in the west to Nately in the east and from Bramley in the north to Winslade in the south, approximately 12 km away. Sherfield-on-Loddon, Rotherwick and Hartley Wintney, all unnamed in Domesday Book, may have been in the royal hundred of Odiham, at its northern limit.¹⁰⁸ Deane and Hartley Wintney are 25 km apart.

Other evidence for an early territory centred upon the Basings has long been adduced from references to the six hundreds deemed dependent upon the royal manor of Basingstoke until 1225 for the purpose of the collection of the ancient farm for one night, though those hundreds are specified only in an inquest of 1274: Chutely, Basingstoke, Bermondspit, Holdshot, Odington and Overton.¹⁰⁹ In regard to this list, a number of points may be made in terms of the 'small shire' that is under consideration here. Thus Overton, which, as already noticed, looks westwards and not towards Basingstoke, is discussed in below as part of a possible separate *regio* to the west of the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*. It had been held by the Bishop of Winchester since 904. It may also be noted that Holdshot, beyond the northern limit of the 'small shire' as defined here, reached across the *feld* to the present Hampshire boundary, which it is argued below did not come into being until the later ninth century, and reflects a period following the break-up of this great area of pasture. Dummer, Nutley and Preston Candover, all in the Domesday hundred of Bermondspit, have been considered by Professor Nicholas Brooks to have been parts of the reconstructed *regio* of Micheldever (see below). Bermondspit otherwise included Farleigh Wallop, Ellisfield and Herriard. Odington (whose name is preserved in Hoddington House in the parish of Upton Grey) Hundred, however, could have been a part of the 'small shire', for Weston Patrick/Corbett, Upton Grey and South Warnborough, its constituent parts, lie within the catchment area of the north-flowing River Whitewater and are therefore a part of its natural extent.¹¹⁰

The centre

The Roman roads from Winchester and Chichester, which merged at Bramley to become the route to London by way of Silchester, traversed the *scīr*. Roman roads were important to early Anglo-Saxon kings for the movement of armies, and Roman road junctions, as for instance that at Old Sarum in south Wiltshire, are likely to have been of strategic significance.¹¹¹ When, in the seventh century, Anglo-Saxon activity does become very apparent, it is of a high status. For at Basingstoke, the *stoc*, dependent settlement, of Basing, excavations have uncovered a very large timber hall (and other buildings) at Cowdery's Down and a burial with a hanging-bowl, iron ladle, spearheads, a knife and bone counters is recorded at West Ham (now a suburb of Basingstoke).¹¹² There are also a fine belt-fitting, of the end of the sixth or the first quarter of the seventh century, and a silver wire inlaid buckle, of the first half of the seventh century, both pieces with interlace decoration and probably Frankish, from a pit at Monk Sherborne.¹¹³ Identification of an early royal estate at Basing depends upon its being the *Besingahearh* ('the sanctuary of the Besingas') of Cædwalla's charter of 685 x 687.¹¹⁴ An early and close connection between Basing and London is suggested by Basinghall Street, whose name relates to a fortifiable enclosure ('the *haga* of the Basings') within the city's Roman walls. It has been postulated that the enclosure's most probable function was to protect the commercial interests of the *Basingas* at *Lundenwic*, and that it may date to the time of Cædwalla or Ine, for those West Saxon kings were able to exercise authority in Surrey and Kent and the latter claimed that the Bishop of London was his bishop.¹¹⁵ At that time the royal *tun* at Basing was the closest one to London which was firmly under West Saxon control.¹¹⁶ There was probably a mother church at Basing.¹¹⁷ *A mansionem monasticam ad Basyngum que nostro dicitur famine cyninges hors croft* given in 945 has been located at the Kings Horse Croft, a mounded meadow at the foot of Pyot's Hill.¹¹⁸ John Blair thinks this *mansio monastica* 'may have been intended to be the mother church of Basingstoke'.¹¹⁹ Only Up Nately and Chineham (the latter to the north of both Basing and Basingstoke) are known to have been dependent on Basing, but such relationships may have been disrupted as early as 946 x 953 when the church came into the hands of the New Minster.¹²⁰

Andeferas ('The Andovers')

The royal hundred of Andover has been reconstructed through an analysis of entries in Domesday Book. It reached from the Wiltshire boundary, in the west, to Andover itself, the largest parish in the hundred and possibly the mother church.¹²¹ The land unit which the hundred represents may formerly have been larger. At the west it included South Tedworth, in the Bourne valley, but excluded the contiguous

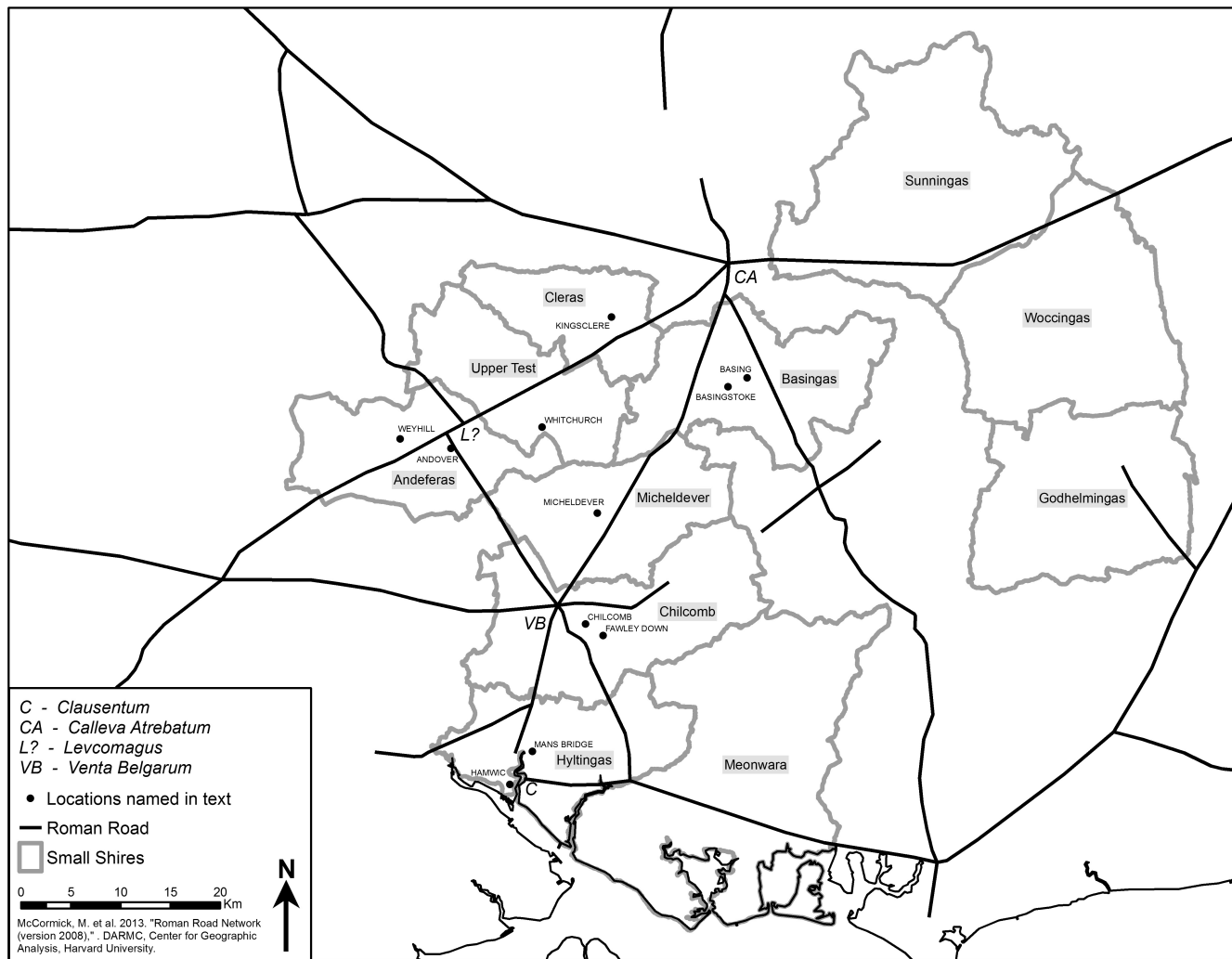


Figure 30 'Small shires' in Hampshire: Roman roads and main Roman centres (Harry Manley)

North Tidworth, which lies across the county boundary in Wiltshire. Cholderton, also on the Bourne, was similarly divided between Hampshire and Wiltshire in the Domesday Survey, which may indicate that, in some places at least, 'the Andovers' once stretched to the watershed between the Bourne and Avon.¹²² At the east 'the Andovers' may once have incorporated the adjacent Domesday hundred of Welford, for Little Ann, isolated within Andover's bounds, was a part of it, as was Goodworth Clatford, thereby separating the latter from Upper Clatford in Andover Hundred.¹²³ Welford, which also included Wherwell, Middleton (later known as Longparish), Tufton and Bullington, was subject to the mother church of Wherwell Abbey, which was founded in the late tenth century.¹²⁴ This extension would have brought 'the Andovers' to the River Test (though note that Brooks places Bullington, on its opposite bank, in the *regio* of Micheldever, *q.v.* see below).

There were two meeting places in Andover Hundred. One was for the borough, the other for the 'out hundred'

or 'foreign hundred', which met at Weyhill (also known as Penton Grafton), on the high chalk down 6 km to the west of Andover).¹²⁵ The name 'Weyhill' may have an ancient, and special, significance, for it appears to derive from Old English *wēoh*, a shrine, though not necessarily a pagan one.¹²⁶ On the south 'the Andovers' are bounded by the ancient hundred of Wallop, the extent and names of whose six constituent Domesday hundreds are unknown.¹²⁷

Cleras ('The Cleres')

It appears from Eadred's will that it was still possible in the mid-tenth century to refer to a broad area as *ad clearas*, even though it was by then considerably fragmented. In Domesday Book this conjectural *regio* is divided between the hundreds of Evingar and Kingsclere. Highclere was a property of the Old Minster and had for that reason been incorporated into the ecclesiastical hundred of Evingar, which itself had probably been carved out of Hurstbourne

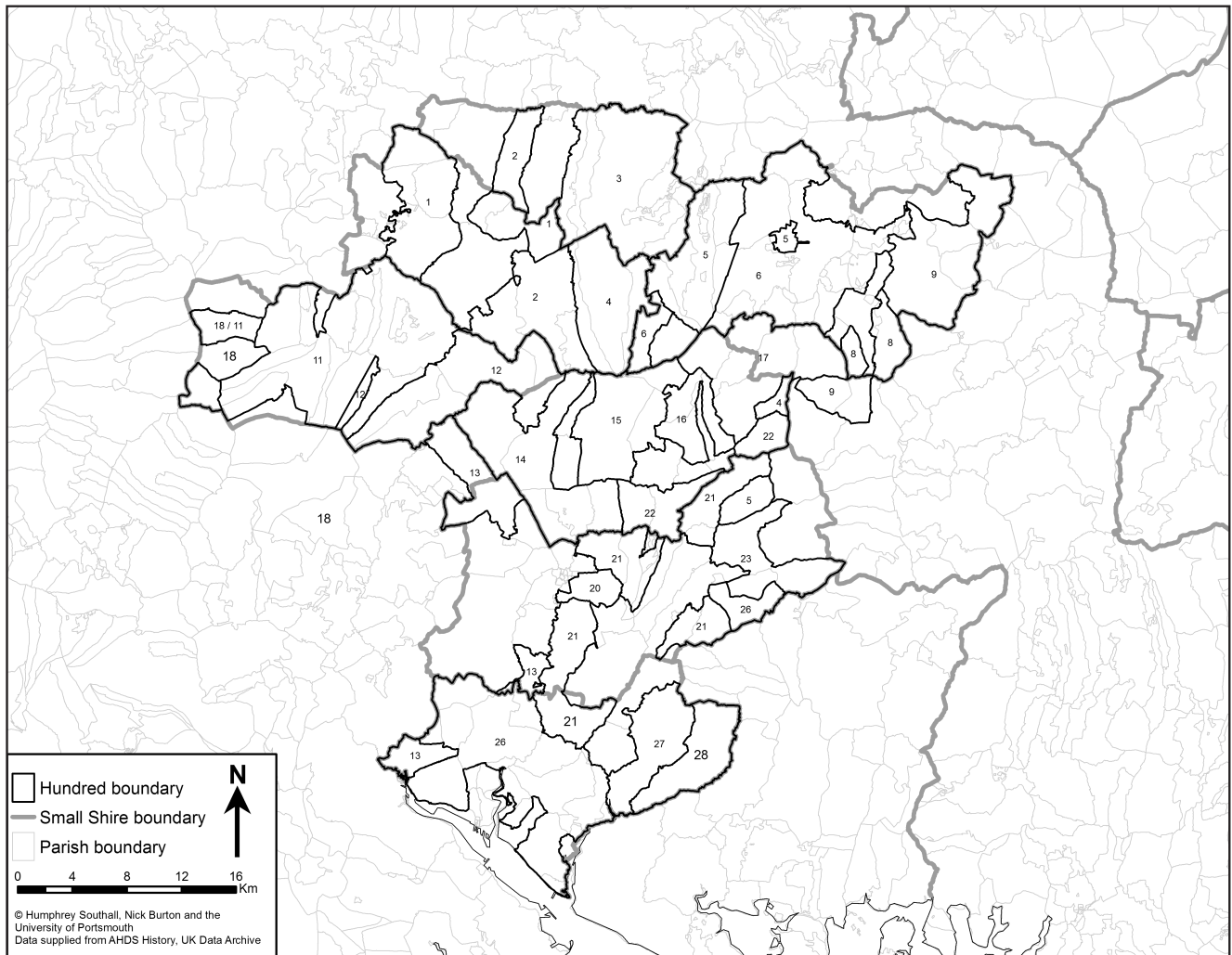


Figure 31 'Small shires' in Hampshire and the Domesday hundreds, numbered as Munby 1982. Key: 1. Hurstbourne; 2. Evingar; 3. Kingsclere; 4. Overton; 5. Chuteley; 6. Basingstoke; 8. Hoddington; 9. Odiham (includes Lasham and Shalden outside both 'small shire' of the Basingas and the regio of Micheldever); 11. Andover; 12. Welford; 13. Buddlesgate (includes Chilbolton immediately to the west of the regio of Micheldever); 14. Barton; 15. Micheldever; 16. Mainsborough; 17. Bermondsput; 18. Broughton (also incorporates a large group of parishes stretching southwards from the regio of the Andeferas); 20. Falmer; 21. Fawley; 22. Bountisborough; 23. 'Ashley' (a lost name); 26. Mansbridge; 27. Waltham; 28. Droxford. NB small, detached parts of hundreds are not numbered (Harry Manley)

Hundred (*q.v.* see further below). Sydmonton, Ecchinswell and Kingsclere were in Kingsclere Hundred. All were bordered on the north by the Enborne. At the east Kingsclere ran with Baughurst, which lay within Pamber Forest.¹²⁸ The hundred of Kingsclere in 1086 comprised Kingsclere, Earlston (beside Burghclere), Ecchinswell and Sydmonton, Hannington, Ewhurst, Finley (to the north-east of Ewhurst), Knowl (to the north-east of Kingsclere), Swampton in St Mary Bourne (*q.v.* see below, suggested *regio* of the Upper Test and the Bourne), Tidgrove (to the west of Hannington) and Wolverton. Virtually all this land had once been part of a royal estate. The core of the district, now Kingsclere, had a mother church/minster and this was the part that remained in royal hands although it continued to be diminished by royal grants.¹²⁹ The part which came to be known as Highclere was

said to have been given to the Old Minster at Winchester in 749. Burghclere was granted by Edmund to a religious woman in 943 and it was in the possession of the Bishop of Winchester in 955 x 958 when it was willed by him to a kinswoman.¹³⁰ Land at Kingsclere appears in King Alfred's will.¹³¹ Ecchinswell was carved out of Kingsclere in 931 to benefit Abbot Ælfric.¹³² Some was in the hands of ealdorman Æthelwold in 946 x 947 and this must have been the area King Eadred included in his will, wishing it to go to the New Minster in 951 x 955.¹³³ This will, as already noticed, did not take effect and Kingsclere was evidently still treated as a royal manor under the Confessor, providing the farm of one day, and similarly after the Conquest by William, who gave it to St Peter's Winchester.¹³⁴ Cnut confirmed Hannington, one of the southernmost parishes in the

hundred of Kingsclere, to his *minister* by a grant in 1023, which may endorse an earlier donation.¹³⁵ In Domesday Wolverton and Finley are said to have been held from the king, as were Knowl and Tidgrove.¹³⁶ The manor entered as 'Clere' in Domesday Book was the rump of the Cleres, consisting only of the small manor known by the twelfth century as Earleston ('*earl's tun*').¹³⁷ The tithings into which the parishes were later divided also reveal some of these early links. Sydmonton had shared a 'common hill' with Ecchinswell before the area was divided (both originated as fragments of Kingsclere and were dependencies of its church, as was Hannington).¹³⁸ Kingsclere Hundred court, it is suggested, was held at Nothing Hill, about 1.5 km west of the village.¹³⁹

The *regio* of 'the Cleres' took its name, it is argued here, from the River Enborne, in pre-Conquest charters known as the Aleburn, and whose British name may have been Clere.¹⁴⁰ This *regio* is likely to have run west-east from the source of the Enborne in West Woodhay, immediately across the border with Berkshire.¹⁴¹ It is 18 km from West Woodhay to the eastern boundary of Kingsclere.

When this territory was divided into parishes and tithings it was into linear segments, each bounded by the Enborne and by small brooks running into it, and this feature, too, suggests that the river was the initial reference point. The shape of parishes and tithings and the distribution of resources within them, and the language that charter bounds use to delineate estates all suggest a local economy which must have depended to a considerable extent on pastoralism. The charter for Ecchinswell is the most informative in this respect.¹⁴² To judge from the location of the later common fields there, the area suitable for arable was limited to the Lower Greensand at the lower slopes of the downs. The northern part of the estate was wooded and watery – land for cattle, pigs and geese. Once up the wooded scarp slopes (Nuthanger) the southernmost part was a broad expanse of chalk downland. It seems likely that this stratified landscape supported farms whose assets included wet woodland, a limited supply of arable and almost unlimited – though by no means undemarcated – downland grazing for sheep. A sheepwash important and permanent enough to act as a landmark appears in a charter of 749 for Highclere,¹⁴³ and Wash Common and Sheepwash are still on the map.

The southern boundary of the *regio*, as defined here, ran from north-west to south-east along the edge of the chalk escarpment, which, at West Woodhay, reached 297 m at Walbury hill-fort. A tenth-century charter, however, already noticed, appears to show that at that time East Woodhay was a part of Ashmansworth, on the high down to its south, and included, below, in a suggested *regio* of the Upper Bourne and the Upper Test.¹⁴⁴ Modern parish boundaries, and Crawford's (partial) reconstruction of the boundary clauses for properties in the Cleres for which pre-Conquest charters survive, show that a stretch of the Roman road (the Portway),

ealdan stret/straet in the charters, served this purpose for Sydmonton and Ecchinswell.¹⁴⁵

A *regio* at Micheldever

The name Micheldever is probably of Brittonic origin, meaning 'bog waters', with reference to the marshy ground where the Dever meets the Test at Barton Stacey.¹⁴⁶ A *regio* at Micheldever extended, it has been suggested, from Barton Stacey and Headbourne Worthy, in the west, to Preston Candover, Bradley and Wield in the east and, on the argument that Micheldever itself, where the hundred met, once occupied a fairly central position within the postulated territory, included the Worthys and Itchen Abbas and Itchen Stoke on the south. In the later Middle Ages the church at Micheldever retained rights over chapels at Popham, East Stratton and Northington. The *regio* is composed of a patchwork of Domesday hundreds, complicated by the partially discrete estates of New Minster at Winchester, which were administered as their private hundred (Fig. 29).¹⁴⁷ Its northern part is traversed by the east to west-flowing Dever stream; the River Itchen forms its southern boundary. For the most part this is chalkland, with patches of Clay-with-Flints, most of which lie above the 122 m OD contour, but some, individually more extensive, are on lower ground, particularly in the area where the parishes of East Stratton, Brown Candover and Northington meet together.¹⁴⁸ Such terrain is particularly suited to woodland, and there are still woods there today. Wield (OE *weald*) preserves the memory of their once much greater importance. Several long-distance droveways traverse this part of the county. The Domesday assessment of a combined total of 289 hides for the constituent estates that make up this area is close to the 300 hide folk units well evidenced in the Tribal Hidage, a document recently argued to date to the late ninth century, though incorporating material probably of the late seventh century.¹⁴⁹

Royal interest in this territory is likely from an early date, given the importance of the Roman road from Winchester to Silchester, which passes through Micheldever parish, and that from Winchester to Cirencester, which bounds the *regio* at the south-west. A *villa regalis* is recorded at Micheldever in 862 and there appears to have been a mother church there too.¹⁵⁰

A possible *regio* at Chilcomb

In a writ of 984 x 1001, King Æthelred II confirmed the beneficial hidation of Chilcomb (at one hide), as granted by his predecessors and confirmed by King Alfred.¹⁵¹ A diploma said to be of Alfred concerning such a reduction for Chilcomb was still extant in 1643.¹⁵² In a series of other documents, also probably produced in the time of Æthelred II, the monks of the Old Minster claimed confirmation of

Table 3 The hundred hides of Chilcomb

<i>Estate</i>	<i>Hidage</i>	<i>DB hidage TRE</i>	<i>DB hundred</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Avington	5	5; DB 3.4	Fawley (F)	
Bishopstoke	5	5; DB 2.6	F	DB <i>Stoce</i> ; 10 <i>cassati</i> there granted by Edgar to the Bishop of Winchester: S 683/F 90; S 827/F 118, also of Edgar, hidage subsumed within figure for long list of estates, including Otterbourne
Brambridge & Otterbourne	5	4; DB 29.1	Buddlesgate (B)	
Chilbolton	20	10; DB 3.3: plus 3 hides & 3 virgates; DB 41.1	B	Both DB estates 'in the lands of the monastery' 10 hides granted to the bishop in 934: S 427/F 51
Easton	4	6	F	For two Anglo-Saxon estates see above
Kilmeston	5	5; DB 2.2: plus 5; DB 2.7	F	Leases by Edgar, with the bishop's permission, of 10 <i>mansae</i> to his <i>minister</i> (the grant also includes a messuage within the city: S 693/F 96-97
Nursling	5		B	S 1277/F 24 records 877 grant of 5 <i>manentes</i> to Old Minster
Ovington	5	No separate DB entry		Subject of grant, along with other estates, overall hidage only given, by Edgar to church at Winchester: S 826/F 114
Tichborne	25	No separate DB entry		20 hides granted to Bishop Denewulf by Edward in c. 909: S 385, and see also below
Twyford	20		F	See also above

their rights to estates and privileges purportedly granted to them on the foundation of their minster by King Cynegils in the seventh century.¹⁵³ Following a recent, careful, re-examination of these diplomas, Rumble has suggested a relative sequence for at least some of this production.¹⁵⁴

In a confirmatory charter (S 817, 1–3), supposedly of Edgar, though as noticed above very probably of the time of Æthelred II, the monks' estate was described as *Chilcomb cum omnibus appendiciis suis*; the phrase also appears in S 821.¹⁵⁵ Charter S 817 states that 'Chilcomb, which valley is adjacent on all sides to the city ... the whole extent of that estate with all its dependencies should be reckoned ... as only 1 hide ... The full assessment indeed of the aforementioned estate is 100 hides ...'. Reference to both 100 hides and a single hide is again made in the Old English version of this charter.¹⁵⁶ In Domesday Book, too, Chilcomb is assessed at one hide, here, uniquely, in a separate hundred named Falmer.¹⁵⁷ Biddle and Keene have argued that what was granted by Cynegils and his son Cenwealh is reflected in the lands later known collectively as the manor of Chilcomb or Barton.¹⁵⁸ That manor comprised, when its constituent parts are first recorded for us in the manorial court rolls of 1248, Sparsholt, Littleton, Winnall, Chilcomb, Morestead, Compton, Weeke, Drayton (Barton Stacey parish), St James and Fulflood (both within Winchester), Bradley, Hangelcomb (not identified) and Ovington.

The lands of this manor (apart from Ovington (on the Itchen and 7 km to the north-east of Chilcomb and separated

from it by Avington and Hampage); Drayton (by Newton; 16 km to the west on the Test); and Bradley (19 km to the north-east and in the *regio* of Micheldever) lay both within and close up against the city. Biddle and Keene have suggested that their origins lay in the Roman *territorium* of Winchester.¹⁵⁹

Easton, to the north-east of the city, had been the subject of a grant of seven and a half *mansae* by Edgar to Bishop Brihtelm in 961.¹⁶⁰ The area granted included Abbots Barton, Hyde Moors, Abbots Worthy, Chilland and part of Kings Worthy, all of which lay north of the Itchen, as well as Easton itself.¹⁶¹ Abbots Worthy, Chilland and Kings Worthy are included in Micheldever *regio* by Brooks. It may also be noticed that the northern boundary of the land granted in 961 was the London way, more than 8 km from the city. Another estate at Easton, of 8 hides, had been in the hands of the bishop since at least 871 x 877).¹⁶² The location of this second estate is uncertain; it may have been a detached part of Easton and in the east part of the adjacent (at the east) parish of Avington.¹⁶³

In Domesday Book the bishop held 6 hides in Easton both T.R.E. and T.R.W.¹⁶⁴ He also held two estates, one of 20 hides T.R.E. and 15 hides T.R.W., the other of 10 hides T.R.E. and five hides T.R.W., at Twyford which, it has been suggested, may have included Owslebury.¹⁶⁵ The first record of Merdon is the removal of its Park from all the 'appendages of Chiltecumbe' by Bishop Henry of Blois (1153–1171).¹⁶⁶ It may be noted that both Easton and Twyford were in

Fawley Hundred in Domesday Book, not Falmer, as are all the others, which were presumably encompassed within the one, single hide, entry there for 'Chilcomb' (Merdon and Hursley do not appear in the Domesday Survey).

Chilcomb and the hundreds

'Chilcomb 100 hides' is so entered in a document of 1033 × 1066, which lists the lands of Winchester Cathedral.¹⁶⁷ Another charter specifies its constituent parts (Table 3).¹⁶⁸

These ten estates together total 99 hides, to which has been added the single hide of Chilcomb itself. Chilcomb Hundred was called Falmer Hundred in Domesday Book, where Chilcomb, Falmer's sole member but now excluding Chilbolton and Nursling was, as already noticed, again assessed at a single hide (this reference to Falmer is unique: Anderson thought it was an error for 'Fawley', but if the single hide of Chilcomb was always a distinct entity, and remained so in the Domesday Survey, when it was created its own hundred – that is, it had been detached from 'Chilcomb 100 hides' – a new name may have been found to describe it). Chilcomb is first recorded as part of Fawley Hundred in 1316. In 1086 the possibly short-lived 'hundred hides of Chilcomb' were otherwise divided between Fawley Hundred (the Winchester lands east of the Itchen: Fawley Hundred now also included Alresford) and Buddlesgate Hundred (the Winchester lands west of the river), to which Chilbolton and Nursling were now transferred (the hundred also contained Crawley and Otterbourne). Fawley Hundred was so named from Fawley Down, perhaps its meeting place.¹⁶⁹ Fawley Down is on the border of the parishes of Chilcomb and Morestead, the latter also a part of Chilcomb manor, as already noticed. It is possible that Fawley Down had been the meeting place of Chilcomb Hundred, the name then being transferred to the new Fawley Hundred. Chilcomb Hundred represents, if the outlying estates of the bishop at Chilbolton and Nursling are excluded from it,¹⁷⁰ a cohesive block of territory, which stretched from Sparsholt in the west to Kilmeston in the east (Owslebury and Cheriton, the only places without specific mention in these documents, were, respectively, probably subsumed in the large assessment of twenty hides at Twyford, as already noticed, and perhaps subsumed in the twenty-five hides at Tichborne).¹⁷¹ Fawley Down lies close to the centre of Chilcomb Hundred as thus defined.

A possible regio

The definition of the Anglo-Saxon *regiones* of Micheldever and 'the Andovers' and the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas/Hamtunscīr* provides a geographical framework, respectively to the north, in the case of the first two territories, and to the south, in the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas*, into which it is possible to consider a similarly sized land unit, putatively also a *scīr*, centred upon Winchester.

All of the places that have been noted above as at some time associated with either the apparently original

Chilcomb round the city of Winchester or with Chilcomb Hundred arguably fall within the area between these three other territories.¹⁷² The position is hardly less precise when we consider the Domesday 'bishop's hundreds' of Fawley and Buddlesgate. Fawley contained Alresford,¹⁷³ Avington, Beauworth, Bishopstoke, Easton, Kilmeston and Twyford. Within Buddlesgate were Chilbolton, Crawley, Nursling and Otterbourne. Additionally, Tichborne has already been noted as part of the hundred hides of Chilcomb. Of these manors, only the detached Bishopstoke and Nursling have been argued here to have belonged originally in another early land unit, that of the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas/Hamtunscīr*. Indeed, the constituents of Chilcomb Manor (the 'original' Chilcomb) and the hundreds of Buddlesgate and Fawley otherwise complement each other to form a continuous block of territory from Hursley in the west to Alresford in the east, a distance of 27 km, and from the Itchen in the north to Owslebury in the south, places 11 km apart, though the north-easterly 'limb' of Alresford itself, just as that of Chilbolton at the north west (see above) may have been a late addition.

One block of parishes – Alresford at the north, and Ropley (not recorded in the Domesday Survey), West Tisted and Hinton Ampner at the east and south – geographically look south- westwards and westwards towards the *regio* of Chilcomb, of which, indeed, Alresford has been noted above as a part, in the sense that it was a constituent of Fawley Hundred. At the time of Domesday, West Tisted, Bishops Sutton and Bramdean comprised the small Ashley Hundred, and Hinton Ampner and Bighton were outliers of, respectively, Mansbridge and Chuteley. These considerations do raise the possibility that the *regio* of Chilcomb incorporated these places at the east.

The place-name Merdon (see also above) in Hursley parish may mark the western limit of this putative *regio*, as may the border of the *Meonwara* its eastern one. At the west, respectively to the west and south of Merdon, lie Oakfield (SU 391271), Braishfield, first recorded c. 1235,¹⁷⁴ and Ampfield, which receives its first mention in 1208.¹⁷⁵ These names indicate an extensive area of 'feld', used as pasture, at the edge of Chilcomb, the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas* and the Domesday hundred of Kings Somborne, of which Michelmersh was almost certainly a part, lying as it does between its manors of Timsbury, to its immediate south, and Farley Chamberlayne. At the east the limit of the *regio* of Chilcomb could well have been Kilmeston, which bordered upon Warnford, in the Domesday hundred of Meonstoke and which, therefore, had arguably belonged to the *Meonwara*.¹⁷⁶ It may also be noted that Fawley Down, already noticed as the meeting place of Fawley Hundred, is at the approximate centre of the *regio* of Chilcomb. Four Anglo-Saxon execution sites, at Ashley, Crawley, Old Dairy Cottage (Littleton) and Avington, are on hundredal bounds and on its borders, respectively at the west (Ashley) and at the north.¹⁷⁷

A possible *regio* of the valleys of the Upper Test and the Bourne

There may have been a further *regio* centred upon the Upper Test and its northerly tributary, the Bourne, and framed by 'the Cleres' to the north, the *scīr* of the Basingas to the east, and the *regio* of Micheldever and 'the Andovers', respectively to the south and south-west. The Test rises at the extreme east of this region, in the parish of Ashe, which is adjacent, on the east, to Deane, a part of the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*. In the eastern part of this area the parishes of Overton, Laverstoke and Whitchurch straddle the Test; at their north, they are bounded by the Roman road from Andover to Silchester. The Bourne meets the Test at Hurstbourne Priors, the most southerly of three parishes along its course. Hurstbourne Priors is divided from Hurstbourne Tarrant, where the Bourne now rises at Upton, by St Mary Bourne. The shared nomenclature of the two Hurstbournes strongly suggests that these three land-units were originally one. The Bourne valley has been the subject of a recent and important study by Dr Alison Deveson, in which she has shown that it is likely that Bourne, as St Mary Bourne was formerly known, and Stoke together formed an early centre in a valley territory which is likely to have once included both of the Hurstbournes.¹⁷⁸ There is an Anglo-Saxon execution site on the boundary between Laverstoke and Freefolk – the latter a subdivision of Whitchurch, on which its church was dependent¹⁷⁹ – a limit which also divides Evingar from Overton Hundred, but is not an external boundary of the suggested *regio*.¹⁸⁰

Dr Deveson has also identified the name of the Domesday hundred of Evingar as a field name at Whitchurch in the manorial court rolls.¹⁸¹ Evingar otherwise comprised Freefolk, Highclere, Hurstbourne Priors, Stoke and Whitnal, the latter on the boundary between Whitchurch and Laverstoke.¹⁸² Highclere, as argued here, had originally been a part of 'the Cleres'. Hurstbourne Tarrant was in Hurstbourne Hundred, as was Combe (now in Berkshire), Crux Easton, Facombe, Linkenholt, Litchfield, Upton and Woodcott. Other places in the western part of this 'small shire' do not appear in the Domesday Survey, but it seems entirely possible that the hundred formed a discrete block of land in this area, north of the Roman road. The remainder of the area, at the east, was in Overton Hundred (Overton, Laverstoke and Ashe).¹⁸³ Its church may have been a minster; a ninth-century sculptural fragment points to its early significance.¹⁸⁴ The name Whitchurch is first recorded in 909.¹⁸⁵ Finberg considered the charter to be a composite text, which claims, in his view possibly correctly, reference back to an original, lost, grant of ?760 x 793 to the Old Minster, Winchester, by ealdorman Hemele.¹⁸⁶ It appears as both '*albo monasterio*' and '*Witchirch*' in 1158.¹⁸⁷ Blair notes that such churches as that at Whitchurch, 'while not necessarily ancient minsters, had a degree of special local status'. Little, however, is known about Anglo-Saxon minsters in this area, as early

arrangements appear to have been greatly disrupted by the acquisitions of the Old Minster and the very fragmentary evidence does not allow us to differentiate between a number of candidates for minster status.¹⁸⁸

The extent of 'small shires' and *regiones* in Hampshire

It has been argued above that the whole of the central and the north-western parts of Hampshire, together with much of the north-east, were in the Anglo-Saxon period divided between seven similarly sized territories: the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas/Hamtunscīr*, 46,848 acres (18,959 ha);¹⁸⁹ the *regio* of Chilcomb, 71,236 acres (28,829 ha); Micheldever, 53,436 acres (21,625 ha) (but this figure excludes Hunton, for which the *VCH* gives no figure); the 'small shire' of the *Basingas* 68,690 acres (27,799 ha); 'the Andovers', 53,869 acres (21,801 ha); the valleys of the Bourne and the Upper Test, 51,546 acres (20,861 ha); and 'the Cleres', 36,187 acres (14,645 ha). In respect of Micheldever, Brooks, as already noticed, noted that the Domesday hidage (289) is not far short of the 300 hide units recorded in the Tribal Hidage.

There may have been other 'small shires' or *regiones* elsewhere in the county. A possible candidate is the chalkland to the west of the *regio* of Chilcomb and Micheldever and to the south of 'the Andovers'. In Domesday Book the area was divided between the hundreds of Kings Somborne and Thorngate (the latter also known as Broughton). Any earlier arrangement may have included lands to the west, in Wiltshire, as far as the watershed of the Bourne and the Avon, southwards from Cholderton – the latter, it was suggested above, may have been a part of 'the Andovers'. The county bounds themselves here are late (see further below).¹⁹⁰ The name Sherfield English perhaps relates to the *feld* at the southern limit of such a *scīr*; rather than its location on the Hampshire county boundary, where the use of the term would possibly be of less relevance.¹⁹¹ The recognition of early minsters in this area has proved difficult, with possibilities at Mottisfont and Kings Somborne.¹⁹²

In the north-east corner of Hampshire, to the east of South Warnborough, Long Sutton was in the Domesday hundred of Crondall, which also included Farnborough. Crondall and Farnborough, together with Yateley – much of which lay within Crondall at that time¹⁹³ – and Aldershot¹⁹⁴ appear, from the pattern of their parish boundaries, to be subdivisions of a single land unit. The men of Crondall had the option of using the court at Farnham Blackheath, on their boundary with Farnham.¹⁹⁵ It is also the case that Bentley, immediately to the south of Crondall, and a small part of Headley were within the great episcopal manor of Farnham.¹⁹⁶ These considerations perhaps suggest that at one time Crondall and Farnham were parts of the same *regio*. Cædwalla founded a minster at Farnham in 685 x 687.¹⁹⁷ His grant included ten hides in Binton in the parish of Seale and

it may be noted that the western boundary of Seale, together with that of its neighbour to the south, Elstead, continue the line of the Surrey county boundary from the north as far as the bounds of Sussex in the south, and this also possibly hints that, before the time of Cædwalla, Farnham was a part of a land-unit to the west of this demarcation. Crondall is also a candidate as an early minster, for the churches of Farnborough and Yateley, together with the chapels at Long Sutton and Aldershot, were dependent upon it.¹⁹⁸

There is another possible *regio* in the chalklands of central, eastern Hampshire, to the south of the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*, east of Micheldever and the *regio* of Chilcomb, and to the north of the territory of the *Meonwara*. At their eastern flank lies the western Weald. This area is defined by the River Wey and its numerous tributaries, the direction of whose watercourses again dictates the territories to which their related settlements naturally belong. A *regio* here may have been centred upon Alton, whose church had dependencies at Holybourne, Chawton, Colemore and, within the Weald, at Binstead and Kingsley.¹⁹⁹ Almost all of these places were contained within the very large Domesday hundred of Neatham (probably 'cattle estate' rather than 'estate of the royal companions'²⁰⁰), itself a night's farm estate; the original centre of the hundred appears to have been at Neatham Bridge in Holybourne, adjacent to Alton.²⁰¹ It may also be noted that Neatham was a significant small Roman town on the road between Chichester and Silchester.²⁰²

The name Shirley (SZ 177989) also occurs in Sopley parish in the south-west of the county. It was the name of a Domesday hundred, which otherwise comprised Avon and Ripley in that parish, together with Winkton, just beyond its border, in the parish of the mother church of Christchurch. The significance of the place-name Shirley here is uncertain. No signs of a *scīr* or *regio* have yet been detected in the territory of the *Meonwara*, which itself is referred to by Bede as a *provincia*.²⁰³

Other 'regiones' and 'small shires' in Wessex and on its borders

Blair has identified two *regiones*, Godalming and Woking, which are adjacent and north-facing, against the north-eastern border of Hampshire, in Surrey. The southerly of the two, that of the *Godhelmingas*, he regards as less certain than the other. Both extended from the Hampshire border eastwards to the *Fullingadic*, the *antiqua fossa* of the Chertsey charter of 672 × 674, whose line he has recognised southwards from the Thames at Weybridge as far as Shere in the Weald.²⁰⁴ It is also suggested (Paper 1) that this dyke marked the Roman *civitas* boundary between the cantons of the Atrebatas and the Cantii, and that both of these *regiones* had been formerly a part of the *civitas Atrebatum*.²⁰⁵ Blair has argued that the *suthre ge*, 'the southern region', in which

Chertsey is placed in the charter, is to be identified with these two *regiones*.²⁰⁶ It was through its spread eastwards from this westerly territory that the county of Surrey ultimately reached its Domesday form. The word *gē* is considered to be no later than c. 550 as a place-name forming element (it does not occur in any other context) in England.²⁰⁷ It also points to ancient links with Kent. Ceawlin thwarted the attempt by Æthelberht of Kent to control the area in 568, but the minster at Chertsey was a Kentish foundation. Following Wulfhere's successes against the *Gewisse* in c. 661 it came under Mercian control, and the Chertsey charter was issued by his sub-king Frithuwold. As seen above, the area then passed into Gewissan hands under the expansionist king Cædwalla. In regard to the foundation grant for Farnham, already discussed, it is possible that Cædwalla deliberately incorporated newly gained 'Surrey' borderlands within its territory. Farnham, as a whole, however, subsequently became a part of Surrey, doubtless at a time when Gewissan power was once again on the wane. Godalming amounted to 248 hides in the Domesday Survey, but on the arguments already presented, the Farnham element of the 60 hides granted in 685 × 687 should be extracted from its original total.²⁰⁸ The *regio* of the *Woccingas* lay to its north. The western boundary of this territory was defined by the River Blackwater, which divided it from the putative *regio* centred upon Crondall, and was of 241 hides. At its north it reached the Berkshire border and the *provincia* of the *Sunningas*. The extent of the latter is reflected in the grouping of The Seven Hundreds of Cookham and Bray; their Domesday equivalent had been the four hundreds of Charlton, Bray, Beynhurst and Ripplesmere.²⁰⁹ On the southern border of the *Sunningas*, at the east, Sandhurst abutted Yateley, which was also a part of Crondall. To the west of Sandhurst, Finchhampstead in the Sonning *regio* bounded Eversley, 'the boar's wood/clearing',²¹⁰ which lay on the border of the *feld* which the 'small shire' of the *Basingas* shared with Sonning and Reading, the *regio* of the *Reādingas* to its west, whose extent is no doubt at least to some degree reflected in the Domesday hundred which carried its name.²¹¹ The *regiones* of Godalming, Woking and the *provincia* of Sonning are, it may be noted, of comparable size to those identified in Hampshire.

In southern Wiltshire, mention has been made of a 'small shire' based upon the River Wylye. The Wylye is a western tributary of the River Avon and estate arrangements along a part of the Avon valley to the north of Old Sarum also point to the subdivision of a formerly much larger land-unit there.²¹² We might hazard a guess that this larger territory had been known as 'Avon', for many of its constituent parishes and estates bear names which derive directly from the river itself: Avon,²¹³ Upavon, Netheravon, Enford, Bulford, Wilsford, Woodford and Durnford. The relationship between these two contiguous valley territories is worth further investigation.

A further *regio*, that of the *Canningas*, has been identified in north Wiltshire, though only a preliminary investigation of this territory has so far appeared in print.²¹⁴ This land-unit is of particular interest. It lies across East Wansdyke (the parishes of Bishops Cannings and All Cannings) and includes Caningborough Hill, in Avebury parish, to their north. This *regio* thus appears to be close to, or even abut, on the east, the suggested north to south boundary between the Britons (marked by Oldbury hill-fort on the Calne/Cherhill boundary), to the west, and the *Gewisse* (Anglo-Saxon burials at Yatesbury) – a limit, it has been argued, which was in place until *c.* 675.²¹⁵

The formation of the present counties of Wessex

Professor Barbara Yorke has drawn attention to the greater long-term stability of some major boundaries in the western counties of Wessex compared to those in the east of the region. This general observation has been augmented by the identification, to the north of Bokerley Dyke, of the continuation there of the likely Roman *civitas* boundary between the Durotriges and the Belgae and its survival into the seventh century (Paper 1).²¹⁶ Bokerley Dyke itself, which follows a line perhaps established, at least in part, in the Middle Bronze Age, however, has a remarkable post-Roman history. For Saxon groups were established in a defined area behind the Dyke, in East Dorset, in the early sixth century, but the function of the Dyke as a significant boundary clearly either continued or was later restored, as it long marked the Dorset county boundary with Wiltshire and, since the late nineteenth century, with Hampshire.²¹⁷

As has already been noticed, Devon, Somerset and Dorset, as territorial entities, reflect their essential geographical inheritance from, respectively, the Roman *civitates* of the Dumnonii and the northern and southern Durotriges. The Cornovii too, though subdivided into six districts, remained a recognisable unit within Dumnonia.²¹⁸ As in eastern Wessex (Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire) and as remarked upon above, ‘primary’ resource territories can be recognised in some parts of Devon, and they were doubtless also widespread elsewhere in the west. In the east, however, the geographical integrity of the Roman *civitates* of the Atrebates and the Belgae demonstrably comes to an end – even though, even there, as suggested above with reference to the *regiones* of Godalming and Woking and as hinted at in regard to East Wansdyke, elements of their boundary structures may have survived until the seventh century.²¹⁹

If the view is taken that *Ham-tunscīr* and similar early usages in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relate only to ‘small shires’, then the question arises as to how the modern counties of eastern Wessex *did* emerge, and when. Barbara Yorke has drawn attention to the complementary assessments

of Wiltshire (4800 hides) and Wallingford (‘Berkshire’) and Winchester (‘Hampshire’), each of 2400 hides (there were some minor exclusions in these totals) in the Burghal Hidage, a document which may date to 914 or later in the reign of Edward the Elder, though a date in the 880s is also arguable.²²⁰ In this connection it may also be relevant to note that the subdivision of the Winchester diocese occurred in *c.* 909, a reorganisation which included the foundation of a new diocese at Ramsbury, apparently for Wiltshire and Berkshire.²²¹ Asser, writing in 893, says that Chippenham is in the northern part of Wiltshire, so the county must have reached its present form by that date. In this passage, however, Asser is describing events of 878, and we cannot be sure whether this indicates that Wiltshire had indeed come into existence by that year or whether Asser’s usage here is anachronistic. Certainly, Alfred had unassailable authority within his kingdom after his decisive victory over the Danish army at Edington in 878 and was henceforward in a position to bring about major changes in his realm.²²² The northern part of the county was, we may assume, fully and permanently under the West Saxons’ control from 825, following their victory over the Mercians at the battle of *Ellandun*. In western Wessex, as already noted, the counties were assessed differently; their boundaries were ancient or had been redefined and established in the seventh century. A late ninth-century date for the origin of its eastern shires still allows the counties of Wessex to have been the earliest in England.²²³

In considering the date of the formation of the eastern counties of Wessex it is worth taking a close look at the boundaries which separate Wiltshire from Berkshire and Hampshire, and the limit which divides Berkshire and Hampshire one from another. Although at the west the latter generally follows the River Enborne, which has been argued above to have formed the northern edge of the *regio* of the Cleres, even there it is in places clearly artificial for, as already noticed, East Woodhay is in Hampshire but West Woodhay in Berkshire. Similarly, close to and to the east of Silchester,²²⁴ Stratfield (Mortimer) was largely in Berkshire in 1086, but Mortimer West End was in Hampshire as a uniquely outlying part of Bountisborough Hundred. Stratfield (Saye) and Stratfield (Turgis) were, and are, in Hampshire. The considerable extents of open terrain (*feld*) – which, as already mentioned, was arguably originally held in common by a number of communities – on, in particular, the London Clay in that area (as indicated by the name ‘(Strat) field’) may also have been a significant factor in enabling a new boundary to be defined across it. Another point which has been made is that this boundary appears to continue the alignment of East Wansdyke eastwards, the two being separated by Savernake Forest. Indeed, Professor Andrew Reynolds (he was not the first) has suggested that there was a continuous West Saxon frontier with the Mercians from the Bristol Channel to eastern Hampshire, marked by West

and East Wansdyke (*q.v.* see above) and this boundary.²²⁵ If, however, the county boundary was not established until the later ninth century, as suggested above, then clearly its alignment has, at least in that role, nothing to do with the conflicts between Mercia and Wessex.

The western border of Hampshire as far south as the edge of the New Forest also, in places, cuts across earlier land units. Thus North Tidworth is in Wiltshire but South Tidworth/Tedworth in Hampshire. Similarly, West Dean lies in Wiltshire but East Dean in Hampshire; indeed, there the boundary passed through the middle of a public house (now a private house) and when closing time was called in one bar drinkers promptly moved to the other, where licensing hours were different! Wellow, on the New Forest edge, was until recently also split between the two counties.²²⁶ This part of the western boundary of the shire passed through extensive ancient woodlands, notably Chute, north-east of Tidworth and, near the border with the New Forest, Melchet and Penchet, both of which, as also Chute, have Brittonic names.²²⁷ It seems reasonable to argue that this part of the western bounds of Hampshire was created at the same time as the northern boundary of the county, at a late date and as the act of a single authority.

The boundary between Wiltshire and Berkshire across the Berkshire Downs is again clearly late and artificial. The parishes of Shalbourne, Hungerford and Chilton Foliat are recorded as divided between Berkshire and Wiltshire in the Domesday Survey.²²⁸

Conclusion

The 'small shires' and regiones and the county of Hampshire

In this paper an attempt has been made to identify a series of territorial layers, the earliest of which, it is argued, is the *scīr*. These 'small shires' are the 'folk-shires' of Jolliffe, areas of fundamental settlement, based upon the needs of subsistence farmers. Some of them may have their origins in the Roman period, their names associated with British river names. The contiguity of the independently assessed 'small shire' of the *Basingas* and the *regio* of Micheldever, and also the arguable abutment of the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas* and some predecessor of the Chilcomb estate, raises the possibility that the whole of Hampshire had at one time been subdivided into such territorial units. The boundaries of the other 'small shires' discussed in this paper, insofar as they can be reconstructed, at least do not show any overlap with their neighbours, and where there is a lack of demonstrable contiguity this may be due only either to our inability to determine their former full extents, or to recognise some of them at all (Figs 28 and 29).

It has been suggested here that royal involvement in these territories was a secondary development, representing an

extension of a king's power. This is indicated by a change in the name of a *scīr* when a royal centre was established in its midst. Examples are the lands of the *Wilsæte* which became *Wiltunscīr* when a royal *tun* was founded at Wilton, and the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas*, which was re-named *Hamtunscīr*. In the case of the latter we can date this change to *c.* 700. It has been argued that these 'small shires', some of them apparently under direct royal control, continued as basic units of the government of Wessex until the later ninth century. It appears that it was only at that time, at a date much later than that generally argued, that we see the origin of the shires or counties of Wessex with which we are familiar today.

Two themes which have recurred in considering the extent of individual 'small shires' have been their relationship to the minsters and to the hundreds. Kings were closely associated with the foundation of minsters and in one of the Hampshire 'small shires', that of the *Hyltingas*, it is possible to show a subdivision of the *scīr* into the *parochiae* of St Mary's, Southampton, Bishop's Waltham and, possibly, Nursling. The origins of the hundredal system date, 'not improbably', to the late ninth or the tenth century.²²⁹ It is clear that in some places they have a very complex, but in others an apparently more straightforward, relationship with the 'small shires'. Thus the meeting place of Mansbridge Hundred (so named from a bridge over the Itchen), an ash tree at South Stoneham, is central to the 'small shire' of the *Hyltingas*.²³⁰ The location of the *hethenum birigelsum* ('heathen burial places'), marking an execution site, on the east boundary of Droxford indicates a continuity of the *scīr* and later hundredal boundary, where all such sites occur.²³¹ It is in the tenth century that we hear of the break-up of the 'small shires' into private estates. Royal charters for 932 (North Stoneham) and 956 (Millbrook) begin a process in *Hamtunscīr* which continued well into the eleventh century.²³² 'Small shires', some of which are already apparent to us in the seventh century and, as territorial entities, possibly with even earlier origins, survived, in Hallamshire and elsewhere, within the subsequent county framework into modern times, an extraordinary record of their enduring relevance as fundamental resource and community based land-units.

Acknowledgements

The section 'Ealdormen, shires and 'small shires'' was in large part drafted by Rosamond Faith, but her contribution is evident throughout this paper, in particular in regard to the resources available to 'small shires' and the economic aspects of individual examples in Hampshire. I must thank her too for our many discussions from which I have profited greatly; without this input this article would not have reached its present form. The late Professor James Campbell kindly read the paper in draft and has contributed much valuable and helpful comment. Thanks are also due to

Dr Steve Clark and Dr Paula Levick, who provided much appreciated observations on Berkshire. Catherine Petts generously supplied a copy of her unpublished Masters thesis and Dr Alison Deveson allowed access to her paper on the Hurstbourne *ceorls* prior to its publication. Dr Deveson, and also Gill Rushton of the Hampshire Record Office, provided dating for the Whitchurch account rolls, which belong to the Chapter of Winchester Cathedral but are deposited in the Hampshire Record Office. Alan Morton shared his knowledge of ancient boundaries in the area of Southampton. I have also benefited greatly from comment from Professor Richard Coates and discussions with Professors Mark Brisbane, Andrew Reynolds and Barbara Yorke, Dr Steven Bassett, Dr Jonathon Pitt, Dr Richard Massey, Dr Andrew Russel and Dr Nick Stoodley. David Hopkins and Geoffrey Denford kindly supplied information from, respectively, the Hampshire Council and Winchester City Council Historic Environment Records, and Gill Woodrich and Ingrid Peckham from records held by Southampton City Council. The anonymous referee offered a thorough review of the paper, much to its improvement. I am grateful, too, to Ortrun Peyn, formerly on the staff of the Society of Antiquaries of London who so willingly helped with locating books and tracing bibliographical references. It is also a pleasure to thank Harry Manley, my colleague at Bournemouth University, who has produced the maps.

Notes

- 1 Reproduced from Eagles 2015.
- 2 Kemble 1849, vol. 1, chap. II. Brief summaries of his work, its background in German scholarship and its influence in Campbell 2000, xvi–xviii; 2008, 34–5.
- 3 Jolliffe 1934, 4 and 6.
- 4 The extensive power of the early kings of Wessex might be thought to be most clearly seen in their, at least temporary, ability to gain control of other kingdoms. The Laws of Ine (c. 13.1), however, define an army (*here*) as a body of only 35 men (plus dependants?) and Abels 1988 (chap. 1) has pointed out that in seventh-century Wessex royal power often had to be mediated through the support of the nobility, who themselves provided the core of the royal warbands: ‘the claims of lordship outweighed the loyalty owed to a king’ (p. 16).
- 5 Goffart 1989. The date of the beginning of the reign of Cerdic, the supposed founder of the royal house of Wessex, has been calculated as within the years 527 x 540 (Yorke 1989, 86, with reference to Sims-Williams 1983, 31 and Dumville 1985); the nature of governance in Wessex before that time is unknown.
- 6 Bazelmans 1999, 3.
- 7 Featherstone 2001.
- 8 Davies and Vierck 1974.
- 9 Birch 1885–99, vol. 1 (1885), no. 297; photograph in Hodgkin 1952, vol. 2, facing p. 389.
- 10 Birch 1885, nos 297A and B – 297B lacks any heading.
- 11 Maitland 1897, 577, of the paperback edition. I owe this point to Professor Campbell.
- 12 Corbett 1900; Chadwick 1905, 263–8; 266, ‘The choice seems to be between administrative districts and originally independent settlements, and in the majority of cases we can hardly hesitate to decide in favour of the former alternative; for it is not only contrary to tradition but also manifestly improbable in itself that the conquest of Britain was effected by small bodies of colonists acting independently.’ Cf., however, Stenton 1971, 293: ‘Among the various words by which these terms [*regio*, *provincia*, *gē*] were rendered the most significant is *mægth*, a word originally meaning kindred, which had early developed the wider sense of tribe or people. It would be unwise to infer from this translation that the primitive English *regio* had been the territory of a particular group of kinsmen, but it brings out the important fact that these divisions originated in tribal settlements, and not in any deliberate division of the land for administrative purposes.’
- 13 Corbett 1900, 207.
- 14 See below, n. 218.
- 15 Chadwick 1905, 282; Yorke 1995, 84.
- 16 Klingelhöfer 1992, 98–102.
- 17 Paper 1.
- 18 Plummer and Earle 1892; hereafter *ASC*.
- 19 Smith 1956, 109, meaning 1 (county); 110, meanings 2–4 (smaller land-units: the Old English term is used in this paper to distinguish the ‘small shire’): cf. Roberts *et al.* 1995, vol. 2, 1295 (I owe this reference to Andrew Reynolds).
- 20 For *Hamtuncscīr* as a smaller, though undefined, unit, see especially Klingelhöfer 1992, 100–2, and cf. Yorke 1989, 96. Thornton 2013, 93, also equates Ine’s *scīr* with a ‘small shire’. The most authoritative translations of the body of the text of the Chronicle give the ‘men of ‘Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset for the terms *Dornsæte*, *Wilsæte* and *Sumorsæte* (also *Sumersætena*, *Sumorsæte*). This begs the question of whether these modern county names are appropriate either for the episodes in question or for the date of the compilation of the *Chronicle*.
- 21 Stenton 1971, 209, n. 3; cf. Wrenn 1940. Bately (1978) attributes the entry to her ‘first Alfredian annalist’.
- 22 Chadwick 1905, 288.
- 23 Yorke 1995, 85–7; Paper 1.
- 24 Attenborough 1922, c. 36.1; Yorke 1995, 84; Chadwick 1905, 282–90. The Laws of Ine are discussed in Wormald 1999, 103–6, and their treatment by Alfred, *ibid.*, 278–80, and see Brooks (2003, 154) [if these references in the Laws of Ine do not date from his time] ‘we must regard them either as a later updating (perhaps when the code had been appended to Alfred’s lawbook) or as referring not to the shires familiar to us in later times but rather to an older system of smaller units of lordship known under various names in different parts of England (*regiones*, *provinciae* ..., but as ‘shires’ in northern [and southern, see below] England and south-eastern Scotland)’.
- 25 Chadwick 1905, 289.
- 26 Featherstone 2001, 31–4: *contra* Chadwick 1905, 282, who explained this as evidence for their responsibilities over very large areas amounting to our modern counties; and cf. Yorke 1995, 84: ‘The maximum number of ealdormen to appear in any one West Saxon charter of the eighth century is seven, but as some additional areas such as Surrey and part of Cornwall were under West Saxon control for part of the eighth

- century the apparent appearance of an extra ealdorman does not require any particular explanation'. Chadwick suggested that Osric's association with both Dorset (*ASC s.a.* 845) and Hampshire (*ASC s.a.* 860) might be an example of a royal official being transferred from one shire (ie 'county') to another. See also Section 9 below.
- 27 Wormald 2005. In an apparent strong demonstration of royal power, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* claimed that Cynegils granted Cuthred 3000 hides on Ashdown (*q.v.* see further below) for the defence of the *Gewisse* against the Mercians in 648.
- 28 Hase 1994; Smith 1956, 110 *s.v.* *scīr* (2) has an interesting comment re this: 'In most cases it [*scīr*] denotes the district comprised in an honour or liberty, that is, a district or estate which had a separate jurisdiction from the county in which it stood ...'. He gives as examples Howdenshire and Islandshire as Liberties of the Bishop of Durham. Both Islandshire, and the adjacent Northamptonshire, had been granted to Saint Cuthbert and had been acquired by the bishopric after Lindisfarne was sacked (Raine 1852 (map opposite p. 2 for their extent); Barrow 2003, 23, 24 – map). Another example is Ripon, *Ripeshire*, 'probably going back to OE as the tribal name is here in the genitive plural, *v.* "Hrype", "an Anglian tribe"'.²
- 29 Barrow 2003, 7–56 (quotation from pp. 9–10); Faith 1997, 9–11 (Maitland 1890 and Jolliffe 1926 pioneered study of these practices, though in 1862 E. W. Robertson was already aware of the significance of 'small shires': Campbell 2008). See also O'Brien (2002), who has reconstructed the 'small shires' of Yeavinger, Breamish and Bamburgh. For Howdenshire, McDonagh 2007; Hallamshire is delineated in Cary's *English Atlas* (1810 edn.), 'Hallamshire: a note on its meaning and the extent of the territory it represents': Sheffield City Council Library Archives and Information (2007)
- 30 Barrow 2003, map 1, though Mashamshire (so named from at least the twelfth century), also in Yorkshire, comprised only the parish of Masham itself (ecclesiastical parish – less Burton upon Ure – in 1831, approx. 92 km² (22,940 acres): *VCH, County of York, North Riding I* (1914), 323.
- 31 Williamson 2013, 82–3.
- 32 Everitt 1986, 160–1; cf. Barrow 2003, 65.
- 33 Everett 1986, 8; Jolliffe 1933, 46.
- 34 Jolliffe 1934, 4–6; Brookes 2007, 50–4.
- 35 In this paper, *scīr* and *regio* are regarded as synonymous, as Old English and Latin equivalents. Andrew Reynolds (pers. comm.), however, has queried whether *scīr* might have carried its own specific meaning. It is certainly the case that only two of the land-units in Hampshire which are discussed below can be directly associated with the word *scīr*:
- 36 Thus the small territory of the *Sunningas*, *q.v.* see below, is described as a *provincia* in S 1165 (AD 672 x 674); for Bede's usage of these terms, Campbell 1986, 86–7, 89, 113.
- 37 S 89; Whitelock 1955, 453.
- 38 R. Faith unpublished.
- 39 Bassett 2006.
- 40 S 1307; Hooke 1999, 78–83.
- 41 Bassett 1997.
- 42 Faith 2009 sets out this argument more fully.
- 43 Fenton-Thomas 2003, *passim*; for Weald, Brookes 2007, 51.
- 44 Thomas 1964; Padel 2010.
- 45 'The hundreds as they appear in Domesday Book, and in the later administration of the county, might be divisions of larger territories': Thorn 1991, 39. Thorn suggests that in the south-west Roborough, Plympton and Ermington (*Aleriga*) are divisions of one of these super-territories with Plympton as its principal place, but if this had once been the case it seems to have broken into its component parts by the time the minster there was established by the ninth century as its dependent chapelries all lay in Plympton Hundred, except for Sampford Spiney in Roborough: Turner 2006, 112; Higham 2008, 90–2.
- 46 Pearce 2004, 223–5, 253–4, fig. 91; Padel 2010.
- 47 Eg. VI Æthelstan 8: Attenborough 1922, 165; The Hundred Ordinance: Liebermann (ed.), 1903–1916, I (1903), 192–5, translated and discussed Whitelock 1955, 393–4. For the administrative importance of the hundredal system, see eg. Campbell 2000, 1, 2–5, 16, 32; both the ubiquity and antiquity of hundredal units as viable economic territories require further study (cf. Blair 1991, 12–24, with reference to the essential pastoral element in the Surrey hundreds).
- 48 Banham and Faith 2014, 129–31, 144, 154–5, 208.
- 49 A. Albery, pers. comm. to R. Faith: freeholders at Basing, Basingstoke, Bramley, Monk Sherborne and Wootton St Lawrence held freehold land and, with the exception of the latter, also pannage rights there into the 19th century; the Forest lies immediately to the north of the *scīr*; to the west of Bramley and Silchester.
- 50 Hooke 1988, 126, 129, 135, 136–7: to the south 'on the Groveley Ridge, woodland...may have served as summer pasture and an estate ... at Baverstock ... seems to have been a herding establishment annexed to the estate of Wylve by the tenth century'. Note that it has been argued elsewhere (Eagles 2001, 213; 2004; Eagles and Field 2004, 63–6) and see also Paper 1, that the southern bank of the Wylve to the west of the Bapton area was in British hands until the second quarter of the seventh century, so a unified English territory along the Wylve could not have come about until that time.
- 51 Ann Cole, pers. comm. to R. Faith.
- 52 Gelling 1976, 835–6; Petts 1997, 28, 60–6, 80–1.
- 53 For Murray (2002, 59, n. 70) the 'personal/territorial distinction is artificial' in regard to the early state (here with reference to Francia).
- 54 *Wilsætan*, *ASC 'A' s.a.* 800, 878; *Wilsæte*, 'E' 800, *Willsæte* 'E' 878: Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1939), xvi – xvii, 1: '... the *Wilsætan*, or dwellers by the Wylve. In the absence of direct evidence, it is possible that this name was at first restricted to the men who lived in and around the valleys of the Wylve and the other southern [Wiltshire] rivers ...'; Coates and Breeze 2000, 113, and Yorke 2000, 84, however, consider that the *-sæte* names may be a relatively late development, associated with the growth of royal administrative functions. For other doubts as to the territory of the *Wilsæte* as a *regio*, *VCH., Wiltshire*, II (1955), 2.
- 55 Fig. 18, for archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement along the Wylve in the sixth century. By the late ninth century it appears to have been defined by its association with, or dependence on, the royal vill of Wilton, for the phrase – with reference to Chippenham and 878 – *quae est sita in sinistrali parte Wiltunsce* appears in Asser (Stevenson

- 1904, c. 52), who was writing in 893 (c. 91); and *Wiltunscire* in ASC 'E', s.a. 898.
- 56 Eagles 1994, 24; 2001, 213–14; Dark 2000, 146–8; Draper 2006, 59–60; see Paper 5.
- 57 Yorke 1995, 61–4.
- 58 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 23.
- 59 Probably the Somerton in Somerset: Edwards 1988, 42.
- 60 S 1410; F (Finberg 1964a) 384; Edwards 1988, 41–5.
- 61 The charter (S 256) is 'of questionable authenticity' (*VCH*, *Wiltshire*, II (1955), 4, n. 23), is accepted by Finberg (F 188) and 'has at least some basis in an authentic grant of Cuthred' (Edwards 1988, 116); cf. Kelly 2005, 167, 'There are grounds for thinking that a genuine diploma underlines [her] 12, although there is some suspicion that the text has been at least in part reworked'.
- 62 S 1679.
- 63 S 96 (Tockenham), discussed by Edwards 1988, 124–7; Sims-Williams (1990, 225–6), with reference to Stenton 1970, 57–8, notes 'that as Cynewulf ... consents and several of his known *prefecti* attest, *Toccan sceaga* was in West Saxon territory'; Kelly 2005, no. 49. See also S 260, which records Cynewulf's grant of 758 at the confluence of the Rodbourne (Wiltshire, to the north-west of Tockenham and a western tributary of the Avon) and *Mearcdaeno*, 'the boundary valley': Kelly, with reference to Margaret Gelling, suggests that this name appears to refer to the Avon itself – a possible context for its origin might be the late seventh century, when the nearby monastery at Malmesbury, on that river, needed the support of the Pope for its protection from the armies of both Mercia and Wessex (Edwards 1988, 104). No mention of an overlord, but for historical context, *VCH*, *Wiltshire*, II (1955), 5; Edwards 1988, 119–21; Sims-Williams 1990, 227, 'this is a purely West Saxon document'; Kelly 2005, no. 13.
- S 265 (Bath): Edwards 1988, 223–7; Sims-Williams 1990, 160, (Cynewulf's grant) 'doubtless under pressure from his then overlord, Offa'; Kelly 2007, no. 4.
- 64 Whitelock 1955, 23; his other seven charters (S 261, 262 (?fabrication), 1681, 1684, 1685 and 1686; F 390: they date between 760 and 766 (?for 774; S 262) for Somerset – in a few cases the location of the grant is uncertain and some of them are very incomplete – make no reference to an overlord. See also Stenton 1971, 209, 216; Edwards 1988, 206–8 (S 261), 259–61 (S 262); Yorke 1990, 113–14, 141.
- 65 For a recent discussion of the site of the battle of Kempsford, Hare 2012, 176–81 (appendix 2).
- 66 Asser, c.1: 'in illa paga quae nominatur Berrocschire; quae paga taliter vocatur a Berroc silva ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur'; Howlett 2005, 2082, under *pagus*, translates *paga* as ' (rural) district/shire, county'; 1179 and 1199 charters, Stevenson 1904, 155–7; Gelling 1973b, 1–4, where she notes 'Asser's statement about box growing abundantly in *Berroc silva* is perhaps gratuitous; it may possibly allude to a popular etymology which connected *Berroc* with the word *box*'; Barruc is a Brittonic district name, with the meaning 'hilly' (Gelling 1973b, 2; 1976, 840; Coates and Breeze 2000, 7, 270, 277).
- 67 Peake 1937, 177–80.
- 68 The accounts of individual 'small shires' which follow concentrate upon their geographical definition; the character of their landscapes is more briefly discussed. Rosamond Faith has contributed initial comment on the economy of some of them, a topic which needs much further work.
- 69 Coates 1989, 147–8, and see further below; cf. Barker 2010, 33–6 on Sherborne, Dorset, where the bishopric, founded c. 705, lay on or close to the boundary between the southern and northern Durotriges (as apparently defined by the Romans), subsequently the county boundary between Dorset and Somerset (Papworth 2008, 164–88, who notes that the county limit follows the watershed; and that Durotrigan cultural influence is evident to the north only in the years prior to the Roman conquest): Mills 1989, 355–6 and Watts 2004, 543, 'bright stream'.
- 70 Coates 1989, 118, 147.
- 71 For such churches in areas which are not included within the 'small shires' and *regiones* discussed in this paper, Hase 1988, 63, n. 27.
- 72 The difficulties which arise in the reconstruction of these early *parochiae* have been emphasised by Bassett (2006, 122) in his meticulous study of Wootton Wawen: '[it is] no easy matter since it involves assembling scraps of evidence from a wide range of sources – mostly from documents, but some from place-names and a few more from maps drawn in the last 250 years'.
- 73 Hase 1975, 124–80.
- 74 Bishop's Waltham: *VCH*, *Hampshire*, III (1908), 277; Droxford, *ibid.*, 285 (but see below).
- 75 S 1277.
- 76 Coates 1989, 148–9; and cf. the name of the former Sheer Hill (wind) Mill, which was situated on the Heath (SU 570141: OS 1 inch to the mile sheet XI of 1810). If this spelling is a guide to local pronunciation it lends weight to the claim that *scīr* was the original element, but Professor Richard Coates (pers. comm.) notes that 'you would expect a name of the form *scir*, by itself, to be pronounced as modern "shire" not "sheer". That said, the two do get confused: an original "Sheerhampton" (Gloucs) is now Shirehampton.'
- 77 Humphery-Smith 1995, map 14; Shedfield parish was created in 1894.
- 78 S 446/F 57.
- 79 Coates 1989, 29; cf. Bassett 1989, 23 and Gelling 1997, chap. 5.
- 80 Coates 1989, 92–3: *Hiltyngebury* (1233), 'apparently OE **Hyltingaburh*'; Klingelhöfer 1992 also suggested that *Hamtungscīr* was originally an (unnamed) folk-shire.
- 81 Currie 1994, fig. 2.
- 82 S 636 (AD 956); S 1008 (AD 1045); Munby 1982 (hereafter 'DB'), 29.5.
- 83 The Langdon map, 1615, CCC A.O.337.A; Dr A Russel drew it to my attention. Romsey, on the west side of Nursling and North Baddesley, may possibly have been in Kings Somborne Hundred (Thorn 1989, 30, with reference to documents of the 14th century).
- 84 M. Brisbane, pers. comm. – an interpretation rejected by Coates (1989, 97), on the grounds that there is no known boundary there.
- 85 Coates 1989, 115; Hase 1975, 69.
- 86 For mapping of the Domesday hundreds of Hampshire, see Williams and Erskine 1989 and, more schematically, Munby 1982.
- 87 The Meon was a major cultural boundary in the late Pre-Roman Iron Age: Massey 2006, 586; Cunliffe 1973, fig. 1

- 88 Bursledon and Hamble are the only known dependencies of the minster at Bishops Waltham, *q.v.* see further below: Hase 1975, 46; and see also his p. 57.
- 89 Rumble 1980; Brisbane 2001.
- 90 Birbeck *et al.* 2005; Stoodley 2010. Some of the cremation urns may belong to the sixth century.
- 91 Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 136; Scull 2009, 319.
- 92 Bitterne brooch, Cotton and Gathercole 1958, 11, 29, 45 and fig. 12, 5; seventh-century inhumations, Stoodley 2010, 45; Millbrook pot, probably of the seventh century, Southampton City Museums A.3100.79: probable findspot about 15 m north of Tanners Bridge (information from Gill Woolrich and Ingrid Peckham: Southampton City Council Historic Environment Record MSH102); Hound brooch: PAS HAMP-232965.
- 93 Yorke 1995, 59.
- 94 Hase 1988, 47; Blair 2005, 153–60.
- 95 Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii* (Rau 1968), c.2; when Willibald departed for the Continent in 720, he sailed from Hamblemouth (Hygeburg [of Heidenheim], *Vita Willibaldi* (also known as 'The *Hodoeporicon* ['Relation of a Voyage']': Holder-Egger 1887, at p. 91: *Hamel-ea-mutha, iuxta illa mercimonio que dicitur Ham-wih*; Talbot 1954, at p. 157): see also Lapidge 2001. S 1277 for *Nutscelle* as Nursling; Grundy 1927, 166–8 discusses its bounds – Hase (1988, 63, n. 26) notes 'the tenurial and ecclesiastical insignificance of Nursling at all dates after the mid 9th century is so compelling that it is difficult to conceive of a mother church there unless it was very thoroughly destroyed [by the Danes?] at an early date'.
- 96 *VCH, Hampshire*, III (1908), 462; Anderson (1939, 178), notes 'Mans Bridge' in South Stoneham.
- 97 Brisbane 2001.
- 98 Coates 1989, 32: 'swinepasture'; but other animals were pastured there too.
- 99 Currie 1994.
- 100 Banham and Faith 2014, 235–8.
- 101 S 1515/F 75: Harmer 1914, 34–5 (text), 64–5 (translation), 119–23 (comments); Whitelock 1955, no. 107 (pp. 511–12: translation); Miller 2001, no. 17.
- 102 Williamson 1993, 85–8.
- 103 S 505/F 64, Miller 2001, no. 13; S 1418/F 69, Robertson 1956, 54–5 (charter 28: Old English text with translation), Miller 2001, no. 14 (p.72, 'This text seems to be a post-Conquest production'). See also n. 118.
- 104 First record of names (Coates 1989, *passim*): Shear Down Farm, 1334; NGR SU 567531, and thus on the edge of the 'small shire' of the *Basingas*. OS 6 inch to the mile Hampshire sheet XVIII (1872).
Shirlen's Copse, 1365; SU 720548, by the River Whitewater, on boundary of Rotherwick; OS 6 inch to the mile Hampshire sheet XIX (1871).
Sherborne, Domesday Book; Sherfield-on-Loddon, 1167; Sherwood Farm/Sherwoods (SU 746571): OS 6 inch to the mile Hampshire sheet XI (1875).
- 105 Petts 1997, 53–9.
- 106 *Contra* Gelling and Cole 2000, 275: 'Sherfield ('bright')'.
- 107 Gelling 1976, 835–6; Petts 1997, fig. 2. Of these places only Wokefield (*æt Weonfelda*, c. 950: Gelling 1973b, 227–8) is recorded prior to Domesday Book: Gelling 1973b and Coates 1989, *passim*. There is a Saxo-Norman (eleventh-century) inscription from Stratfield Mortimer church (J. Higgitt in Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 335–7).
- 108 Thorn 1989, 30: as may also Greywell; the royal hundred of Odiham (otherwise perhaps known as Edefele: Munby 1982, n. to 1,1) otherwise comprised Odiham itself, Elvetham, Winchfield and Dogmersfield. These parishes form a coherent block of parishes, into which Hartley Wintney intrudes, and have been only tentatively included here at the eastern limit of the 'small shire'; the names Dogmersfield and Winchfield, adjacent to each other, indicate former *feld* on the edge of the *scīr*: Lasham and Shalden, detached parts of Odiham Hundred, may once have been parts of a separate hundred (Mundy 1982, note at 1,1). Odiham, it may be noted, was not dependent upon Basingstoke in 1274 (see below) and, on twelfth-century evidence, had its own mother church (Hase 1988, 63, n. 27).
- 109 Cam 1944, 99: she noted that the inclusion of Overton appears anomalous.
- 110 Cf. Thorn 1989, 36.
- 111 Eagles 2001, 215, 225–6; Bourne (2012) emphasises, through the distribution of places called Kingston, the importance of the Roman road network to early Anglo-Saxon kings.
- 112 Coates 1989, 29; Millett with James 1983 (Cowdery's Down); Bruce-Mitford 2005, 127–30 (West Ham). A further settlement, probably of the seventh or eighth century, has been excavated at Riverdene, Basingstoke (Hall-Torrance and Weaver 2003).
- 113 Marzinzik 2005.
- 114 S 235; the geography of the charter is discussed further below: Whitelock 1955, no. 58 (p. 445) says *Besingahearth* – where this charter was drawn up – is unidentified; Ekwall 1962, 44; Gelling (1997, 161) considers that the place may well have been near Farnham, Surrey, where the granted estates lay. See also Edwards 1988, 132–7.
- 115 Stenton 1971, 73; Brooke and Keir 1975, 154.
- 116 Hughes 1984, 76; Hinton 1986.
- 117 Hase 1975, 314–18; 1994, fig. 3.6.
- 118 S 505: Robertson (1956, 310) sorts out the topography as far as she was able; see now A. R. Rumble, in Millett with James 1983, who, at 266, notes that the name Kings Horse Croft could be an antiquarian invention, as it does not appear in either the 1800 Enclosure Award or the 1841 Tithe Award.
- 119 Blair 2005, 302; see also Hase 1988, 63, n. 27.
- 120 Hase 1975, 318.
- 121 Hase 1994, 54, 58, 63–5, figs 3.3 ('certain, likely, mother church'), 3.8; DB, 28,3; Lavelle 2005, 159; Spaul (2010) suggests Weyhill.
- 122 *VCH, Wiltshire*, XV (1995), 70; the Wiltshire hundred of Amesbury incorporated an anomalous eastward extension in order to take in North Tidworth – and also Ludgershall: map of 'Wiltshire hundreds and parishes' in the pocket of Gover *et al.* 1939.
- 123 Lavelle 2005, Fig. 3; DB, 16,4 (Little Ann); 16,3 (Goodworth Clatford): cf. Thorn 1989, 36.
- 124 S 904/F 149; *VCH, Hampshire*, IV (1911), 400–14; for the abbey as the mother church, Hase 1988, 62, n. 23.
- 125 Clutterbuck 1898, 123–4.
- 126 Coates 1989, 174; Gelling 1997, 259: 'The site of most names containing *wēoh* ... are more consistent with small wayside shrines, sometimes in personal ownership'.

- 127 Cam 1944, 100; Hase 1975, 231, 'third penny of the six hundreds' belonged to the manor of Wallop, suggesting an ancient arrangement; cf. above for the six hundreds of Basingstoke.
- 128 Lavelle 2003; Thorn 1989, 32, 36.
- 129 Hase 1994, 65, 68.
- 130 Highclere, S 258/F 5 – the place was also known as West Clere: Crawford 1922, 75–6 and map facing p. 81; Dunlop 1940, 7–15 (which includes a reproduction of the manuscript and a translation); but Edwards 1988 (following Hart 1970, 13), 140–3, spurious, copied from charters of Cuthred, of 749, granting lands in the New Forest (S 259), and Eadred, of 955, which provided the boundary clauses (S 565): Burghclere, S 487/F 62 and S 1491/F 85/Whitelock 1930, no. iv.
- 131 S 1507.
- 132 S 412/F 48.
- 133 S 1515.
- 134 DB, 1,43; 6,9: *firma unius diei*, used of estates in Hampshire, is the equivalent of *firma unius noctis* the term applied elsewhere (Lavelle 2003, n. 3).
- 135 S 960/F 154.
- 136 DB, 64,1; 23,1; 23,68.
- 137 DB, 50,1.
- 138 S 412/F 48; Coates 1989, 160; Hase 1975, 320
- 139 Anderson 1939, 194: '[Nothing Hill: SU 508588] is said to be a corruption of 'Mote-thing Hill' (*VCH, Hampshire*, IV (1911), 246); at any rate the second component is probably Old English *þing* 'a meeting'.
- 140 Coates 1989, 55–7 for possible British origin of name; Briggs (2009, 15) raises the possibility of a borrowing of Clere by Germanic immigrants from Latin; *ibid.*, 17 opts for the south to north tributary of the Enborne, which rises at Kingsclere, as the Cleare.
- 141 A charter of 909 (S 378) appears to indicate that East Woodhay, in Hampshire, had already been separated from West Woodhay, for it shows the former to be a part of Ashmansworth: Crawford 1922, 74–5 and map facing p. 81.
- 142 S 412/F 48 (AD 931): Crawford 1922, 78–9 and map facing p. 81.
- 143 S 258/F 5; also in two others, S 565/F 77 (AD 955) and S 680/F 89 (AD 959): Crawford 1922, 75–6.
- 144 See above, n. 141.
- 145 The Sydmonton section is that shared with Whitchurch: S 378; Grundy 1927, 297. For Ecchinswell, S 412 and Grundy 1924, 97.
- 146 Coates 1989, 116.
- 147 Brooks 2003.
- 148 Klingelhöfer 1991, fig. 2.2.
- 149 Featherstone 2001, 31.
- 150 S 335 (*villa regalis*), but date may be wrong; Hase 1975, 298 (mother church); Hooke (1994, fig. 4.4), after Klingelhöfer (1991), gives Wonston as a second one.
- 151 Rumble 2002 (hereafter *WS*), document XXX/S 946/F 141: *WS*, 223 notes that its inclusion of the phrase *on angunne Cristendomes* ('at the beginning of Christianity') suggests a tradition of a very early grant; Harmer (1989, 380) thought that 'there is at least a chance that we have in this text a copy of an authentic writ of King Æthelred II'.
- 152 *WS*, 224: a cautious view is taken by Whitelock 1966, 103.
- 153 *WS*, documents grouped under V.
- 154 Thus he argues that *WS* documents V, ii (S 817, 1–3) and V, iii (S 817, 4, an Old English version of the Latin of 1–3), supposedly an earlier confirmation by Edgar, in fact post-date document XXX.
- 155 *WS*, document V, i.
- 156 S 817, 4.
- 157 DB, 3,1: see further below.
- 158 Biddle and Keene 1976, 256–8.
- 159 Information to be gained from the Antonine Itinerary and Roman milestones seems to be restricted to urban 'town-zones', which appear to have incorporated any extra-mural settlement/urban cemeteries and the like; thus *Iter VII* of the Itinerary gives 22 Roman miles between Silchester and Winchester, the actual distance being 25 miles (Rodwell 1975, 78, table II). Different systems of measurement were in use in different provinces (*ibid.*, 100).
- 160 S 695/F 95/*WS*, document XXII.
- 161 *WS*, fig. 10, p. 194; Grundy 1924, 88, had noted that the low assessment of seven and a half hides for this large area may have been a reduction agreed for fiscal purposes.
- 162 S 1275/F 22/Robertson 1956, no. 14.
- 163 Grundy 1924, 88. Note that Hampage Wood belonged to the Priory of St Swithun in 1306 and the Bishop of Winchester had reputedly asked William I for permission to take wood from it for the construction of the Cathedral: *VCH, Hampshire*, III (1908), 306–8.
- 164 DB 2,5, 'it was always in the bishopric'. *T.R.E., tempore regis Edwardi* (in the time of King Edward); *T.R.W., tempore regis Willelmi* (in the time of King William).
- 165 DB 2,3–4: *VCH, Hampshire*, III (1908), 333; the places are listed separately in S 827/F 118, of 963 x 975.
- 166 Goodman 1927, 7.
- 167 S 1821/F 179: see also *WS*, 226.
- 168 S 1820/F 178/*WS*, document XXXI, 226, 'before 1086'.
- 169 Anderson 1939, 186.
- 170 Cf. Hase 1975, 248: Chilbolton 'looks more to north and Whitchurch', and for Nursling see below
- 171 Cartographically, Tichborne and Cheriton appear to be subdivisions of a single land-unit. Twenty hides at 'Tichborne', granted by Edward in c. 909 (S 385/F 37/Robertson 1956, no. 20), relate only to lands at Beauworth (a part of Cheriton until 1879) and Cheriton (Grundy 1921, 150–6). Five of the 25 hides of Tichborne, granted by Athelstan to the Old Minster in 938 (S 444/F 55) were at Beauworth, the location of the rest less certain (Grundy 1921, 156–9). The south-eastern part of Beauworth was also once a detached part of Kilmeston: *ibid.*, 149.
- 172 There is 'a late tradition' (Finberg 1964a, 215, with reference to the *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, Episcopi Wyntoniensis A.D. MCCLXXXII–MCCCIV* (The Canterbury and York Society, XXX), II (1924), 609) that Cenwalh gave Worthy and a charter that claims Egbert (802–839) gave Martyr Worthy to the Old Minster (S 273), but Finberg (1964a, 219) notes that the original grant may well have been to a layman; the Worthys lie to the north of the Itchen, an area that has been considered to have been part of the *regio* of Micheldever.
- 173 40 hides there, which included Medstead and part of Wield (Grundy 1921, 69–77), were in the hands of Bishop Tunbeorht

- by 879 x 909: S 1287/F 29/Robertson 1956, no. 15; Wield was in the *regio* of Micheldever and the Domesday hundred of Bountisborough; DB, 2,21.
- 174 Coates 1989, 38–9; it was a part of Michelmersh until 1855 (for this and subsequent references to modern parochial changes, see Youngs 1979, *passim*).
- 175 Coates 1989, 23; it was a chapelry of Hursley until 1841.
- 176 DB, 6,6; 23,18.
- 177 Reynolds 2009: Ashley, *cwealmstow* ('killing place'), 222 and Appendix 4, no.1; S 376/F 40, 'AD 909', in which 'the whole passage relating to the hundred of Chilcomb is a later interpolation' (Finberg 1964a, 37): Crawley, 'heathen burial', 219–23 and appendix 4, no. 34; S 381/F 47, 'spurious': Old Dairy Cottage (execution site demonstrated by archaeology at Littleton), *heafod stocce* ('head-stake'), 223–4 and appendix 4, nos 10 (Headbourne Worthy/S 309, 'spurious'), 11 (S 376) and 19 (Easton/S 695), all three representing a single site: Avington, 'heathen burials', appendix 4, nos 62 (S 695) and 63 (S 699), both relating to one site.
- 178 Deveson 2009.
- 179 Hase 1975, 337.
- 180 Reynolds 2009, 274 and appendix 4, no. 33 ('heathen burial'): S 377/F 43, 44, 'spurious'.
- 181 Deveson, pers. comm.: eg. in composite compotus rolls HRO DC/J2/36/1 (1260–1), DC/J1/3 (1279–80) and DC/J1/4 (1281–2). The latest reference is in HRO 95M94/209 (deed of sale, 1665) but this field name was subsequently lost.
- 182 For Stoke, Deveson 2009, 109, where it is argued that a heading for 'Evingar' has been omitted before the entry for 'Stoches' in DB 2,14.
- 183 The hundred probably included North Waltham, unnamed in Domesday Book: Thorn 1989, 32 (though Steventon to its west was in Basingstoke Hundred). Overton also included the detached parish of Bradley, in the *regio* of Micheldever.
- 184 Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 271–3.
- 185 *hwitan cyrice*: a stone or perhaps plastered church, Blair 2005, 372; S 378; Finberg 1964a, no. 42; the grant included lands in Ashmansworth, within the possible *scīr* under consideration here, and East Woodhay, within 'the Cleres': Grundy (1921), 90–4 (Ashmansworth and East Woodhay) and (1927), 295–9 (Whitchurch).
- 186 Finberg 1964a, 225, n. 2 – the lost, original, grant is his no. 7.
- 187 Franklin 1993, nos 127, 133; the name is discussed further in Pitt 1999, 32–5.
- 188 Blair 2005, 372; Hase 1975, 322, 334–41; Hase 1994, fig. 3.3 shows Whitchurch as a 'certain/likely mother church' and Overton was probably originally within its *parochia* (Hase 1988, 64, n. 33).
- 189 Acreages are taken from *VCH, Hampshire*.
- 190 Paper 6.
- 191 The name is first recorded in the eleventh century: Coates 1989, 147.
- 192 Hase 1975, 224–34 and 235–49; across the border in Wiltshire, there is a possible lesser minster at Idmiston, in the Bourne valley to the south of Cholderton, and a probable one at Whiteparish; others relate to the Avon valley (Pitt 1999, 29, 76 (Idmiston), 32–5 (Whiteparish) and fig. 5).
- 193 *VCH, Hampshire*, IV (1911), 20.
- 194 First recorded in 1171: Coates 1989, 20.
- 195 *VCH, Hampshire*, IV (1911), 2; Heath House, Crondall (SU 819494), and Heathy Park, Farnham (SU 827490), but not Blackheathfield, appear on the OS 6 inch to the mile Hampshire sheets XX (1871) and XXVIII (1870–71).
- 196 Hase 1975, 266, 288; but see also Golding 1989, 35 and Thorn 1989, 31.
- 197 S 235; Blair 1991, *passim*. See also n. 114.
- 198 Hase 1975, 296.
- 199 Hase 1975, 271, 274–5: records of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Prior's Dean may have been another dependant (pp. 276–8).
- 200 Coates 1989, 121.
- 201 Anderson 1939, 183–4; *VCH, Hampshire*, II (1903), 471; Hase 1975, 289: by the thirteenth century Neatham Hundred had been renamed Alton Hundred, which held court both at Alton and at Holybourne.
- 202 Ordnance Survey, *Map of Roman Britain*, 5th edn., no date.
- 203 Shirley, Coates 1989, 148, and Hase 1988, 54 and fig. 11 for parochial arrangements; *Meonwara*, Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 13.
- 204 S 1165; Blair 1991, 14.
- 205 Paper 1.
- 206 Blair 1991, 8; formerly, the name had been considered to have originated at a time when Saxons north and south of the Thames were regarded as a single group (Stenton 1971, 54–5).
- 207 Bailey 1998–9, 69.
- 208 S 235.
- 209 Stenton 1971, 294, 301; Cam 1944, 98.
- 210 Coates 1989, 73.
- 211 Morgan 1979, map of Berkshire Domesday hundreds
- 212 Hooke 1988, 139, fig. 6.8.
- 213 Bonney 1969.
- 214 Reynolds 2005.
- 215 Eagles 2001, 221; 2003. Note that in 1086, and probably much earlier, the great estate of Calne included Yatesbury, and also Berwick Bassett to its north-east (Draper 2006, 64–6).
- 216 Yorke 1995, 85; Eagles 2001, 213; 2004; Eagles and Field 2004.
- 217 Bowen 1990; Paper 1.
- 218 Ekwall 1960, *passim*: Devon descends from *Dumnonii*; Dorset from *Dornsæte* (ASC 'A' 837, 'dwellers dependent on Dorchester': Watts 2004, 192; and Somerset from *Sumursæte* (ASC 'A' 845), elliptical for **Sumortūn-sæte* (cf. *Summurtunensis paga*, Asser, cc.12, 53, 55) 'the people who live at or who are dependent upon Somerton': Watts 2004, 559. Somerton may have been a direct successor to Ilchester (*Lindinis*), the probable Roman *civitas* capital of the northern Durotriges, not least because the Roman town is located within the limits of the large Somerton estate (Yorke 1995, 86). Stenton (1971, 294): 'The names Dorset and Somerset originally denoted, not the districts which were governed from Dorchester and Somerton, but the people who looked to these places for government'; cf. Campbell (1986, 113, n. 18): 'The early forms of Dorset and Somerset ... are 'people' names derived from administrative centres, and when they first appear denote not tribes, but shires'. Either way, it is possible that these Anglo-Saxon peoples occupied areas co-extensive with those of the former *civitates*. For the Cornovii, Padel 2010, 213.

- 219 Massey (2006), through careful analysis of a range of coarse pottery wares, has identified late pre-Roman conquest/pre-Flavian socially bounded areas of production and distribution centred upon the Andover area, the Basingstoke area and, thirdly, the Winchester region. It is noticeable that his distribution maps of these three groupings show that they divide fairly closely along the lines of the *regiones* identified in this paper (his fig. 3.3.1: 'composite distribution ranges for early sand-tempered fabric types').
- 220 Yorke 1995, 89–90; Keynes 2001; Haslam (2009) would date the Burghal Hidage to 878–879, but see now Baker and Brookes (2011): 'It is clear that the Burghal Hidage does not record a complete and enduring working system, but only the key strategic points at a particular moment in time' (p. 110). Brooks (2003, 159) makes the interesting point that, curiously, the Burghal Hidage makes no reference to the shires.
- 221 *VCH, Wiltshire*, II (1955), 27; a twelfth-century Canterbury addition to the *ASC* 'F', *s.a.* 870, however, says that Archbishop Æthelred had been Bishop of Wiltshire: Haddan and Stubbs 1871, III, 596, 'we must ... suppose that occasional shire-bishops [had previously been] appointed'.
- 222 Stenton 1971, 255.
- 223 Klingelhöfer 1992 too takes the view that Hampshire acquired its present form in this period; and see also Yorke 1989, 96. The late Professor James Campbell (pers. comm.) noted, however, that 'the argument that ealdormen and big shires belong to the later ninth century and not to an earlier period is very disputable. It is hard to reconcile this argument with the *Chronicle* annals for 851 (853) and 860. It *could* be argued that these shire armies led by ealdormen were a new introduction to cope with the crisis of invasion, but this does not seem very convincing and in any case is not easy to square with the annal for 757 (755)'. Dr George Molyneaux (pers. comm.) points out that all the 'small shires' named in the *Chronicle* are also found in Domesday Book, suggesting that they were the same units, though, as he also observes, that would still be true if they had only come about around 870.
- 224 For Stratfield Mortimer and Mortimer West End, Golding (1989, 4): 'the arrangement long pre-dated Ralph's acquisition of the manor' (cf. Thorn 1989, 35 and n. 11; *contra* Gelling 1976, 809, who argued from the 1st edition of the OS map (sheet 12, of 1817) that the county boundary here was straight and followed the Roman road; the OS here, however, most exceptionally, is in error). Petts (1997, 71–2), however, has pointed out that the parish boundary between Silchester and Mortimer West End is more or less straight, hugging the north wall of the Roman town and continuing the general west–east alignment of the county limit, suggesting that this northern salient of Hampshire may be a secondary, though pre-Domesday, development (Cypping held both places in 1066), which had to be fitted into the already established hundredal system: see also Biddle 1976, 334–5. See n. 140 above for East and West Woodhay
- 225 Reynolds and Langlands 2007.
- 226 In 1086, 'Waleran [the huntsman] took away one and a half virgates of this manor [East Wellow] and put them outside the county, in Wiltshire' (West Wellow; DB, 69,22).
- 227 Gover *et. al.* 1939, 12–13, 14.
- 228 Gelling 1976, 845.
- 229 Campbell 2000, 16, with reference to Loyn 1992, 111–34.
- 230 Anderson 1939, 178.
- 231 S 446 (AD 939): Reynolds 2009, 220, appendix 4, 30, 40.
- 232 S 418/F 50 (AD 932, N Stoneham); S 636 (AD 956), S 1008, S 1009/F 164 (both AD 1045), all Millbrook.

Conclusion

This book is concerned primarily with the identification of ancient land units and territories throughout Wessex, from western Surrey in the east to the rivers Parrett and Brit in the west, and from the Thames in the north to the Isle of Wight, and their development and influence upon its history. The papers also offer a survey and evaluation of the evidence for the Anglo-Saxon settlement of this large part of southern England between the fifth and seventh centuries AD. This settlement, it is argued, should be set within the framework of the preceding *civitates* of Roman Britain, which are considered to have been relevant territorially to the nature and progress of that settlement. These Studies also include a definition of the geographical extent of the kingdom of the Jutes in southern Hampshire and its relationship to the Jutes' possession of the Isle of Wight, together with an examination of 'Jutish' identity. The date of the origin of the shires of eastern Wessex – Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire – is also investigated; all three are argued to be creations of the Viking period. In Hampshire it has been possible to identify and map a series of earlier, interlocking, 'small shires', one of which, *Hamtunscīr*; in being no later than the seventh century, subsequently gave its name to the county as a whole.

A particular theme which has received emphasis here is the marked archaeological contrast between eastern and western Wessex, the latter defined as the Roman cantons of the southern and northern Durotriges, subsequently the shires of Dorset and Somerset. The *civitates* and shires there show a remarkable continuity of their core areas, whereas to the east extensive Saxon intrusion from the fifth century onwards ensured that only fragments of the Roman boundaries finally survived there, though it is possible to show that these changes were gradual and piecemeal. The earliest Saxon settlement in Dorset, in the first half of the sixth century, on the other hand, did not result in amendments to the adjacent eastern boundary of the southern Durotriges, where Bokerley Dyke still serves as the county limit. There were modifications, however, to the eastern side of the canton further to the north and to its northern boundary.

There the direction of its bounds can be recovered through a combination of place-names – in particular, that of Teffont, the '(Roman) spring on the boundary' – and the contrast in date between the Anglo-Saxon burials to the east, of the sixth century, and those to the west, of the seventh, and the significance of the location of the Roman temple site on Cold Kitchen Hill on the River Wylfe. In this area the Roman boundary has been replaced by a subsequent county limit well to the south. This change, to the gain of Wiltshire but the diminution of Dorset, is matched by the loss of both the northern and the eastern boundary of the *civitas Belgarum*, Wiltshire stretching northwards as far as the Thames and eastwards to the Marlborough Downs and beyond, areas that had formerly been a part of the *civitas Dobunnorum*.

Due regard, from both the historical and archaeological viewpoints, has been given to the issue of ancient ethnicities, which have loomed especially large in archaeological discussion. This theme, of particular relevance in the late Roman and post-Roman periods, when there was wide-scale social disruption and realignment, concerns both the ancient written texts, in which it is often far from clear to us today exactly what the writer may have understood when he wrote of, say, a 'Frank', a 'Goth' or a 'Briton', and the archaeological material, where the ethnic significance – if indeed there were any ethnic significance – of, for example, particular items of dress and objects selected for inclusion in the grave requires our thoughtful evaluation. The role of language and language change is equally crucial to an understanding of a person's identity. Here again, some of the key issues in terms of the situation in Britain in regard to Saxons and Britons remain controversial. An important element in the ongoing discussions is the role of Latin in the disappearance of the native Brittonic. Schrijver has recently argued that its importance in southern Britain in the late Roman period has been greatly underplayed. He considers that immigrant Saxons met large numbers of Latin speakers and borrowed a significant number of Latin words into their vocabulary after their arrival here. Brittonic, however, was, he would argue, by this time a dying language

in the Lowland Zone. It had also been of low status in the Roman period and the immigrants found its use socially unacceptable. This scenario seems preferable to the long-held view that the virtual absence of Brittonic words in the Old English lexicon is due to long term social apartheid between the two groups. Arguments are put forward in these studies which point to the gradual incorporation of the native population, both on the Continent and in Britain, into the 'body politic' of the successor kingdoms. An important means by which the Britons might be assimilated with the English was through service in their armies. Anglo-Saxon warriors formed a personal bond with their lord, a relationship which entailed mutual obligations. Bede (*HE* iii. 14) records that young nobles from many different places attached themselves to the successful king Oswine of Deira. In the same way, it is possible that some Saxon warriors owed allegiance to some British leaders and thereby served them in some purely native struggles.

In the Roman Empire, most of the population earned their living, often a subsistence living, in the countryside. This was even more the case in the Frankish and other successor kingdoms. In this book emphasis has been laid upon the increasing significance of pastoral farming in the post-Roman West, its role arguably considerably underestimated in the past. In Britain, the importance of grazing in the economy is particularly evident in the large extents of '*feld*' (woodland/open pasture) associated with the 'small shires'. International trade only began to flourish again from the seventh century, in England with the development of coastal emporia, such as that at *Hamwic* in southern Wessex. Prior to this, international contacts, which should not be underestimated, took the form of gift exchange, often over considerable distances, between the elite, to whom such links were important to the maintenance of the status of their families.

Particular emphasis has been placed here upon developments in the fifth century. This was a period of fundamental change in Wessex, as in south-eastern and much of eastern England. Attention is given to the many problems of both the historical and archaeological chronologies at this time, which still face considerable difficulties in their interpretation and remain, very often, the subject of vital, stimulating and ongoing analysis. It is the case, however, that only they can provide the essential glue by which all else may be held in place. It is argued that in southern and south-eastern Britain a recognisable Roman society and way of life continued until the Saxon revolt of c. 441, a period which included the visits of Germanus in 429 and in c. 440. Roman coinage continued to circulate widely until c. 430. The Roman pottery industries faded out, but the chronology of their demise remains a matter of considerable debate. New building was in wood.

It has been shown that the evidence for the first presence of Saxons in Wessex, in the first half of the fifth century,

is not to be found in just one locality. It appears that particular, if ill-understood, significance should be attached to the concentration of metal-detected supporting-arm and cruciform brooches from sites beside the roads leading in and out of Winchester. Surely a Germanic presence is implied here, and this may well have come about at a time when the Britons were still in control. Elsewhere in eastern Wessex finds of this date quite frequently occur in association with a range of types of Roman sites. It has been suggested that such dispersed local groups may have played a significant role in the apparently rapid success of the Saxon revolt. Winchester lies at a nodal point in the Roman road network and is a former *civitas* capital. Old Sarum served as a similar focus for Anglo-Saxon settlement later in the century. It is pertinent to note that the Roman name for Winchester, *Venta (Belgarum)*, passed directly into Old English as *Wintan(ceaster)* and that the British name for the hill-fort at Old Sarum clearly appears to be the ultimate source of that, *Searobyrg*, given to the place by the Anglo-Saxons (Gelling 1997, 56–7; Coates 2000a).

A further clue to British involvement in the English settlement is provided by some names in the genealogies of the West Saxon kings. The names Cerdic (538–554), Ceawlin (571 to 588 or 581 to 588), Cædwalla and Cenwalh, appear to be of British origin. Presumably, unless they represent English name borrowing from the Britons, a matter of interest in its own right, they reflect intermarriage with the Britons at the highest social level. British names also occur in the genealogies of other kingdoms; they were not always those of members of local families but their recurrence in Wessex makes this more likely. Such dynastic marriages would have been one means by which new territories were brought under English control.

There is no written source which provides a reliable account of how eastern Wessex came under Saxon control in the second half of the fifth and the sixth century. Our earliest writer, the British cleric Gildas, around the middle of the sixth century, to concern himself with relations between the Britons and the immigrants, wrote at a time when a division of the country had been agreed between them, that is, after the Saxons had gained control in the east. He describes (Winterbottom 1978, *De Excidio* c. 25.1) a situation following the Saxon revolt in which 'a number of the wretched survivors were caught in the mountains and butchered wholesale. Others, their spirit broken by hunger, went to surrender to the enemy; they were fated to be slaves for ever, if indeed they were not killed straight away, the highest boon.' This typically purple passage has encouraged generations of scholars to argue that there was mass extermination and enslavement of the Britons, a scenario which would account, as noted above, for the lack of language contact between Old English and Brittonic. However, we do not know either how general or how localised were the events to which Gildas refers, though he

certainly appears to regard the direful after effects of the revolt as very widespread. It is reasonable, notwithstanding, to take the view that many Brittonic-speakers remained to work the land for the Saxons and to that extent had been 'enslaved', but their low status perhaps little different from that of their forbears in late Roman times.

There are, indeed, notable groups of names which appear to imply continuing English recognition of a British population in particular localities and areas (Gelling 1997, 92). It would be of great interest, though beyond the scope of the present study, to look at such areas closely from both the British and the English vantage point. Relevant names are especially evident in south Hampshire, an area of early Saxon settlement, most of them within the territory of the *Meonwara*, an area once within the *civitas Regnorum*, subsequently acquired by the Jutes and finally conquered by the West Saxons. They include Wickham (in the Meon valley); Boarhunt, Funtley, Havant and Mottisfont; and Portsmouth (Gelling 1997, fig. 2; see also Hawkins 2015, 28–36, for further discussion of these and other significant names in this area). It is also thought probable that Solent and the river names Itchen and Test were given before the Anglo-Saxons arrived (Coates 1989). In north-west Wiltshire the large number of Brittonic place-names and river names suggests that the British tongue may have survived there as a living language until the seventh century. In much of that area it is certainly pertinent to note the absence of early Anglo-Saxon material culture and burials. From the time of Penda of Mercia (died 655) northern Wessex became a battle ground between the *Gewisse* (who were later known as the West Saxons) and his growing kingdom. Anglo-Saxon conquest of north-west Wiltshire is argued to have occurred only around 675. The monastery at Malmesbury was founded by 681. Charters show that Aldhelm, its first abbot, considered it necessary to secure patronage and protection from both Mercia and Wessex. A richly equipped grave at Roundway Down, arguably, with others, a 'signal' burial, marking the conquest of the area from the *Gewissan* standpoint, contained a pin-suite with a gold roundel with a blue glass setting in the form of a cross, of probable Irish workmanship, and possibly of Christian significance, which may reflect the influence of the new monastery.

In the absence of written sources, we have to turn to archaeology in an attempt to throw light on the nature, chronology and extent of Saxon settlement. The problems of using material culture and burial rites for the identification of the presence of Saxons are well known and have been discussed in the Introduction. In this book the view that has been adopted is that the burials with a range of grave goods, many of which are ultimately of Germanic inspiration, showing no continuity in location with the late Roman cemeteries which are very largely of unaccompanied burials, are those of either immigrant Saxons or Britons who had

adopted the new funerary practices and language, and had thereby become merged into a new Saxon identity.¹

The virtually total lack of continuity of settlement site appears to complement this picture. Charles-Edwards has observed that the incomers may have brought about a redivision of the land, with the hide now used to provide for individual families and also to reward their followers.

The archaeological evidence for the fifth and sixth centuries indicates, as already noticed, very significant differences between eastern and western Wessex. These differences lead us to the possibility that the division of the country which so concerns Gildas may have lain along the eastern border of both the southern and northern Durotriges, the latter as reconstituted in the fifth century, that is, at Selwood. The distinctiveness of the areas to the west is not limited to the preponderance of an 'Anglo-Saxon' culture to the east and its very limited occurrence at this time to the west. The archaeology of the northern Durotriges is now dominated by the elite reoccupation of hill-forts. Even in Dorset there is re-occupation within and a socketed spearhead from Badbury Rings and, remarkably, two Saxon brooches of the first half of the fifth century from below Hod Hill hill-fort (one from the vicinity of a Roman building) and a socketed spearhead of fifth- or early sixth-century date from inside the ramparts. Gildas (c. 25.1) refers to British strongholds on the tops of hills and it is worth noting that these defended positions would have been as useful during civil wars between the British (Gildas cc. 19, 21) as in warfare against the Anglo-Saxons. In eastern Wessex the only hint of the re-occupation of a hill-fort is at Whitsbury in south-west Hampshire. Additionally, the northern Durotriges, but interestingly not their southern counterparts, came within the orbit of a Mediterranean trading zone which included Cornwall and Devon. The imported amphorae brought wine for, doubtless, both the consumption of the elite and for Holy Communion. Of all the things of which Gildas complains, paganism is not one of them, which suggests that Christianity had made substantial headway by his day, built, arguably, upon a firm late Roman foundation. Indeed, Gildas emphasises the great divide between his own countrymen and the pagan Saxons. Finally, the Latin language had received a notable boost from the Latin speaking Britons who had fled westwards from the upheavals in the east. The sophistication of Gildas's own written Latin is witness to a flourishing intellectual culture in the west.

Although emphasis has been placed upon the marked contrasts between eastern and western Wessex, there was also contact between the two. In Dorset an apparently short-lived episode saw, most probably, the arrival of some Saxons as early as the first half of the fifth century. In the first half of the sixth Saxons became firmly established in a definable area in the eastern part of Durotrigan territory. There is a scatter of Anglo-Saxon artefacts further to the west, particularly

near the coast. The same pattern is also seen in Somerset. Attention may also be drawn to the substantial amounts of Anglo-Saxon glass which reached CadburyCongresbury hill-fort. We may also note the spread eastwards, from their core area in north Somerset, of penannular class G brooches, which appear in sixth-century Anglo-Saxon graves paired with brooches of Anglo-Saxon types to fasten, at either shoulder, the typically Saxon *peplos* dress.

In 577, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, Cuthwine and Ceawlin of the *Gewisse* won the battle of Dyrham. It has been suggested here that Ceawlin's base was the former *civitas Atrebatum*; this victory would have brought a significant part of the lands of the Dobunni south of the Thames under his control. From the second quarter of the seventh century the *Gewisse* (who were later known as the West Saxons) were continually challenged by the Mercians for supremacy in this area. It was not until the ninth century, as it is argued in this book, that the northern border of Wessex was finally fixed at the Thames and the northward expansion of the West Saxons confirmed by the creation of the shires of Wiltshire – whose earlier accepted limit at the north had been East Wansdyke – and Berkshire.

The first unambiguous reference to a West Saxon advance in the South-West is that in the *Chronicle* which records the battle of *Peonnan*, usually taken to be Penselwood (on the Somerset/Wiltshire/Dorset border), in 658 when the Britons were driven back to the Parrett. A grave with a gold pendant at Burnett, Keynsham, between West Wansdyke and the River Avon, may have served as a 'signal' burial, marking the final takeover of the northern Durotriges by the West Saxons, just as did the burials, including a probable bed-burial, on or close to the Bokerley 'line' at the eastern boundary of their southern counterparts, and those in north-west Wiltshire, symbolise the Anglo-Saxon acquisition of those areas. It may be noted that there is no mention of Dorset in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in this period, which may, possibly, indicate a largely more peaceful process there. The Saxons had certainly settled in a part of east Dorset, within the *civitas Durotrigum*, in the first half of the sixth century, a situation which would surely have been intolerable to the Britons, who maintained control of their *civitas* for another century or more, if the Saxons there had been hostile.

In southern Wiltshire, in particular, a notable feature of the archaeology in the seventh century is the recurrence of high status burials, of males and females, beside Roman roads and other through routes, such as *herepaths*. These are found both in south-eastern Wiltshire, as at Salisbury Race Course and Ford, and in the south-west of the county, for example at Swallowcliffe, which had been acquired

by the West Saxons only in the recent past. In south-west Wiltshire, it may be noted, some of these burials incorporate 'native' features, such as the cist at West Knoyle, edge-marking stone slabs at Monkton Deverill and a cist and a fragment of a Kimmeridge shale bracelet at Alvediston. The richly furnished grave at Swallowcliffe included a silvered-bronze sprinkler, which carries Celtic decoration. The mount on the satchel in the grave was decorated with both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon styles of ornament, apparently in the form of a cross, which recalls the burial at Roundway Down. Such graves may represent the rivalries of competing elite families, as they emerged into prominence in newly structured societies. There are also examples of this phenomenon elsewhere in Wessex, such as the weapon burial at Lowbury Hill high on the Berkshire Downs by the Ridgeway, but they are few and far between.

Although there is no direct connection between graves oriented west-east and Christianity, the ever growing prominence of cemeteries with such burials, which may be arranged in rows, with minimal, if any, grave goods, in post-Roman Dorset and Somerset is likely to reflect the increasing extension and confidence of Christian practices in areas under British rule. There is also information, of a different kind, about the survival of a flourishing British community in the Isle of Purbeck in south Dorset. Five memorial inscriptions to Britons built into the fabric of a church at Wareham appear to date to the seventh century, and perhaps later, while other stones, uninscribed, may be as early as the fifth century. At Sherborne there appears to have been a British church, known as *Lanprobi*, which preceded the Saxon see. Cenwalh had links with the place and there is a charter in his name, the witness list of which suggests a date of 670–2. Malmesbury and Glastonbury, both founded only a little later, may also have had British predecessors. We have reached the point when Anglo-Saxon domination and a confident Anglo-Saxon Church were extending their grip across the whole of Wessex, from western Surrey in the east to western Somerset and the Devon border in the west. The future was firmly in Anglo-Saxon hands.

Note

- 1 The new material culture is overwhelmingly Saxon. Artefacts, all of the sixth century, of an Anglian background, are few: great square-headed brooches from *Charney Bassett*, Berkshire, *Hound*, Hampshire, and *Blacknall Field*, Pewsey, and *Figheldean*, Wiltshire; a wrist-clasp from *Houghton*, Hampshire, and another from *Baydon*, Wiltshire; and an openwork disc brooch from *Corhampton and Meonstoke*, Hampshire. This list is indicative only.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>A-SSAH</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and history</i>
<i>Antiq. J.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Archaeol. J.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
DNHAS	Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society
<i>E. Med. Europe</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
HFCAS	Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society
<i>JEPS</i>	<i>Journal of the English Place-name Society</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Med. Archaeol.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Proc. DAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Proc. DNHAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Proc. HFCAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Proc. SANHS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>
<i>Trans. BGAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society</i>
<i>WAM</i>	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine</i>
<i>WANHM</i>	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine</i>
<i>WANHS</i>	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>

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